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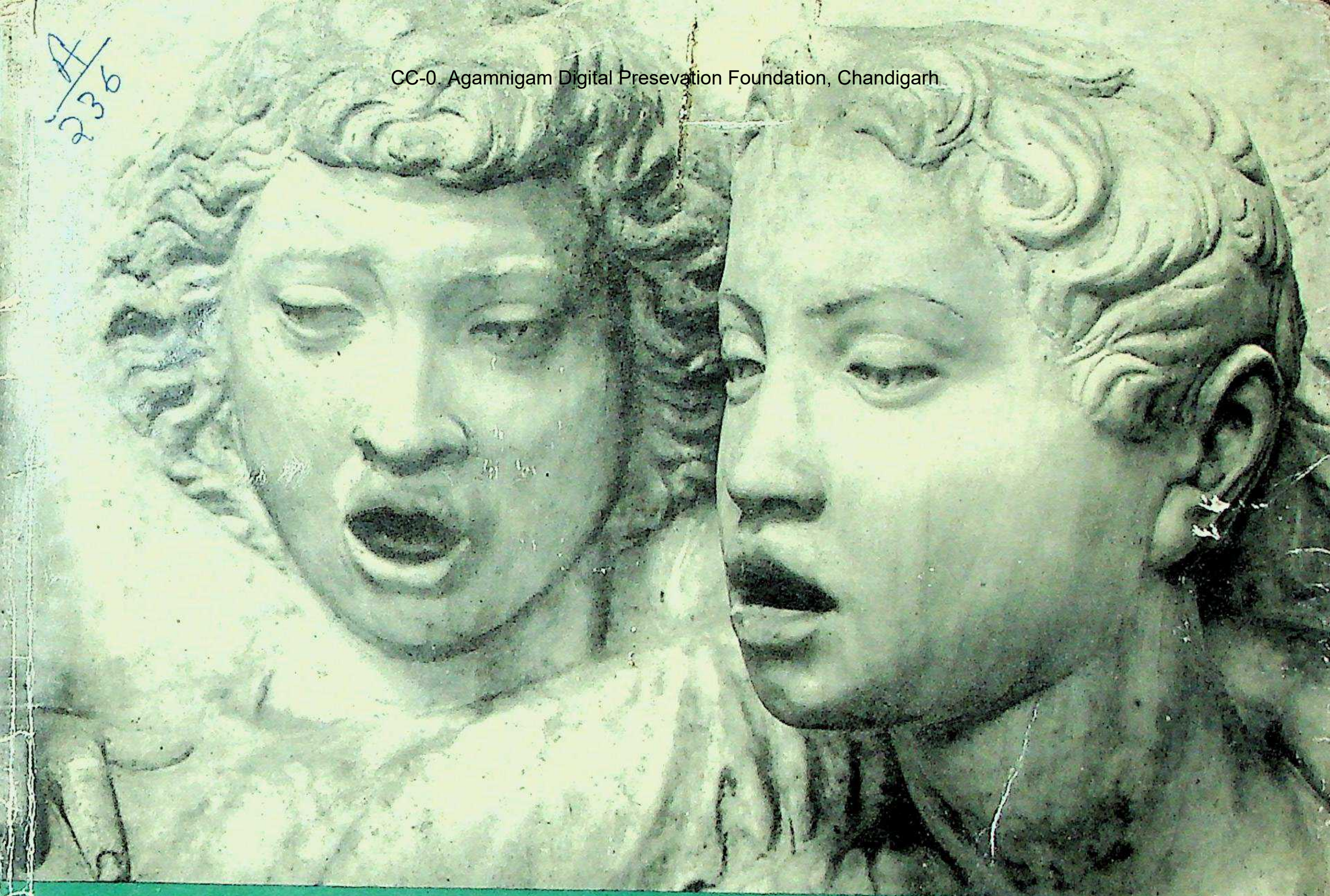

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AN INTRODUCTION
TO ITALIAN SCULPTURE

BY

JOHN POPE-HENNESSY

PART I

ITALIAN GOTHIC SCULPTURE

PART II

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE

PART III

ITALIAN HIGH RENAISSANCE AND
BAROQUE SCULPTURE

JOHN POPE-HENNESSY

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE

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ITALIAN RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE

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ITALIAN RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE

THE history of Renaissance sculpture is the story of a journey made by artists in the fifteenth century towards a common goal. It opens in Florence, when Brunelleschi and Donatello set out from the confines of the Middle Ages, and it closes in the serene climate of Venetian humanism with the sculptures of Tullio Lombardo. As on all expeditions, detours were made and false trails were explored, but the objective remained unchanged and the course from first to last was guided by the pole star of the antique. The unity of Renaissance sculpture is to be sought not in the diverse forms that it assumed, but in the scale of values and sense of conscious purpose by which it was inspired.

In philosophy and literature, the Renaissance was a gradual growth to which the concept of 'rebirth' is in many respects inappropriate. In sculpture, however, we know the precise point in time at which Renaissance style was born. The year was 1401, and the occasion was the competition for the second bronze door of the Baptistry in Florence. The contest for the door—the first artistic competition of its kind—was open to 'skilled masters from all the lands of Italy', and the sculptors taking part in it were required to represent a single scene, the Sacrifice of Isaac. Not only did this subject (as Vasari later pointed out) involve 'scenery, nudes, draped figures and animals', but it presented problems of a more far-reaching kind—an expressive problem, in that it imposed upon the sculptor the need to portray two contrasting figures, the unwitting victim and unwilling executioner; a narrative problem, in that the apparition of the angel must be represented pointing towards the ram and staying Abraham's hand; and a spatial problem, in that two youths with their ass must be depicted at some distance from the scene.

Four of the seven sculptors who took part in the competition must have found it far beyond their capabilities. The fifth was a more celebrated artist, Jacopo della Quercia. Quercia's trial relief is lost, but he later portrayed the scene again in a carving at Bologna where the Abraham and Isaac are placed in the foreground, the attendants are omitted, and the angel is set behind an altar at the back. The remaining competitors were Brunelleschi and the victor of the competition, Ghiberti, both of whose trial reliefs survive (Figs. 1, 2). At

Bologna Quercia accepted the challenge of the expressive problem; with the narrative problem he was less successful, and the spatial problem he ignored. Ghiberti, on the contrary, solved the narrative problem with consummate ease, and rendered the space in his relief so smoothly that the eye of the spectator is carried effortlessly back to the angel and the distant ram. The new door was intended as a counterpart to the door by Andrea Pisano which was already in position on the Baptistry (Vol. I, Fig. 67), and for this reason the trial reliefs were framed in quatrefoil medallions like those used in the earlier door. For Ghiberti the quadrilobe was a congenial frame, and he utilized it as the basis of his design, placing the angel and the ram in the two projecting sections at the top and the feet of the attendants in the lower projection on the left. The figures make use of the suave rhythms of late Gothic save for the Isaac kneeling on the altar for which a Hellenistic torso seems to have been employed. Brunelleschi's Isaac was also based on a headless classical original, but unlike Ghiberti he rebelled against the form of the relief, and though he too filled three of the projecting lobes with figures, his scheme was a rectangular design cut by the Gothic frame. The two attendants were strung out across the foreground, one of them imitated from the Spinario and the other bending down to collect water from a spring, and the angel and the ram were placed on the same plane as the Abraham and Isaac, since to his rational mind it was unthinkable that the angel should not intervene physically in the scene. The contrast between the creative processes of the two artists transpires most clearly in the central groups. Ghiberti's are ideal figures; the Abraham stands with a ritual knife in his right hand, and Isaac kneels resignedly upon the altar as he awaits the blow. With Brunelleschi (Plate I) the figures are realistic; the Abraham moves forward with horror-struck expression, wrenching back Isaac's head and plunging the knife into his throat, and the face of Isaac is deformed by fear and pain. As we cross the frontier between these two conceptions, we enter the territory of Renaissance art.

Already in the fifteenth century the emergence of Renaissance style in sculpture was regarded not as a slow transition, but as an abrupt advance. This view is implicit in the second of Ghiberti's *Commentaries*, which opens with the triumph of Christianity, when 'grave penalties were laid down for those who might make statues or paintings, and thus ended the arts of sculpture and painting and the science on which they were based', and which continues the story of art to the sculptor's own time. Eight and a half pages of Ghiberti's printed text describe the revival of painting at the hands of Cimabue, Giotto and other artists. Next he turns to sculpture, but instead of an eight-page account of the history of Italian sculpture from the time of Nicola Pisano to the early fifteenth century, he offers one perfunctory paragraph, in which the names of many of the greatest Italian Gothic sculptors do not appear at all. Ghiberti was both an art historian and a sculptor, and lack of curiosity or knowledge cannot have been responsible for this neglect. At Pisa he must have seen the pulpit of Nicola Pisano in the Baptistry and Nino Pisano's Annunciation in Santa Caterina. At Siena he must have gazed at Giovanni Pisano's statues on the front of the Cathedral. A group by Tino di Camaino stood over the entrance of the Baptistry in Florence, and day after day he must have raised his eyes to this and to Arnolfo di Cambio's sculptures over the Duomo doors. Yet none of them did he discuss, since he believed that the change effected by Cimabue and Giotto in painting had occurred in sculpture only in his own day, that about 1400 contact was resumed with the severed tradition of Rome.

For Renaissance artists, as for their Roman predecessors, the art of sculpture was bound up with portrayal of the human frame. In the only theoretical treatise on sculpture surviving from the fifteenth century, Alberti's *De Statua*, it is expressly claimed that sculpture has a natural origin. Sometimes, argues Alberti, tree-trunks or clods of earth possess an adventitious likeness to living forms. Initially man must have adapted these to the forms which they resembled, and thus there arose 'the arts of those who set about producing simulacra of bodies generated by nature'. Alberti uses the term 'arts', because he distinguishes between three types of sculptor—modellers, carvers and metal workers—but all three have the same objective, 'that the works on which they are engaged (whatever they may be) should appear to those who look at them to be extremely like real natural forms'. Roman sculpture, therefore, was first and foremost a guide to the rendering of appearances. Granted that in the Pisa and Siena pulpits Nicola Pisano had imitated classical originals, granted that Arnolfo di Cambio had based the head of his S. Reparata on a Roman model, granted that Giovanni Pisano in the Cathedral at Pisa had introduced a Hercules masquerading as a Samson and a Venus Pudica representing Temperance, the fact remained that these transcriptions of classical motifs (however significant they may appear today) were incompatible with the Renaissance view of Roman art.

Moreover, at the very beginning of the fifteenth century the art of sculpture assumed a new significance. For a decade and more Florentine life had been dominated by the struggle against Milan. One after another Siena, Pisa and Perugia fell under Milanese control, and when in July 1402 Gian Galeazzo Visconti entered Bologna, it seemed that the long years of economic strangulation, famine and blockade, were about to end in military defeat. Fate, however, intervened, and in September, before launching his decisive operation, the Duke of Milan died. While the crisis was at its height, fresh thought had been given to the place of Florence in Italy and to the values for which she stood, and there was minted a new image of the city as the intellectual heir of Athens and the institutional legatee of Rome. Rinuccini describes how there grew up in Florence at this time 'a brigade of young men of eminent talents, worthy of Athens, most cultured of all cities', and the humanist Bruni based his apostrophe of Florence, the *Laudatio Florentinae Urbis*, on Aristides. This awareness of a recoverable past spread over into the fine arts, and since sculpture was the only classical figurative art for which adequate evidence survived, it was natural that sculptors should lead the search for a commemorative style which would reflect the facts of contemporary existence, contemporary preconceptions and states of mind, as faithfully as Roman sculpture had reflected the Roman world.

Above all it was evident that Roman sculptors had touched life at many points, that in their work a culture lay embalmed in bronze and stone. Here were commemorative statues and portraits and religious images, here were sarcophagi and cinerary urns, here were allegories and mythological reliefs, here was a vast wealth of architectural ornament. As the fifteenth century advanced, Renaissance sculpture took on this same comprehensive character. How were the features of the individual to be perpetuated? By reviving the portrait bust. How was the hero to be commemorated? By reviving the equestrian monument. New attention was given to the tomb, and once again in the bronze statuette a whole mythology was house-trained for domestic use. The Renaissance, therefore, initially in Florence and later in other centres, brought about not merely a revival of sculptural illusionism, but a revision of the intellectual basis of the sculptor's art.

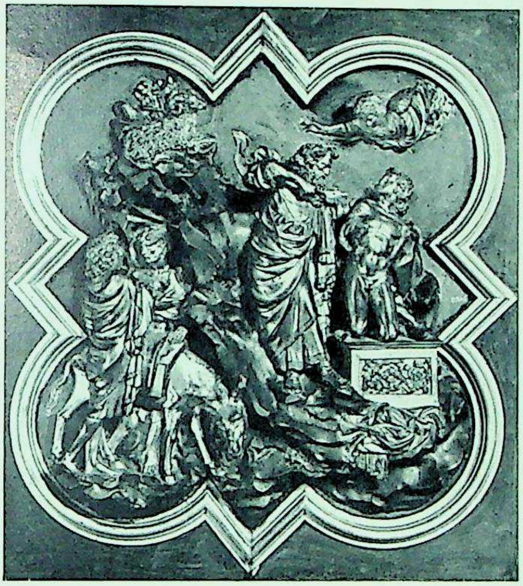

Fig. 1. Ghiberti: THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.
Museo Nazionale, Florence.

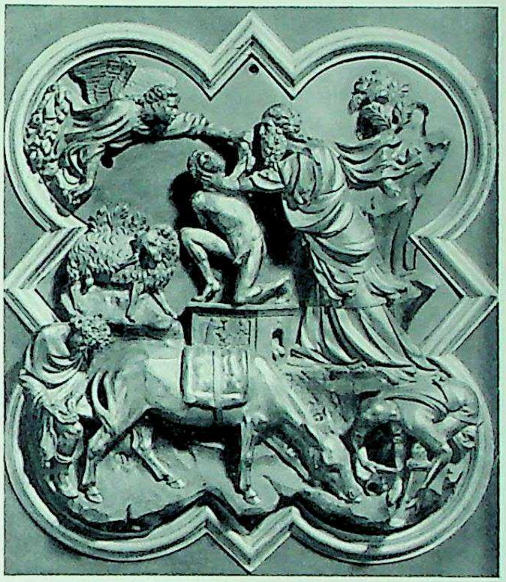

Fig. 2. Brunelleschi: THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.
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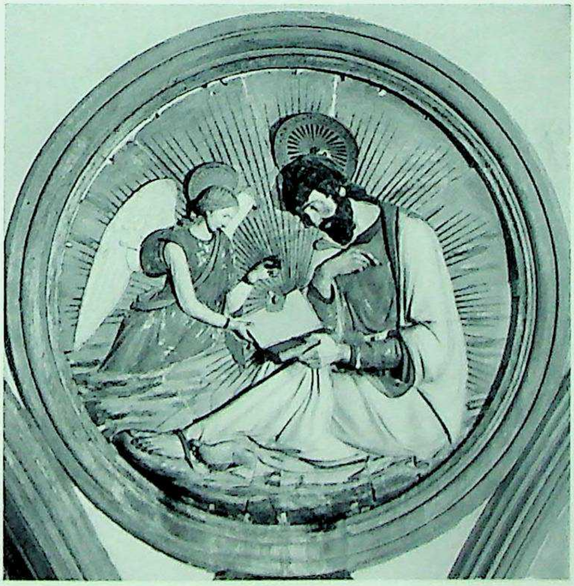


Fig. 3. Brunelleschi (?): ST. MATTHEW.
Pazzi Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence.

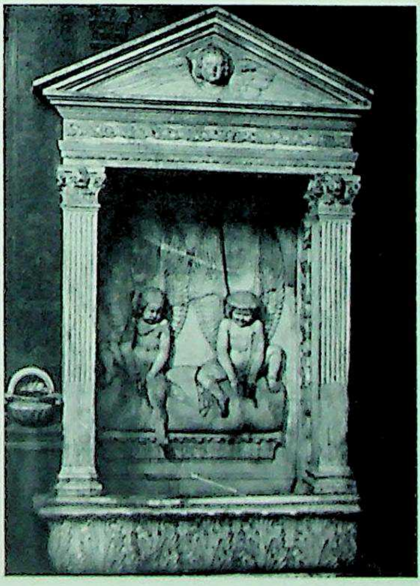


Fig. 4. Brunelleschi and Buggiano: LAVABO.
Duomo, Florence.

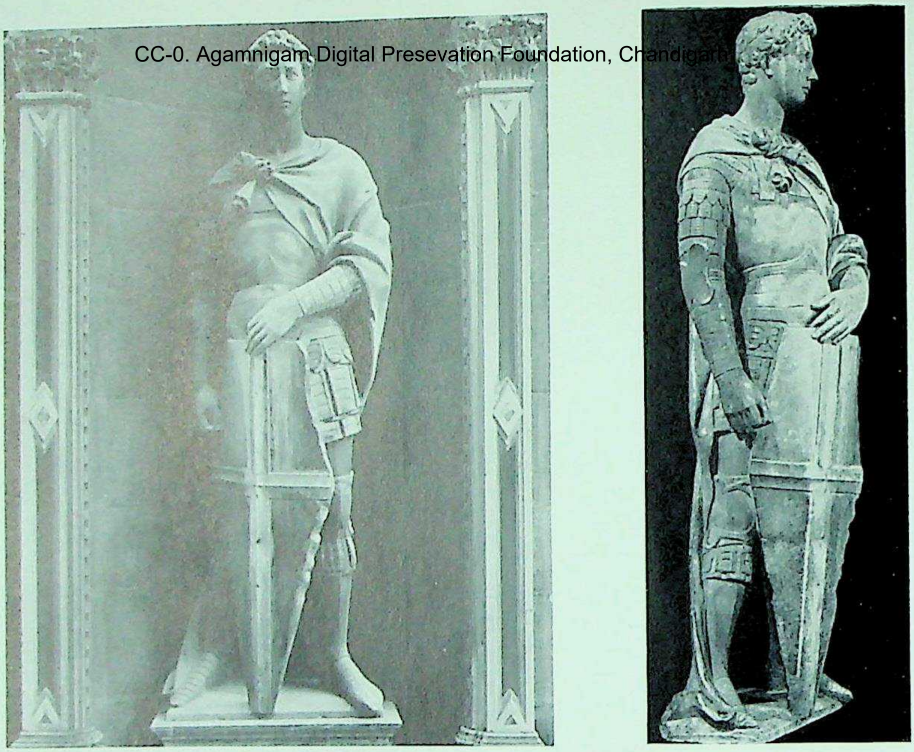
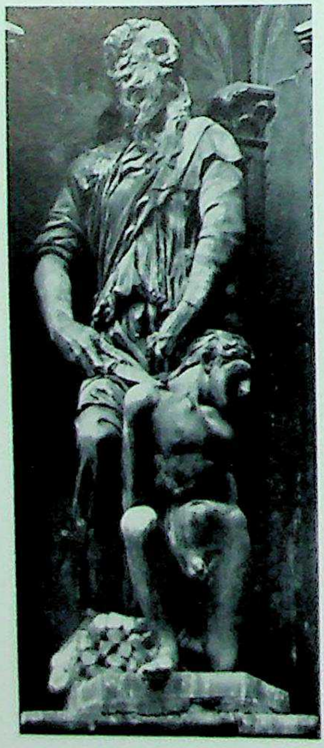


Fig. 5. Donatello: ST. GEORGE. Museo Nazionale, Florence.



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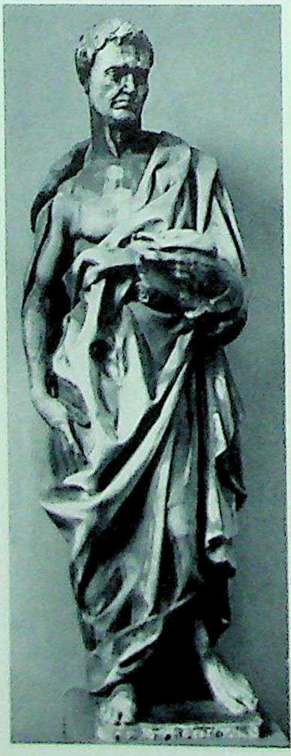

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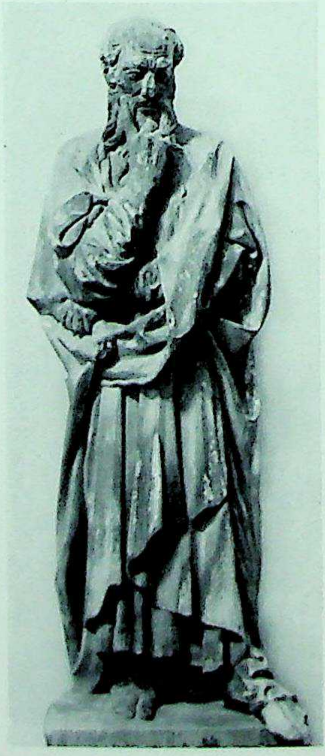

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Fig. 6. Donatello: ABRAHAM AND ISAAC. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Fig. 7. Donatello: JEREMIAH. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Fig. 8. Donatello: UNIDENTIFIED PROPHET. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

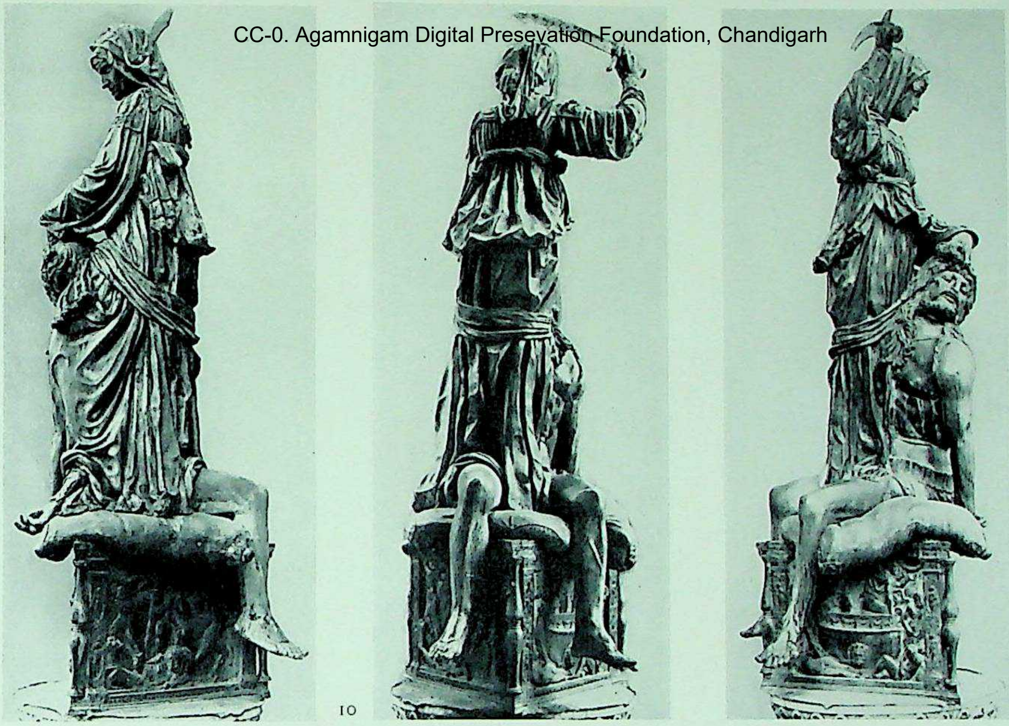

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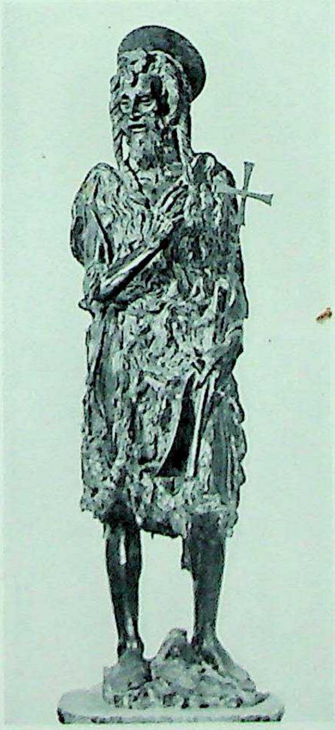
Fig. 9–11. Donatello: JUDITH. Piazza della Signoria, Florence.



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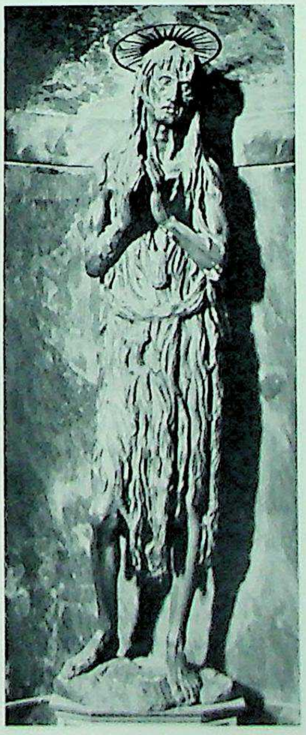

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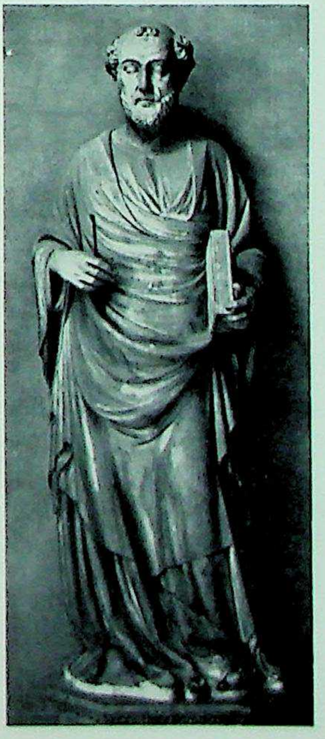

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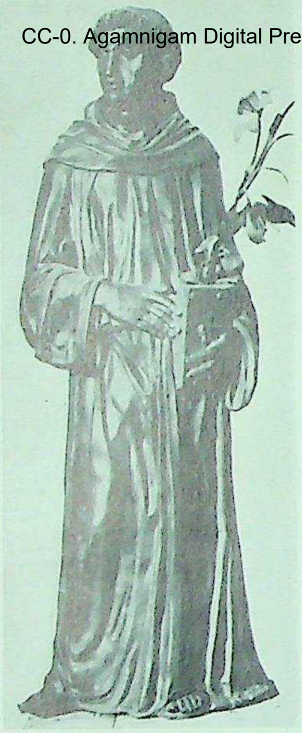
Fig. 12. Donatello: ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Duomo, Siena.
Fig. 13. Donatello: ST. MARY MAGDALEN. Baptistry, Florence.
Fig. 14. Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti: ST. LUKE. Museo Nazionale, Florence.



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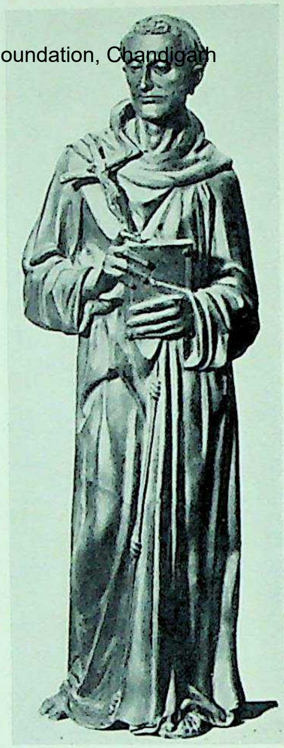

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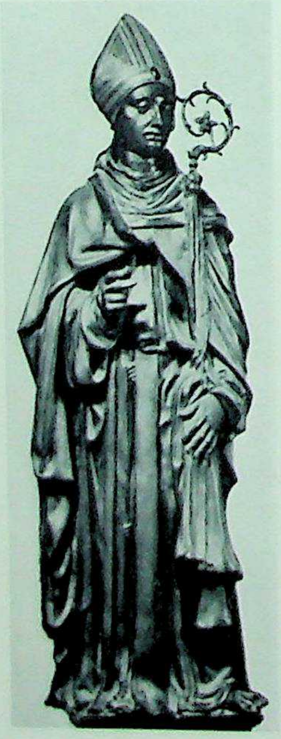
Fig. 15. Donatello: ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA. S. Antonio, Padua.
Fig. 16. Donatello: ST. FRANCIS. S. Antonio, Padua.



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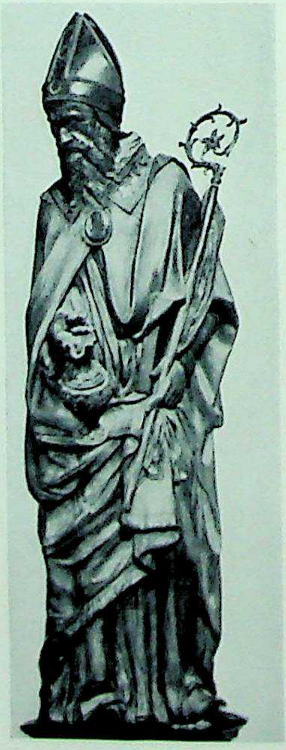

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Fig. 17. Donatello: ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE. S. Antonio, Padua.
Fig. 18. Donatello: ST. PROSDOCIMUS. S. Antonio, Padua.

Donatello and the Renaissance Statue

Donatello is the greatest sculptor of the fifteenth century. Like Michelangelo, he employs a plastic language that resists translation into words, and his creative intentions are often hard to reconstruct. The framework of his life is a comparatively simple one. Born in Florence in 1386, he was trained as a marble sculptor in the workshop of the Cathedral, and served for two periods in the studio of Ghiberti, to whom he owed his knowledge of bronze sculpture. Ghiberti was eight years his senior, and Donatello can have had small sympathy for him or for his work. For Brunelleschi, on the other hand, he must have felt a temperamental affinity, and Brunelleschi's Sacrifice of Isaac has an importance for Donatello's figure sculpture second only to that of his perspective system for Donatello's relief style. Donatello worked on in his native town for thirty-seven unvaryingly successful years, until in 1443, attracted by the prospect of carrying out a major work in bronze, he moved his studio to Padua, where he was active for ten years. From 1453 until his death in 1466 he lived once more in Tuscany. His career therefore falls into three phases, a long period of adolescence and maturity in Florence, a short but vitally important North Italian interlude, and an epilogue in which he developed the first style of old age in the history of art. He was fifty-eight when he moved to Padua, sixty-eight when he returned to Florence, and eighty when he died.

In 1400 the focus of sculptural activity in Florence was the Cathedral. The south entrance, the Porta dei Canonici, was almost finished, and the statues in the lunette above it, a stiff Virgin and Child with two adoring angels, had been put in place. On the north side the Porta della Mandorla (Vol. I, Fig. 39) was completed to a considerable height, and Donatello's name appears for the first time in the account books in connection with a figure of a Prophet for a pinnacle above this door. On the lower part of the façade there were four vacant niches beside the central door, and in 1408 it was decided to fill these with seated statues of the Evangelists. One of them, the St. Mark, was entrusted to Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti, another, the St. Luke, to Nanni di Banco, and a third, the St. John, to Donatello. The commission for the fourth, the St. Matthew, was at first reserved as an incentive for the sculptor who made the best showing on the other statues, but was entrusted in 1410 to still another sculptor, Ciuffagni. Four artists, therefore, were engaged on one and the same task in the same term of years. The Cathedral sculpture at the beginning of the century was undistinguished, and Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti's St. Mark (Vol. I, Fig. 36), a lay figure covered with a tangle of Gothic drapery, illustrates almost all of its defects. The St. Luke (Vol. I, Fig. 34) is a more serious and ambitious work. Recognizing that a niche figure must fill its niche, Nanni di Banco widened the pose, turning the elbows outwards and placing the feet apart. He had moreover studied Roman sculpture, and the results of this are seen both in the classic head and in the full drapery. The figure's deficiencies are less formal than psychological; it lacks the specific character with which it might have been invested by a more imaginative artist. In Donatello's St. John (Plate 4), on the other hand, the content seems to dictate the form. Like the Moses of Michelangelo, it is an interior vision hewn out in marble, not a work contrived from the outside. The planes of the drapery recede in heavy cavernous folds, and the hands are used to accentuate the recession of the thighs. Whereas in the St. Luke the planes of the body and knees tend to coalesce, in the St. John they are differentiated to the greatest possible extent. The pose, with the body parallel to the base and the knees turned slightly to the left, is natural and unforced, and the hair and beard are not reduced to a classical convention, but are treated realistically with a strong sense of surface texture that is found again in the furrowed eyebrows and deep visionary eyes.

Our picture of Donatello's development in these early years is filled out by two other statues. The first of these, a marble figure of David with the head of Goliath (Plate 2), was commissioned for the Cathedral, along with a statue by Nanni di Banco, in 1408. In form both the David and Nanni di Banco's Isaiah (Vol. I, Plate 95) are Gothic statues, but Gothic style is treated very differently by the two artists. In the Isaiah the head and drapery folds derive from the antique, while in the David the language differs from orthodox Gothic mainly in its realistic emphasis. Nanni di Banco's Isaiah is less classical than his St. Luke, and Donatello's David is less realistic than his St. John, but in each statue the future of its sculptor is disclosed. More than this, the David is a first half-articulate expression of the Renaissance hero cult. Though today we see it through the veil of Donatello's more communicative later works, we know that it was looked on in the early fifteenth century as an achievement of great significance. Unlike the Isaiah, which proved to be too small for its intended site and was eventually set on the façade, the David was never put in place, but in 1416 was purchased by the Signoria and exhibited in the Palazzo Vecchio as an allegory of the victory of justice over force, a symbol of the conflict in which Florence a short time earlier had been engaged.

The scene of Donatello's subsequent experiments with life-size statuary is the guild-hall of Or San Michele. Or San Michele had been built in 1336, and three years later it was decided that the outer walls should be decorated with fourteen tabernacles containing statues of the patrons of the Guilds. By the early fifteenth century only four sculptures had been produced. One of these is the St. Luke of Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti (Fig. 14), which was ousted by another statue in the sixteenth century and is now in the Bargello. When this unadventurous figure was in position in its niche, its flat frontal plane must have read as a relief. To artists of a younger generation the conception of a figure standing stiffly in its niche, like a sentry in a sentry box, was unacceptable, and when Nanni di Banco and Donatello planned their earliest statues for the oratory, their first preoccupation was to establish a sense of implied movement within the niche. In the St. Philip, which must have been begun soon after the Isaiah was complete, Nanni di Banco followed the same procedure as in his earlier statue, and produced an inexpressive figure in which the idealism of late Gothic is covered by a classic dress. For Donatello, on the other hand, the statue embodied an imaginative concept, and great as is the gulf between Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti's St. Luke and Nanni di Banco's St. Philip, it is greater still between the vacant head of the St. Philip and the infinitely expressive features of the first of Donatello's statues for Or San Michele, the St. Mark (Plate 3). As in the St. John, the form is determined by an integral conception of the statue. The weight rests on the right leg, with the left knee bent; the right shoulder is retracted and the head is slightly turned; and the illusion of mobility is made more real by the broken drapery. Donatello was twenty-two when he began work on the marble David, and twenty-five when he started work on the St. Mark, and in the years between them he had learned the syntax of Roman art. Vasari tells us how, after the competition for the bronze door of the Baptistry, Brunelleschi and Donatello together left for Rome 'the one to study architecture and the other sculpture'. As late as 1409, however, Donatello was still largely ignorant of the antique, whereas by 1411 he had acquired a deeper understanding of Roman sculpture than any of his Florentine contemporaries.

The St. Mark stands on a cushion, and not, like the earlier figures at Or San Michele, on a moulded base. Perhaps in Donatello's view a moulded base would have reduced its life-likeness; at all events (and his consistency in this respect is typical of his whole creative mentality) he made use of this expedient again forty years later in the Judith in the Piazza della Signoria. None the less, the deep tabernacle in which the St. Mark rests to some extent neutralizes its effect, and when Donatello was commissioned, about 1416, to carve a figure of St. George for Or San Michele, he addressed himself not only to the statue but also to the niche. The statue (Plate 5, Fig. 5) was destined for a part of the Oratory in which for structural reasons a deep tabernacle was impracticable, and for it he prepared a shallow niche which would project it towards the onlooker. Like many later Renaissance artists, Donatello was concerned with the statue in its linear character as a silhouette. This preoccupation leaves its mark upon the marble David, but the St. George is the first work in which the factor of the silhouette is dominant; in this respect it sounds a note which reverberates through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The conception, however, is more complex than the term 'silhouette' might in itself suggest. Since it was set in a niche, the figure had one main view, but since the niche was shallow, it had subsidiary three-quarter views as well, and from these the profile was equally harmonious and equally compact. In embryo, therefore, the St. George is a free-standing statue, and the principles Donatello established in it were the same that he applied twenty years later when he came to produce figures which were intended to be seen from every side.

The story which opens on Or San Michele continues on the Campanile of the Cathedral. The Campanile was decorated with sixteen niches, four on each face. Like the early niches on Or San Michele, these were narrow and deep, and when eight of them were filled with figures by Andrea Pisano (Vol. I, Plate 45), the statues were planned (like Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti's St. Luke on Or San Michele) with a flat frontal plane. Two factors, however, operated on the Campanile which were not present on Or San Michele; first, the niches were uniform and could not be modified, and second, they were at a great height from the ground. The problem therefore was the same that had confronted Donatello at Or San Michele but was proportionately more acute. In the earliest of his Campanile statues, a Prophet (Fig. 8) begun in 1415 soon after the St. Mark was finished, Donatello produced a figure that is recognizably related to the statue on Or San Michele, though the drapery forms read in a more intelligible fashion than would those of the St. Mark at the same distance from the ground. The St. Mark, moreover, is self-contained; there is no bridge between the statue and the onlooker. The Prophet, on the other hand, is shown with chin resting on his raised hand gazing down; his left foot protruded beyond the niche, and this must have enhanced the illusion that here was a real figure meditating on the crowds below. The style initiated in this figure and developed in the later Prophets is not solely an aesthetic phenomenon, but was inspired by Donatello's wish to establish a psychological connection between the statues in the niches and the spectators beneath.

The second Prophet (Plate 13) was carved between 1418 and 1420, after the St. George. This time the figure is shown moving forwards, pointing with one hand to a scroll, with lips compressed as though about to speak. When he carved it, Donatello must have given close attention to Roman portrait busts, and these explain the insistent naturalism of the head (Plate 15). But, as we might expect in a figure destined for so great a height, the carving is bolder than in Roman portrait sculptures, and from this breadth of treatment the head takes on new expressiveness. There was a three-year interval before the third of the Campanile Prophets was begun, and during this time Donatello's view of the niche figure underwent a change. The reason for this was that he had started work on a bronze statue for Or San Michele, the St. Louis of Toulouse (Fig. 56). Large-scale bronze statues had been introduced on Or San Michele by Ghiberti with figures of St. John the Baptist (1414) and St. Matthew (1419). For Ghiberti these represented the revival of a classical art form, and his attitude towards them was determined by the uses of bronze sculpture in antiquity. Donatello was not fettered in this way, and guided by a flawless sense of medium, he devised a new type of bronze statue for which there was no precedent, with swelling robes and ample forms. When he began work in 1423 on the third of the Campanile Prophets, the Jeremiah (Fig. 7, Plate 14), he determined to adapt the swollen drapery forms of his St. Louis to marble sculpture. In the two earlier Prophets and in the St. Mark the dress adheres closely to the body, and is the means through which the structure beneath it is defined. In the Jeremiah, on the other hand, body and dress are treated as opposing elements, and the tight forms of the bare right arm and shoulder, the chest and the left leg, contrast with the undulating rhythms of the loose full cloak. In this way the plastic emphasis is heightened, and Donatello takes the first step on a path which leads ultimately to Bernini. The latest and most sharply characterized of the four statues is the Habakkuk (Plate 12), which was begun in 1427 and was completed nine years later in 1436. The impact of this powerful figure is heightened by its attenuated limbs and heavy drapery. As we see this and its companion figures at eye level in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo today, they lose much of their force, but on the Campanile they appeared the products of dynamic imagination and unerring dramatic sense. To the spectators who looked up at them the four Prophets, one meditating silently upon the crowd below, another moving forward about to speak, the third reading from his scroll, and the fourth exclaiming with parted lips, opened the way to a new imagery in which persons from the Old and the New Testaments were presented for the first time as real figures, with a liveliness that was more vivid than life itself.

In the fourteen-thirties Donatello's dramatic sense found direct expression in a narrative scene, the Cavalcanti Annunciation in Santa Croce (Plate 11). This is a relief, but a relief so deep-cut that it seems to consist of two figures in the round placed on a shallow stage. The Virgin, rising from her chair as though to leave the scene, turns back in arrested motion to listen to the Angel who kneels in front of her. There is no parallel in painting for this theatrical device, and when the relief was carved it must have seemed astounding in its imaginative authenticity. The stage of the Annunciation is framed in a proscenium arch, and an extraordinary frame this is, with its consoles supporting a curved base and its capitals with human masks (Fig. 37). The singularity of this design must be borne constantly in mind when we move to Padua to consider Donatello's most complex work, the high altar of Sant'Antonio.

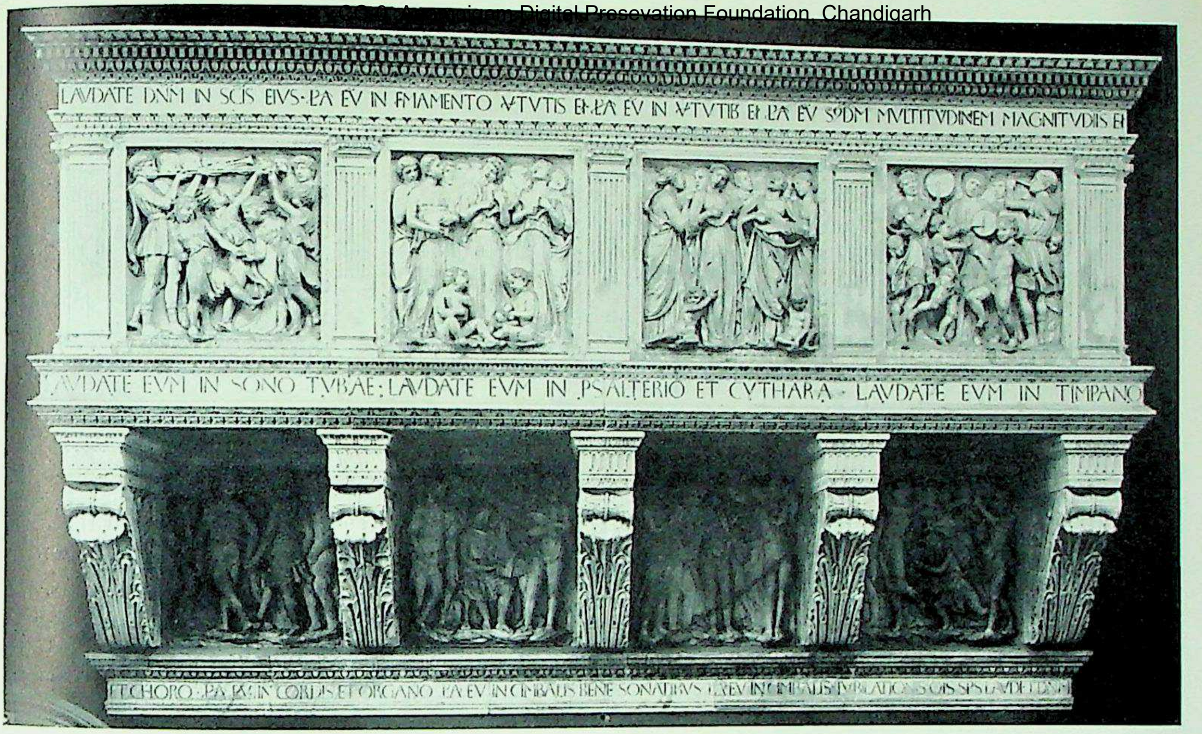
The Padua altar (Figs. 26, 27) was dismantled in the sixteenth century, and only the bronze reliefs and statues and one stone carving from it are preserved. The main elements in the scheme were seven statues, each nearly five feet high. Two of them, as we might expect, are figures of St. Francis (Fig. 16) and St. Anthony of Padua (Fig. 15). St. Francis is shown moving forwards in a pose which recalls the figures on the Campanile, with a crucifix resting against his shoulder and a book between his hands, and St. Anthony, again holding a book, is represented with head turned to his right. The poses of these figures are complementary, the left shoulder of St. Francis and the right shoulder of

St. Anthony being retracted and the opposite shoulders advanced. A third Franciscan Saint, St. Louis of Toulouse (Fig. 17), has his head slightly turned, as though his attention were directed to some object on his left; his right hand is raised. The St. Louis pairs off with a second episcopal saint, St. Prosdocimus (Fig. 18), the patron Saint of Padua, holding his emblem, a ewer, and gazing downwards to his right. The third pair of figures comprises two more Paduan Saints, St. Daniel (Plate 21), dressed in a dalmatic, holding a basin in his right hand and pointing outwards with his left, and S. Giustina (Plate 23) holding a palm in her left hand and pointing outwards with her right. Last comes the seventh statue, a Virgin and Child (Plate 22). The Virgin wears a crown and holds the Child in front of her, and beneath are two sphinxes forming the arms of a seat. The motif of the Child held in front of the Virgin occurs in thirteenth-century paintings, and it has been suggested that Donatello in the Padua altar was deliberately imitating one of these. This is unlikely, and if instead we look at the group in the light of the Cavalcanti Annunciation we reach a contrary conclusion, that the Virgin is shown in arrested motion, rising from her seat and exposing the Child (whose right hand is raised in benediction) to the adoration of the onlookers.

From a cursory inspection of this kind, it becomes clear that the interest of the altar was greater than that of its parts, and a number of attempts have been made to reconstruct it. One of them shows the figures in line against a background, like actors taking a curtain call. Another shows the figures in line without a background, on a ledge above a mass of bronze reliefs. Yet another shows the Virgin and Child raised on a plinth in the centre with two Saints at the sides gesticulating into the void, and a fourth shows the episcopal Saints separated from their companions on little plinths. None of these reconstructions, however, takes serious account of the meaning of the individual figures or of the broad tendency of Donatello's style. So far as the architecture of the altar is concerned, no progress is possible. There are documentary references to a cupola, and one or two fragments survive which may have formed part of the frame. But we should never succeed in reconstructing the frame of the Cavalcanti Annunciation from comparable material, and with the Padua altar, which was larger and more complex, the chances of success are lower still. The only account of the altar when it was intact is summary and inaccurate, but reveals one significant fact, that it was double-sided, and this the figures confirm, for all of the six Saints are finished off behind, and at the back of the Virgin's throne are two reliefs which would have been visible only if the group stood free. The altar, therefore, consisted of six free-standing figures grouped round the Virgin and Child. How the group was disposed we can learn from the figures themselves. SS. Daniel and Giustina, with their extended hands, form a convenient starting point. Obviously these gestures are not rhetorical, as they would have been in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, and if they are not rhetorical they can apply only to the Child, so there is a strong probability that it was these two Saints who flanked the central group. They are, however, pointing down, and this would have no meaning if the central group were raised. It follows, therefore, that the Virgin and Child was set on precisely the same level as the other figures of the altar. If this was so, it must also be to the Child that the hand of St. Louis of Toulouse and the eyes of St. Prosdocimus were addressed. The two Saints are slightly taller than the rest and may well have stood rather farther back. Finally, on the outside the two Franciscan Saints mediated between the congregation and this central group. When all that is said, we are still far from knowing how the pieces of the altar interlocked, but since in the reliefs of the predella Donatello was concerned with creating the illusion of space on a flat surface, it is likely that he deployed the main figures on more than one plane. The altar therefore was an active scene of deep devotional significance.

In the Padua altar the use of bronze is for the first time thoroughly explored. It was created a mere quarter of a century after the St. Matthew of Ghiberti, yet it stands intellectually more than half way between Ghiberti and Rodin. The search for a physically convincing image supplied the motive power of this advance, but its consequences were felt far beyond a realistic sphere, and in the individual figures from the altar the enhanced verisimilitude to which it led opened the door to a world of richer communication and heightened spiritual experience.

Donatello also left evidence in Florence of his capacity as a bronze sculptor in two free-standing statues executed for the Medici. The first of them, the David (Plate 30), now in the Bargello, was cast before he left for Padua; the second, the Judith (Plate 31), now in the Piazza della Signoria, was made about 1455 after his return. The free-standing bronze statue, like the bronze niche figure, was the revival of a classical art form. Donatello must have studied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ET CHORO·LA EVM IN CORDIS ET ORGANO·LA EV IN CIMBALIS BENE SONATIBVS·LA EV IN CIMBALIS IVBILATIONIS OIS SPS LAVDET DNM

Fig. 19. Luca della Robbia: CANTORIA. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

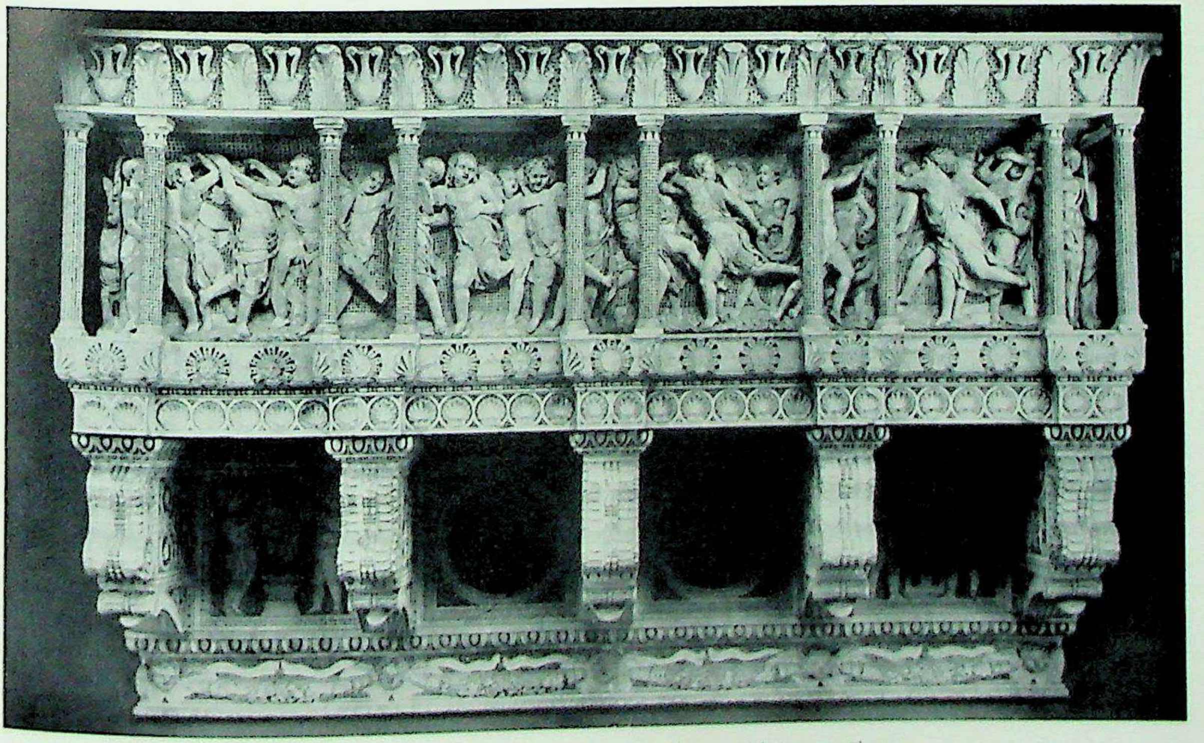


Fig. 20. Donatello: CANTORIA. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

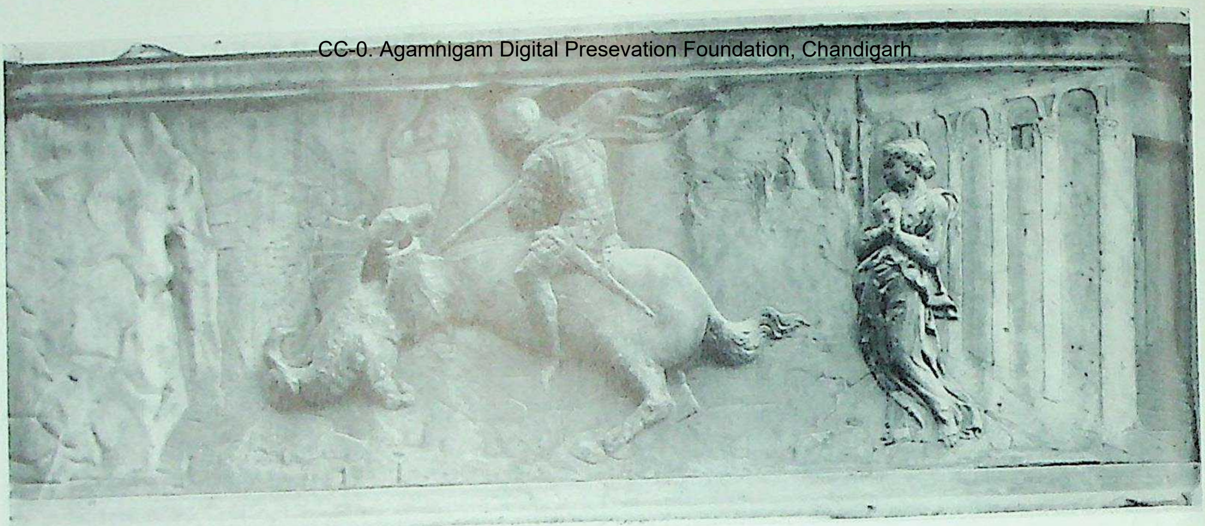


Fig. 21. Donatello: ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON. Or San Michele, Florence.

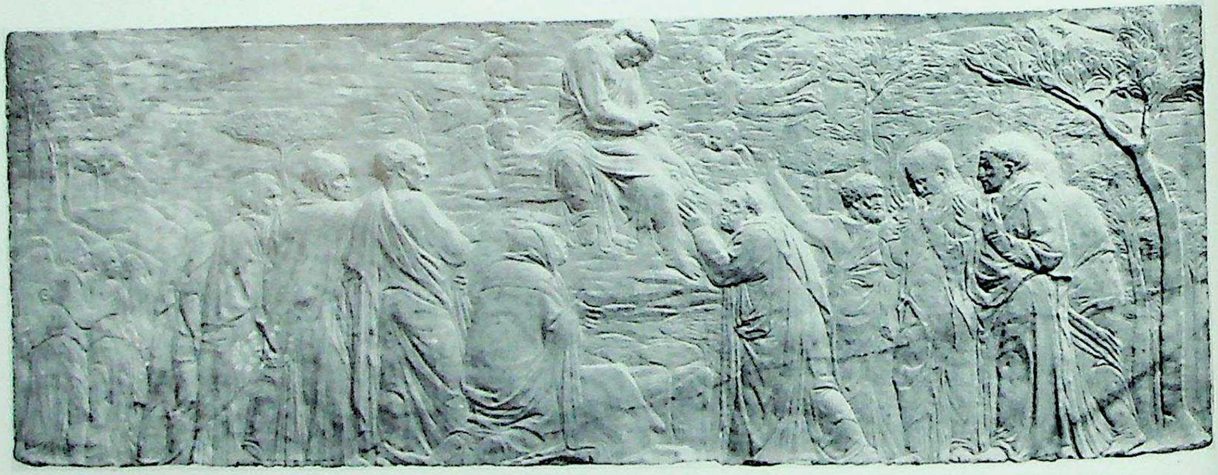
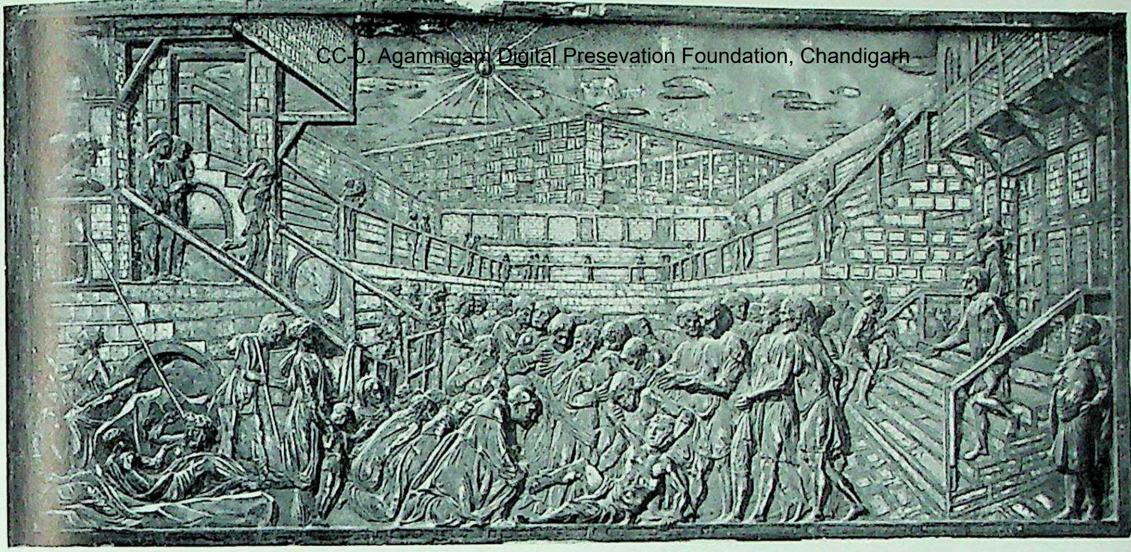


Fig. 22. Donatello: THE ASCENSION WITH CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 23. Donatello: THE MIRACLE OF THE REPENTANT SON. S. Antonio, Padua.
Fig. 24. Donatello: THE MIRACLE OF THE MISER'S HEART. S. Antonio, Padua.
Fig. 25. Donatello: THE MIRACLE OF THE NEW-BORN CHILD. S. Antonio, Padua.



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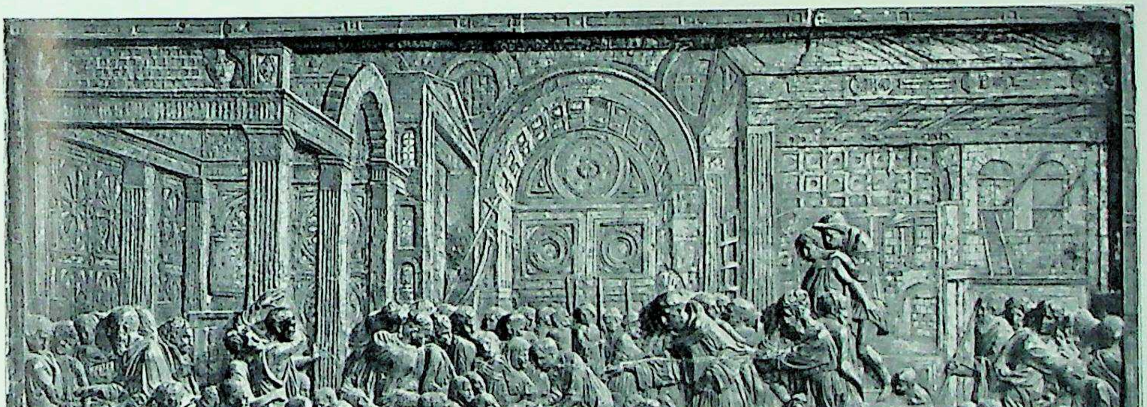

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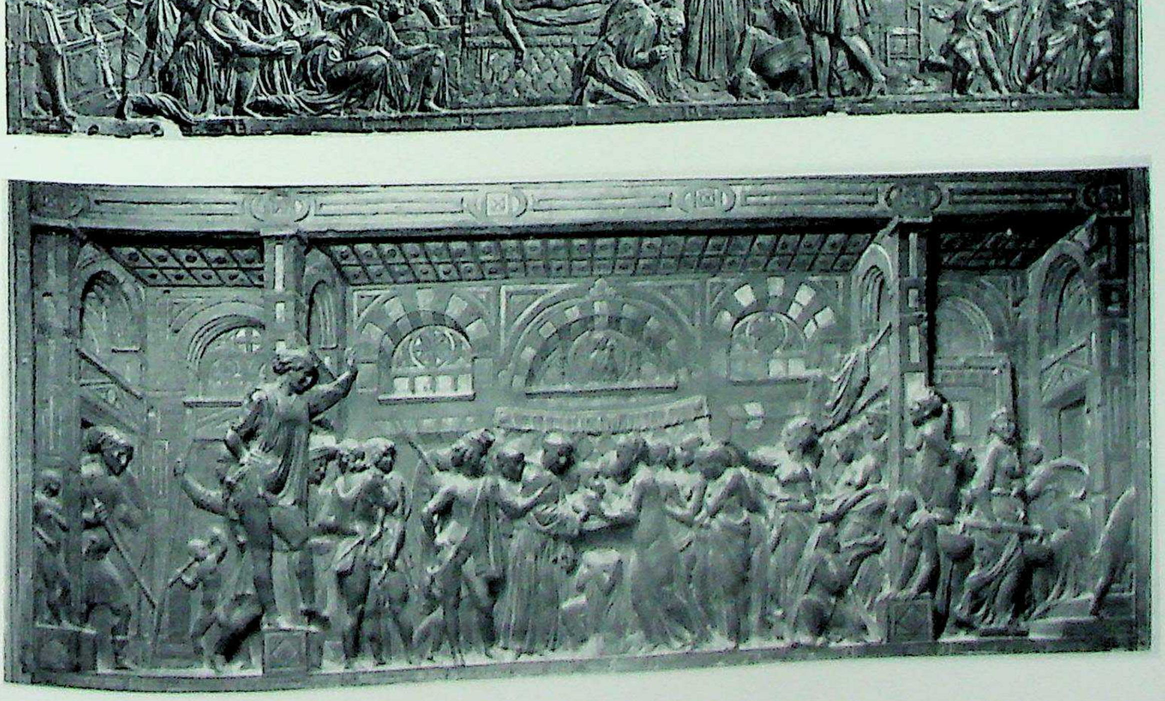

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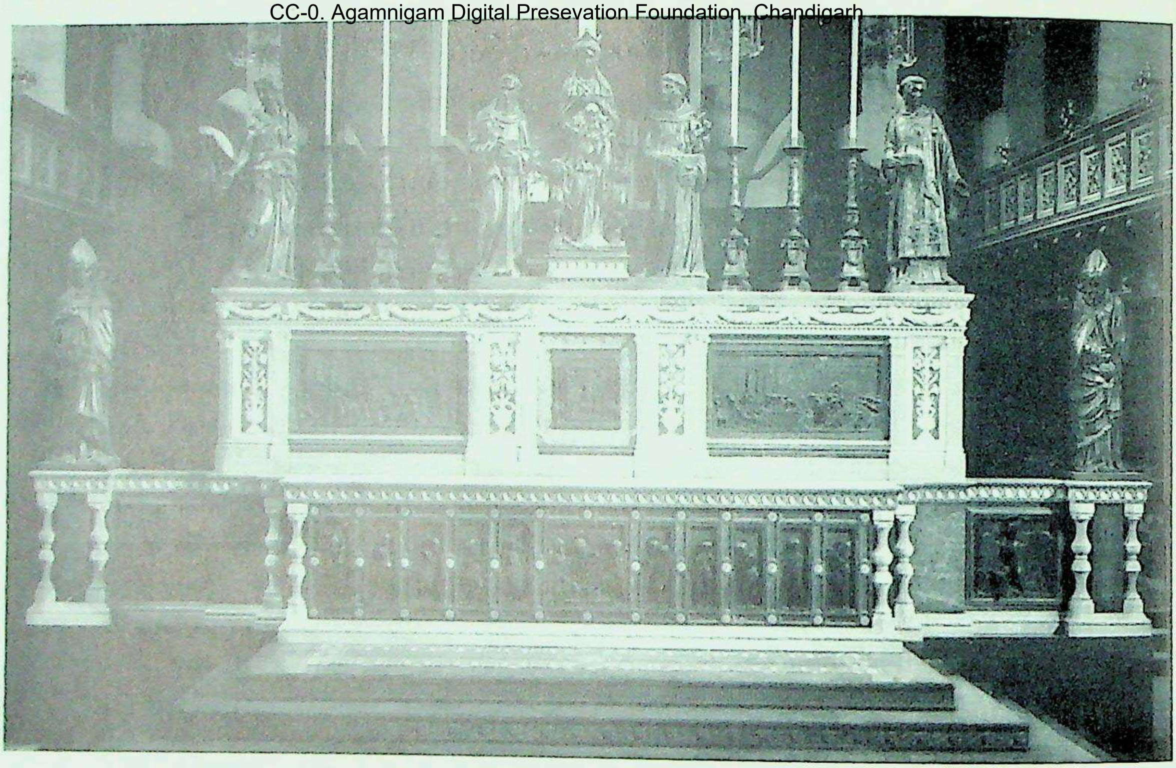

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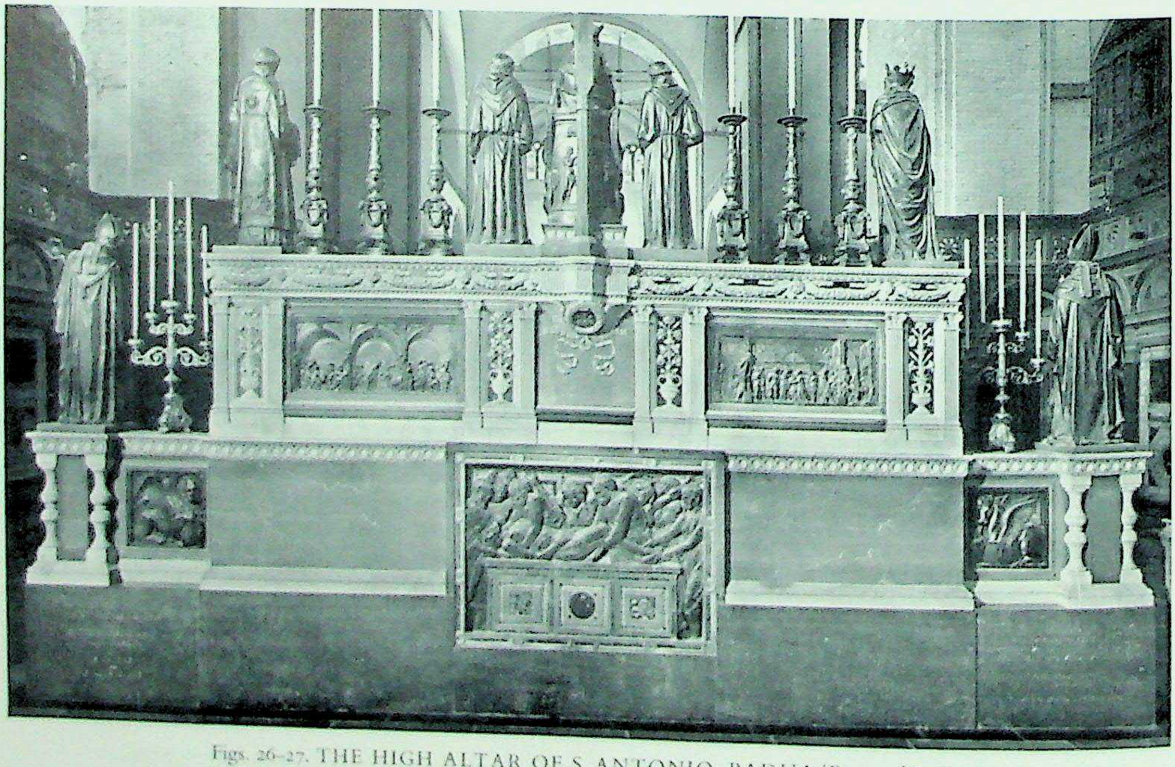

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Figs. 26–27. THE HIGH ALTAR OF S. ANTONIO, PADUA (*Front and Back*).

Roman statuettes when, in the fourteen-twenties, he planned the putti for the tabernacle of the Siena font. Though they formed part of an architectural complex, these little putti (Fig. 134) were fully visible on three of their four sides, and in them Donatello was confronted, albeit on a microcosmic scale, with the problems of pose and ponderation peculiar to free-standing statuary. Not till the fourteen-thirties did he encounter these problems again, and then on a more substantial scale in another putto statue, the Amor-Atys in the Bargello (Fig. 136). By this time he had secured a firmer command of his new medium, and the surface of the figure is treated illusionistically, with special emphasis upon the contrast between the heavy hair and the smooth contours of the face. When, about 1440, Donatello started work on the bronze David, he brought these preconceptions once more into play, showing the hair falling on the shoulders and a winged helmet resting against the inside of the thigh.

The torso of the David was almost certainly inspired by a fragmentary classical bronze statue. The method by which it is constructed, on the other hand, has no precedent in the antique. It rises from a circular base, and is composed on a system of diagonals, with the right leg and left elbow retracted and the left knee and right hand advanced. The left foot is set higher than the right, and the head is slightly turned. Not only are its front and rear views incomparably beautiful, but from whatever position we inspect it the silhouette resolves itself into one lyrical line. Nowadays the making of free-standing statues is regarded as an essential feature of the sculptor's art, but when it was produced the David was an entirely novel work, which must have entailed unparalleled intellectual effort and self-criticism of the most ruthless kind. Its importance was recognized in 1495 when it was moved from the Palazzo Medici to the Palazzo della Signoria, where the marble David was also housed. None the less, it stands apart from the heroic line of David images that leads from Donatello's marble David, through Verrocchio, to the David of Michelangelo. Its sensual, meditative features are fraught with meaning, yet meaning too ambiguous to be defined. Possibly Donatello was familiar with a classical Antinous head, in the light of which his David image was revised.

For the subject of Judith classical models were of no avail, and the difficulty of creating a consistent and acceptable free-standing statue was the greater in that two figures were involved instead of one. On one earlier occasion Donatello had been engaged, with another sculptor, Rosso, in planning a two-figure group of Abraham and Isaac for the Campanile (Fig. 6). In this Isaac was shown kneeling below Abraham with head in profile and one knee protruding from the base. This motif was elaborated thirty-five years later in the Judith. Faced with the commission for the statue, Donatello might well have represented Judith holding a severed head. Instead he chose what no other sculptor in the fifteenth century would have attempted, an active pose, and showed Judith in arrested motion with sword raised, and Holofernes (like the Isaac in the Campanile group) in front of her. In Donatello's hands, however, this momentary action takes on a final character, and the reason for this becomes clear when we examine the construction of the group. The Judith stands on a rectangular cushion set on a triangular base. The front of the cushion and the front of the base are aligned, and from this dominant view (Plate 31) we see Judith in full face with right arm raised; beneath her is the back of Holofernes with head turned in profile to the left. Moving round the statue to the left (Fig. 11) the positions are reversed; Judith is seen in profile and Holofernes in full face. At the back (Fig. 10) the angle of the base protrudes beyond the cushion and is straddled by Holofernes's legs, while on the fourth side (Fig. 9) Judith appears once more in profile treading on Holofernes's wrist. If Donatello had confined himself to devising a group of two figures with four independent faces, this would have been astonishing enough. But the Judith reveals a synthesis of form and content so perfect that each of the four faces enriches its interpretative character, and extends our knowledge of the conflict that is expressed in marvellously graphic fashion in the head. Not only is this in its formal aspect one of the greatest of all statues, but it reaches a level of maturity and penetration which no later sculptor save Michelangelo attains.

The handling of the Judith is freer than that of the figures on the Padua high altar, and in the head of Holofernes (Plate 32) the surface working is reduced, as though roughness of texture were a prerequisite of its effect. This same brusque handling is found again in the late fifties in a bronze statue of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 12) cast for Siena Cathedral. The Siena Baptist is not free-standing like the David and the Judith; rather is it an ultimate derivative of the Campanile statues, impelled by still greater emotional abandon and still stronger nervous force. It seems that Donatello in this last phase of his career grew increasingly intolerant of the barrier of technique, and that this led him on to investigate the possibilities of wooden sculpture. His earliest wooden statue is a figure of St. John the Baptist in the Frari in Venice, carved in 1451 while he was still at Padua; and wood is the medium of his last statue, the St. Mary Magdalen in the Baptistry in Florence (Plate 33, Fig. 13). Here the formal sophistications of the Judith are set aside, and the figure is shown advancing on the right leg with the body slightly turned. When we compare this mystical, introverted image with the marble David of fifty years before, it can be seen that Donatello has worked his way forward to a new conception of the art of sculpture, in which the figure has the extemporized character of a clay model, and is saturated in the sculptor's personality. In this last stage his progress seems to have been due not to objective, rational thought, but to some infinite enrichment of his whole creative machinery. An artist of superhuman capacity, deep-seated convictions, turbulent emotions, boundlessly inventive and inexhaustibly self-analytical, Donatello when he died in 1466 had developed from the lingua franca of Gothic sculpture the language of sculpture as we know it now, had mapped out the future and broken irrevocably with the past, and through unaided intuition had formulated almost all the problems with which later sculptors have been concerned.

Donatello and the Renaissance Relief

We encounter Donatello for the first time as an artist in relief in a carving of St. George and the Dragon on Or San Michele (Fig. 21), set beneath the tabernacle containing the statue of St. George. From the standpoint of construction, technique and narrative, this is a truly revolutionary scene. The tradition of narrative painting in Florence had been laid down by Giotto, and through the fourteenth century Giotto's frescoes in Santa Croce remained a model of coherent story-telling. The tradition of narrative sculpture also stemmed from Giotto, not at first hand but through Andrea Pisano, who in the bronze door of the Baptistry (Vol. I, Plate 43) adhered to a conception of the relief field that was essentially Giottesque. Ignoring the quadrilobe medallion which circumscribed each of his scenes, he set them on a kind of stage thrown out from the flat ground. On this he raised some elementary scenery, with strong horizontal accents and vertical supports, and inside or in front of it he placed the figures, which were planned as little statuettes though they were actually in relief. This type of relief became a norm. When Orcagna after the middle of the century began work on the tabernacle in Or San Michele, he employed it once more in carvings (Vol. I, Plate 53) in which the octagonal frame serves as a window and the scene seems to be set in a real room. The notional space in these reliefs is greater than the actual space, but the relief style is dependent upon physical recession, and the theoretical relationship of the carved figures arises from their real relationship in space. When Nanni di Banco about 1413 carved a narrative relief for the niche of the Quattro Santi Coronati on Or San Michele (Vol. I, Fig. 81), he constructed it in the same way; it shows the side and rear walls of a room and the floorspace between them, and once more it is filled with figures in deep relief which register as statuettes. Immediately to the right of the niche with the Quattro Santi Coronati is Donatello's St. George, and when we walk from one tabernacle to the other, the complete originality of Donatello's relief style becomes manifest.

The main distinction between the two reliefs is that in Donatello's the notional space is greater, while the physical recession is less. So long as the notional depth of a relief was directly related to real depth, its spatial potentialities were limited. But once notional depth was separated from real depth, they could be enormously enhanced. This divorce was achieved by Donatello in the St. George relief. Instead of setting the figures against a flat ground which corresponded to the visual limits of the scene, he projected space through the background, and set the action behind the relief plane, not in front of it. It was linear perspective that made this possible, and in a few inches on the right side of the St. George relief, for the first time since antiquity, linear perspective creeps back into Western art.

The St. George and the Dragon is the first example of *rilievo stiacciato*, or flattened relief, a system of carving in which effects are made through minute variations of surface modelling, and by cutting so shallow that the forms seem to be drawn rather than carved. At this time and for long afterwards *rilievo stiacciato* remained peculiar to Donatello. What was it that led him to explore its possibilities? The motive was probably a double one. Linear perspective was a technique for projecting space, and as it was practised in the first half of the fifteenth century it presupposed the existence of a flat projection plane. Physical recession invalidated the construction, and for that reason if it were to be applied to sculpture, a type of relief which made use of the maximum admissible depth had to be replaced by a new type in which actual depth was reduced to a bare minimum. At the same time the precedent of Roman carvings suggested that movement could be truthfully depicted only in low relief. The introduction of flattened relief therefore enabled Donatello to revive both the use of linear perspective and the conception of the figure in movement established in antiquity. Moreover, the visible world was not confined to the human figure and the buildings in which it dwelt; it was composed of natural forms and light and atmosphere. In the St. George relief Donatello attempted to render all these things, and to render them not in terms of some existing concept but perceptually as they struck the eye. At a time when the earliest of Masaccio's frescoes was still more than five years away, the effects depicted in the background of this scene must have appeared miraculous. Later Donatello advanced further along these lines, but the relief itself records one of the most remarkable advances in sheer seeing that has ever taken place.

In Masaccio's paintings rational methods of pictorial construction bring in their wake a rational attitude to religious iconography; thus the fresco of the Trinity in Santa Maria Novella depicts a symbolic subject in terms of the real world, with God the Father elevated on a platform supporting the Crucified Christ, and the Virgin, prematurely aged by suffering, pointing towards the Cross. Exactly the same development occurs in Donatello. The first relief in which it is apparent is an Assumption of the Virgin (Plate 8) carved for Naples about ten years after the St. George relief. With the subject of St. George and the Dragon there was no stable iconographical tradition from which to break away. With the Assumption of the Virgin, on the other hand, there was just such a tradition, in sculpture and in the immediate past. Behind Orcagna's great tabernacle in Or San Michele was a relief of the Assumption (Vol. I, Fig. 71), where the Virgin was shown seated in an almond-shaped glory, a *mandorla*, attended by six angels with St. Thomas kneeling at one side, and over the north door of the Cathedral Nanni di Banco, when he died in 1421, had left unfinished an Assumption of the Virgin (Vol. I, Plate 98) faithful to the same formula. So far as Donatello was concerned, these two reliefs might never have been carved, and so radically does he reject them that at first sight it is difficult to realize he is portraying the same scene. The *mandorla* has been reduced to an indefinite depression in the centre; the neutral ground has been replaced by clouds; and the Virgin has been transformed into an aged figure, elevated by genii on a small draped seat. Yet no more than with Masaccio's Trinity does the term rational imply prosaic, and Donatello's scene has a visionary intensity that is in the highest degree moving and personal.

This aged Virgin is found again in what is in some respects the most completely realized of Donatello's low reliefs in marble, the Ascension with Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter in London (Plate 7, Fig. 22). Once more there was an iconographical tradition, established by Orcagna in the Strozzi altar-piece in Santa Maria Novella, whereby the keys of heaven were presented to St. Peter by a symbolic Christ. In Donatello's relief it seems that the conventional narrative has been reanimated by a poet of inexhaustible humanity and consummate metrical resource. The centre is filled by a triangle with Christ at its apex and the Virgin and St. Peter at the limits of the base; to the left the apostles are arranged in a descending line, and behind them, in the distance, a receding line of trees leads the eye to the city of Jerusalem. The system of composition recalls that of Masaccio's Tribute Money; the ratio of figures to picture space is almost the same in both, as is the layout with its central Christ and its apostles ranged in a semi-circle on the right and deployed diagonally opposite. But Donatello's scheme is the more progressive of the two. Where Masaccio uses linear perspective to establish the physical validity of the main scene, Donatello not only disposes the sixteen foreground figures rationally in space, but creates round them a sense of distance and recession far greater than the narrative necessitates. The distant panorama and the cloudy sky again capture effects that remained beyond the reach of painters till the extreme end of the century.

For the ancillary figures of the Ascension and Assumption classical models were undoubtedly employed. Our main evidence for Donatello's attitude to the antique, however, is provided by two works on which he was engaged between 1433 and 1439, the singing gallery or Cantoria of the Duomo in Florence (Plate 9, Fig. 20) and the external pulpit of Prato Cathedral (Plate 10). Both are carved with life-size putti and were inspired by Roman sarcophagus reliefs, yet in both the invention is so turbulent that the carvings as they issued from Donatello's brain took on a character that is positively anti-classical. The singing gallery and pulpit were carved at the same time and depend from the same models, but basically they are two different works. The first is a rectangular structure projecting from the wall on carved supports, with a single relief running the whole length of the front. The second is circular, with seven isolated panels. In one the carving is continuous, in the other it is subdivided into separate fields. In the Cantoria the dancing putti are set behind protruding columns, whereas in the pulpit they occupy the front plane of the balustrade, and the carving for this reason is less emphatic and is in shallower relief. But the spirit that infects them is the same; they dance and stamp and sing, they kick and shout with superhuman zest. The unclassical intention behind these orgiastic carvings is reflected in the structures in which they are placed. The ornament and mouldings of the Cantoria are ebullient and baroque, and the pulpit is enriched with a wealth of decorative detail, much of it classical in origin but treated in a spirit that is far from classical.

We receive this same sense of tumultuous inventiveness from the two bronze doors (Fig. 33) which Donatello cast about 1440 for the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo. The doors of Andrea Pisano and Ghiberti on the Baptistry are filled with narrative scenes. Donatello's doors, on the other hand, represent Saints. Each wing of the two doors contains five rectangular reliefs, and each relief contains two figures and no more. These figures might have been represented in stiff equilibrium, but instead Donatello establishes a connection between them. Sometimes this is a conversation on equal terms; sometimes one Saint disturbs another who is meditating at the side; sometimes they meet unexpectedly and salute each other with their palms; and sometimes, as though late for an appointment, they just hurry by. The genesis of this idea is found in the Byzantinizing carvings at the entrance to the Baptistry at Pisa, where Saints and Apostles are represented in pairs in rather the same way. In the twenty panels of the doors, however, this motif is interpreted with a freedom and variety of which no other artist in the fifteenth century save Donatello—and perhaps no other artist at all—would have been capable. Once again this freedom is achieved not merely through exercise of the imagination, but by close study of human gestures and deportment; and the reliefs contain some of the most eloquent dialogues of hands in the whole of art.

In the spandrels of the cupola of Brunelleschi's sacristy, and in corresponding positions on the walls, were eight circular *pietra serena* frames (Fig. 41). Four of these Donatello filled with painted stucco reliefs of the Evangelists, and four with scenes from the legend of St. John. It will suffice to look for a moment at one of the narrative reliefs (Plate 24), the Assumption of St. John. In this linear perspective is used more freely than in the Ascension. The projection plane is set high in the design, leaving a neutral segment in the foreground which is filled with a low wall, and the construction that is projected from this artificial base is of astonishing depth and complexity. The main action takes place between two open loggias filled with figures that stare up into the sky. In the marble reliefs the focus of narrative interest is invariably placed in the centre of the composition on a forward plane. At San Lorenzo, on the contrary, the narrative focus is set in the middle distance at a point determined by the exigencies of the individual scene. Brunelleschi is said to have protested that Donatello's doors and roundels formed a disturbing element in the architectural complex of his sacristy, and it is difficult not to feel some sympathy with him in this view. But the aggressively theoretical construction of the narrative reliefs displays the full range of a technique that was employed again at Padua in the four bronze reliefs for the high altar of the Santo.

Donatello's first bronze statue was cast about 1423 for Or San Michele, and his first bronze relief was made soon after for the Siena font (Plate 17). On Or San Michele he was measuring himself against Ghiberti, and we have already seen how different his conception of the role of the bronze statue was. On the Siena font (Vol. I, Fig. 83) he was again measuring himself against Ghiberti, who contributed two of its six gilt bronze reliefs. On its own terms of reference the more vigorous of these, St. John preaching before Herod (Vol. I, Plate 80), is a reasonably dramatic work, but its idiom is that of International Gothic, and the scene is dramatic only in so far as the limited repertory of gesture and the dance-like movements allow. The terms of reference of Donatello's Banquet of Herod, on the other hand, are realistic. The architecture is solidly constructed, the types are physically convincing, and the action is forthright and direct. On the Siena font, however, Donatello was working in a relief style laid down by Ghiberti, in which the foreground was recessed and the foreground figures were cast in deep relief. For that reason the spatial scheme is less consistent than in the Ascension, and the figure of Salome is more rigid than the corresponding figure in the St. George relief. In bronze, as in marble, it was necessary to flatten the relief, if these faults were to be redressed, for only when its physical recession was reduced, could the principle of continuous action—established in this scene by the Herod shrinking back in horror from the severed head, the reassuring gesture of the man beside him, the nausea of the fellow guest, and the

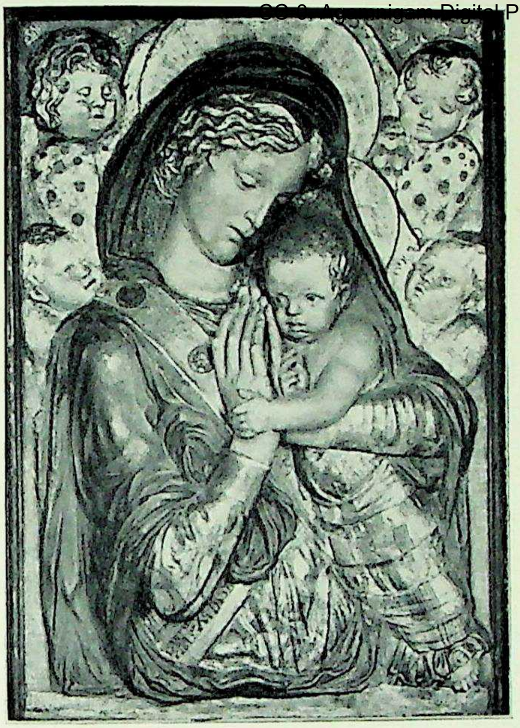


Fig. 28. Donatello: VIRGIN AND CHILD. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (formerly).

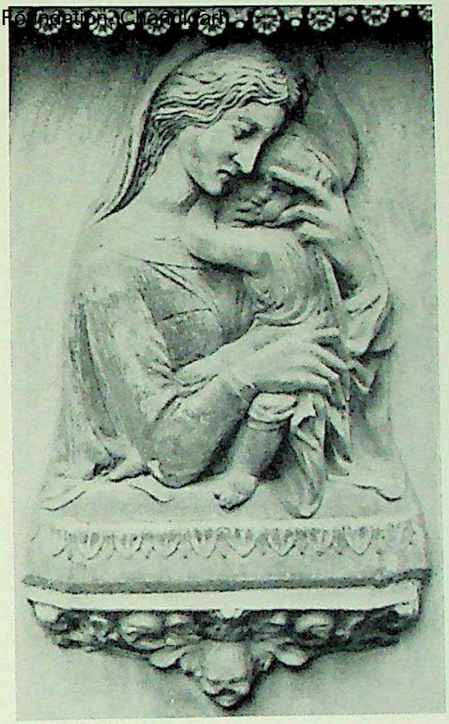


Fig. 29. After Donatello: VIRGIN AND CHILD. Via delle Fogge, Verona.

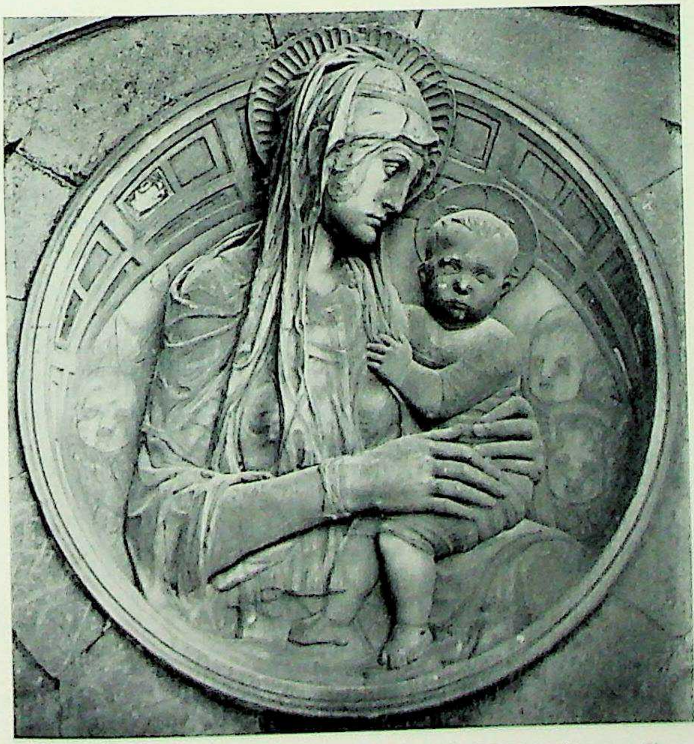


Fig. 30. Workshop of Donatello: VIRGIN AND CHILD. Duomo, Siena.

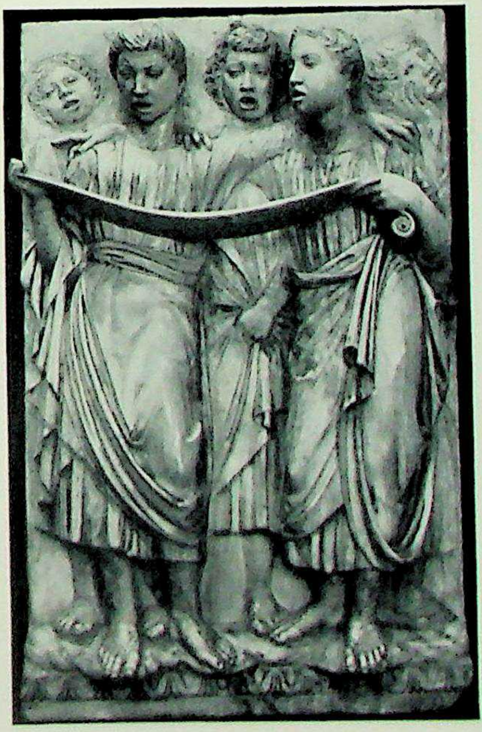


Fig. 31. Luca della Robbia: SINGING BOYS (detail of Cantoria). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

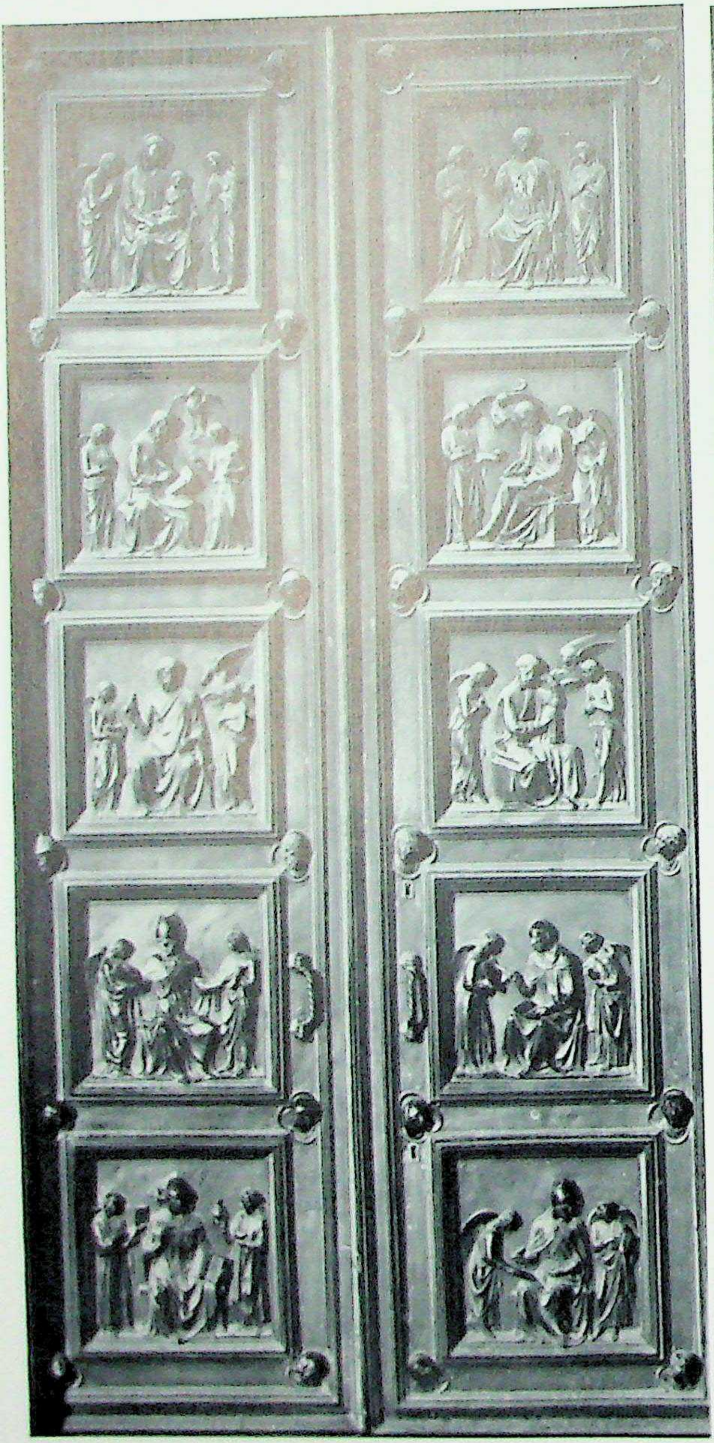


Fig. 32. Luca della Robbia: BRONZE DOOR. Duomo, Florence.

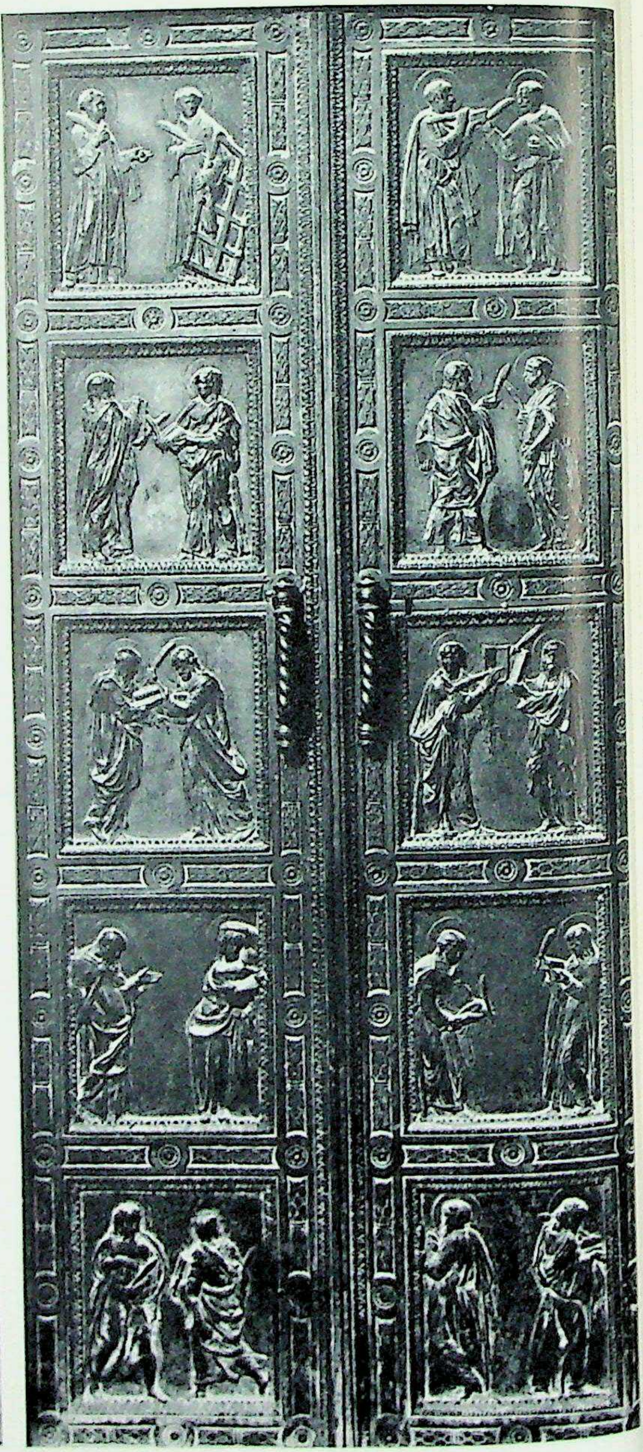


Fig. 33. Donatello: BRONZE DOOR. Sagrestia Vecchia, S. Lorenzo, Florence.

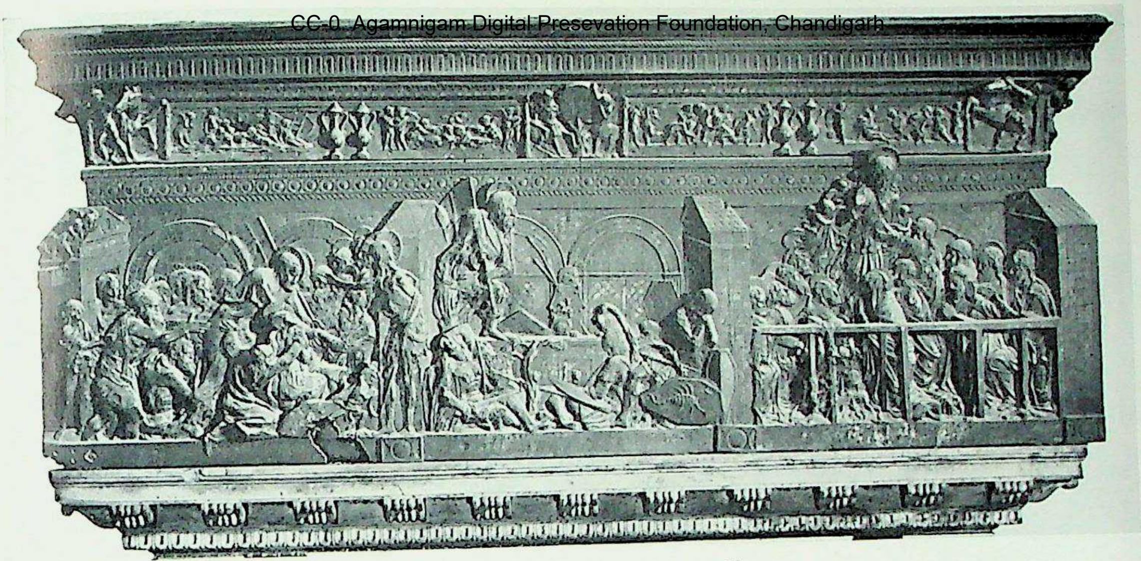


Fig. 34. Donatello: PULPIT. S. Lorenzo, Florence.

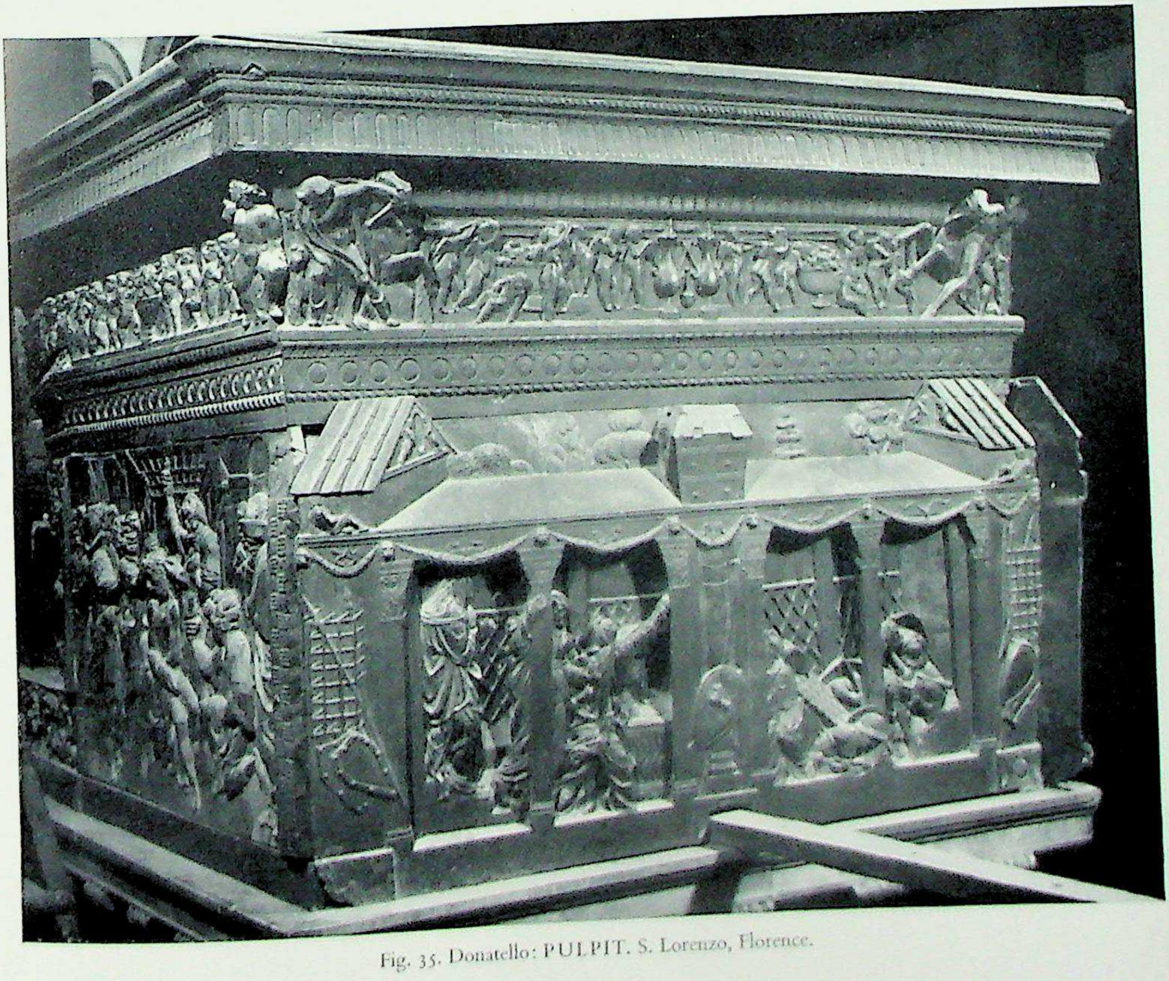


Fig. 35. Donatello: PULPIT. S. Lorenzo, Florence.

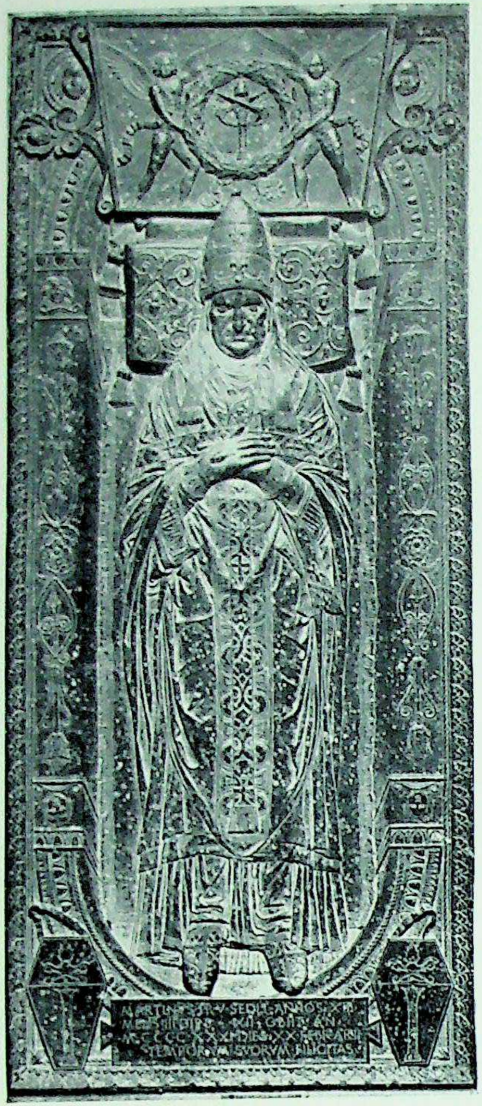


Fig. 36. Donatello: TOMB SLAB OF POPE MARTIN V. St. John Lateran, Rome.

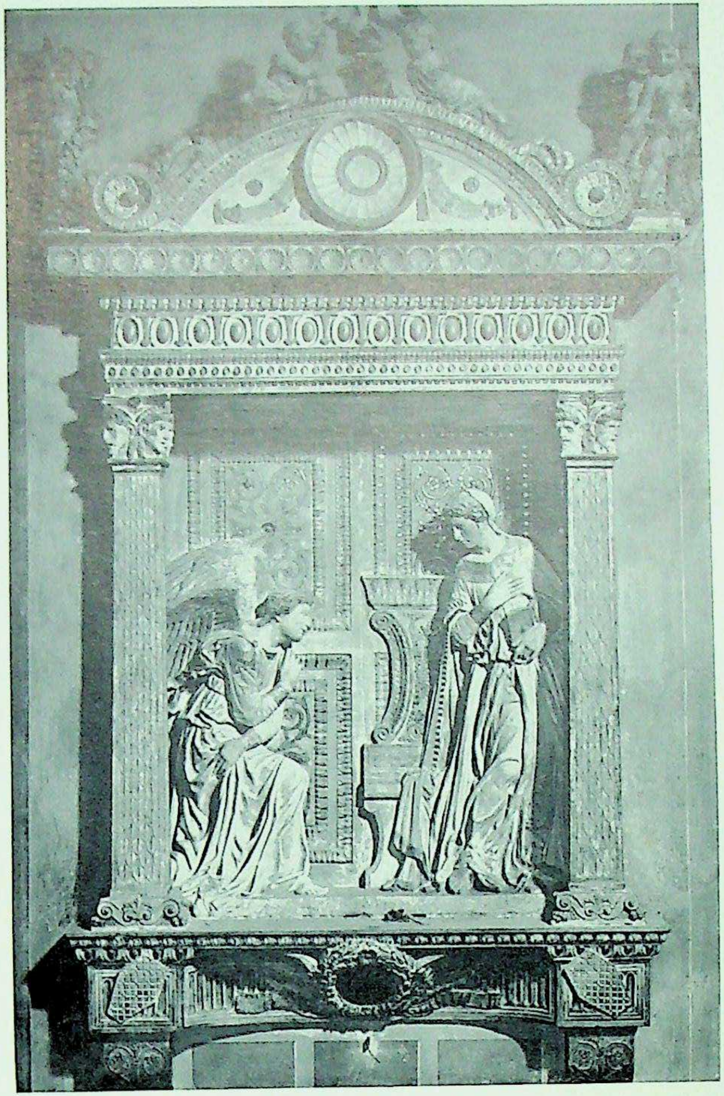


Fig. 37. Donatello: THE ANNUNCIATION. S. Croce, Florence.

two panic-stricken children on the left—register as Donatello intended that it should.

Almost the only orthodox aspect of the Padua altar was that, like a painted altar-piece, it included a predella, with four oblong scenes from the life of St. Anthony, two on the front of the altar and two at the back (Figs. 26, 27). The perspective construction of these scenes is so remarkable that it is tempting to regard them as a spatial vacuum into which figures have been casually introduced. This is a misunderstanding of their style, for in no previous reliefs by Donatello does the pulse beat so fast or the temperature run so high. The iconography is based upon a local source, an abstract of the life of St. Anthony prepared by a Paduan notary in 1433, and it is the local cult, with all its fervour and abandon, that is summed up in Donatello's scenes. The events portrayed are the Saint's most celebrated miracles, the miracle of the new-born child, the miracle of the mule, the miracle of the repentant son, and the miracle of the miser's heart. In each relief the miraculous occurrence fills the centre of the scene, so that we see the thaumaturge facing the mother with her new-born child and the young father standing at the left (Fig. 25), the Saint holding out the host towards the genuflecting mule which neglects the oats proffered by two men behind (Plate 27), the Saint kneeling in profile clasping the foot of the repentant youth (Plate 26, Fig. 23), and the Saint standing at the miser's bier while a group of figures on the extreme left search in a coffer for the dead man's heart (Fig. 24). In the Banquet of Herod at Siena the event is reflected in the faces of the onlookers. This technique is employed again at Padua, in a more ambitious fashion and to far greater effect. There are twenty-six figures in the earliest of the reliefs, and in the latest more than seventy are shown. They raise themselves on every ledge to secure a clearer view, they cling to columns lest they should be trampled by the throng, they crane forward, the old carried by the young, they kneel and prostrate themselves upon the ground. Nowhere in the whole fifteenth century is the contagion of emotional fervour represented with such power and passion as in these extraordinary works.

But (and this is a miracle as well) the emotional turmoil is combined, on Donatello's side, with rigorous intellectual discipline. By the time that he reached Padua, linear perspective had become for Donatello not merely a method of establishing a space illusion, but the means of imposing a unifying pattern on the surface of the relief. In what is chronologically the earliest of the scenes, the Miracle of the New-Born Child, a flat rear wall runs parallel to the projection plane, and the scene is divided into five equal areas, two on the right and left demarcated by projecting walls, and a third, in the centre, marked out by a canopy. In the second scene, the Miracle of the Mule, the field is divided into three equal sections by means of an arcade in front, and the rear wall is pierced by a semi-circular grille or window, through which a second, more distant grille is visible. This curious device has no narrative significance, and represents play of perspective in its purest form. In the third interior relief, actually the latest of the four, the side sections are closed by walls, but the centre shelves sharply away towards a distant doorway at the back. This formula is preserved again in the Miracle of the Repentant Son, which takes place in an amphitheatre, approached from right and left by flights of steps, with a receding central feature in even greater depth. Historically the four reliefs are of great importance. Just as the St. George relief on Or San Michele anticipates Masaccio's use of linear perspective in painting by about eight years, so the Miracle of the Repentant Son anticipates by about the same period of time the perspective scheme employed by Uccello in his fresco of the Flood. Artistically they are unique, for nowhere else do we find this fantastic union of the real and the unreal, the logical and the irrational, of head and heart, of mind and eye.

At this point mention must be made of another type of composition which reached its climax during these Paduan years, the Madonna relief. We have only one authenticated relief of the Virgin and Child by Donatello; it is the size of a florin, and it occurs at the back of the Miracle of the New-Born Son. But there are a number of reliefs on a larger scale for which Donatello must be held responsible. The first of these is the so-called Pazzi Madonna in Berlin (Plate 18), a great square of marble with the Virgin and Child represented at a casement in low relief. This Madonna dates from about 1420, and a very remarkable work it must have seemed when it was carved. At a time when the painted Madonna was still placed on a neutral gold ground, Donatello's Virgin was set in an architectural frame which gave the figures unprecedented actuality. Yet for Donatello this novel realism was not an end, but a means of reaching forward to a more intimate and penetrating presentation of the group. We might expect that later Madonna reliefs by Donatello would preserve this inward looking character, and at the same time reveal the formal preconceptions of his documented works. The first of the disputed reliefs which fulfils these conditions is a painted terracotta Madonna in the Louvre (Plate 19), where the Virgin's head is again shown in profile gazing seemingly into the future, and the Child, who is held away from her, looks out meditatively to the left as well. The poses of the figures, both turned in the same direction at the extremities of the relief, relate it to the panels of the doors in the Old Sacristy, and on that account there is a strong presumption that it dates from shortly before Donatello moved to Padua.

In the Virgin and Child on the Padua altar, the Child is contained within the Virgin's silhouette, and in two Madonna reliefs Donatello experiments along these lines. The first is a painted terracotta formerly in Berlin (Fig. 28), where the Child is propped against the Virgin's breast and the Virgin's hands are clasped in prayer. From a formal point of view this resolution of the figures as a pyramid is one of the most satisfactory inventions of its time. In a second relief of the same period—the Verona Madonna (Fig. 29), which is known only through copies—it was employed once more. After he returned to Florence the story of Donatello's Madonna compositions becomes less clear, though a gilded terracotta relief in London seems to have been modelled at about this time. There is also one marble relief for the cartoon of which he must have been responsible (Fig. 30). This is over the side door of Siena Cathedral, and shows the Virgin and Child in an *œil-de-bœuf*, with the Virgin's head protruding through the window at the front. It is in marble, but Donatello, who was then over seventy, had virtually abandoned marble carving by that time, and it was largely carved by an assistant. If, however, we disregard the stolid cherubs and sullen Child, there can be little doubt that in the heroic Judith figure in the centre we have Donatello's last thoughts on this theme.

There is always a temptation to romanticize a great artist's old age. With Donatello this need not be resisted, since we have proof of unwonted restlessness in the last phase of his life. In Padua he was ill at ease and anxious to return to Florence. Back in Florence, he decided to make his home permanently in Siena. But Siena in turn disappointed him, and he returned to Florence once more. There leadership in sculpture had passed to a number of young artists, marble sculptors of incomparable skill, who fundamentally were out of sympathy with the committed character of Donatello's art. Between 1453 and 1466 Donatello was engaged on two works which were planned as aggregations of bronze reliefs. The first of them was the bronze door of Siena Cathedral. This project proved abortive, and though Donatello stayed for upwards of two years in Siena, the Cathedral was left without bronze doors. The second is his last great masterpiece, the pulpits in San Lorenzo (Figs. 34, 35), where his relief style is suddenly revised.

The pulpits are unfinished, and the reliefs designed for them are best regarded as a Passion sequence, but a Passion sequence of a rather special kind. It begins with the Agony in the Garden, Christ before Caiaphas and Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion, Deposition and Entombment, the Marys at the Sepulchre, the Resurrection, Christ in Limbo, Christ appearing to the Apostles, and Pentecost, and includes one extraneous scene, the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence to whom the church was dedicated. The scale varies from scene to scene, but the reliefs are about double the height of the reliefs at Padua, so that the figures, even where they are smallest, are considerably larger, and where they are large are more fully modelled than any in the Padua reliefs. The reliefs with small figures seem to precede those with large. It appears that Donatello wished increasingly to project his scenes towards the spectator with the greatest violence he could command. To some extent this was bound up with the function the reliefs fulfilled. The predella of an altar was visible only to the priest or to those who went up to inspect it, whereas pulpit reliefs were intended for the congregation, and must for this reason be legible from some distance away. Consequently in the earlier reliefs the space construction is not theoretical, as it had been at Padua, but a synthesis of theoretical and actual space, and in the later scenes, like the Christ appearing to the Apostles on the second pulpit (Fig. 34), the rear wall is treated as a backcloth, and the scene takes place in front of it in actual space marked out by walls projecting from the relief plane. The most advanced of the compositions from this point of view is the Three Marys at the Sepulchre (Fig. 35), where the scene is set in a protruding building, complete with roof, front, sides and back.

The iconography of Donatello's earliest reliefs sprang from a reaction against conventional religious symbolism; the image owed its authority solely to the imagination of the artist. The pulpit reliefs in San Lorenzo are also entirely without precedent; they form indeed the only case in the whole fifteenth century in which an artist portrayed a cycle of scenes from the New Testament with complete originality. How far the convictions embodied in them were personal to Donatello may be judged from the fact that they were never followed by other sculptors, and even today there is something disconcerting in the physical insistence of their imagery. In the unruly Deposition (Plate 34) the three crosses recede diagonally through the picture space, so that one thief is cut off at the shoulders, while the other is severed at the knees. Beside the central cross stands Nicodemus meditating on the nails, and in front a throng of mourners press round the dead Christ. The relief of the Entombment was not modelled by Donatello, and he takes up the story again with the Three Marys at the Sepulchre (Plate 36). Here the setting is clear enough, an open loggia with two rows of columns set against a fence, with trees visible over the roof. To the right are the sleeping soldiers, in the centre is a classical sarcophagus, and on the left the angel, with back turned to the spectator and a preternaturally long right arm, announces the tidings of the Resurrection to the heavily draped women who drag themselves wearily towards the tomb. On the front of this pulpit is the Resurrection (Plate 37), but once more it is a Resurrection that has no precedent; its protagonist is not the young victorious figure of Piero della Francesca or Castagno, but a harrowed Christ, His grave clothes carefully portrayed, stepping furtively out of the tomb. To the left of this scene (Plate 35) the worn, persecuted figure carries His message of redemption to the emaciated souls in Limbo like a liberator bringing succour to the inmates of some prison camp.

These reliefs introduce us to a world of feeling which no other artist penetrated in the fifteenth century, and to which few have been admitted since. Analogies (for with works of this stature we must seek analogies rather than parallels) may be found in the sixteenth century in the work of Tintoretto, who at Santo Stefano and San Cassiano and San Rocco was impelled by an overpowering emotional response to adopt some of the expedients used by Donatello in the pulpits, and in the seventeenth century in Rembrandt's etchings, where the Deposition by Torchlight and the last great Entombment re-create the climate of Donatello's Marys at the Sepulchre and its companion scenes. But neither with Tintoretto nor with Rembrandt do we feel ourselves trespassers among private beliefs and personal emotions, as we do in San Lorenzo when we read the pages where an artist's soul is for the first time laid bare.

Luca della Robbia

In the preface to the *Della Pittura* Alberti describes how, on his return to Florence from exile in 1434, he has 'come to understand that in many men . . . there is a genius for accomplishing every praiseworthy thing.' The sources of this lesson were an architect, Brunelleschi, a painter, Masaccio, and three sculptors, Donatello, Ghiberti and Luca della Robbia. Luca della Robbia was born in Florence in 1399 or 1400. Where he was trained we do not know, but there is one marble sculptor of whose creative procedure we are constantly reminded by his later work. This is Nanni di Banco, who had died in 1421 leaving his four Santi Coronati (Vol. I, Plate 96) standing *all'antica* in their niche on Or San Michele, his relief of the Assumption (Vol. I, Plate 98) unfinished on the Porta della Mandorla, and his seated figure of St. Luke (Vol. I, Fig. 34) on the façade of the Cathedral. The St. Luke in particular seems to have haunted Luca della Robbia, and years later it served as a spring-board when he came to design his figures of Apostles in the Pazzi Chapel. What holds good for Luca's figure style holds good also for his narrative reliefs. He was faithful to Nanni di Banco's relief style long after it had been abandoned by other artists, and in 1439, when he carved the unfinished predella of the St. Peter altar in the Duomo, he still employed the idiom Nanni di Banco had used beneath the Santi Coronati a quarter of a century before. There is thus a strong presumption that Luca was trained by Nanni di Banco. Certainly he was an established marble sculptor by 1431, when he was awarded the commission for a major work, the Cantoria of the Cathedral.

Luca's Cantoria (Fig. 19) was moved at the end of the seventeenth century from its position high above the door of the north sacristy, and much of the framing, though not the supporting consoles, has disappeared. But it has been established that the reliefs in the upper section of the front were originally separated from each other by pairs of small pilasters. Not only does this same detail occur in the portico of the Pazzi Chapel designed by Brunelleschi at about this time, but the proportions of the upper section of the portico have much in common with those of the upper section of the reconstructed Cantoria. Since Brunelleschi's was the guiding hand in the Duomo when the Cantoria was commissioned, we may be confident that the gallery, if not actually designed by Brunelleschi, owes its form to Brunelleschi's influence. Certainly the conception was one of deep significance, for this was the first case in the fifteenth century in which a classical architectural project was enriched with sculptured decoration, and a sculptor was presented with the problem of evolving an appropriate figure style. Let us look for a moment at the way in which Luca della Robbia set about his task.

The Cantoria sculptures illustrate Psalm 150, and consist of ten reliefs, four on the front of the gallery, two at the ends, and four between the consoles. There are two main documents relating to the sculptures. The first tells us that in 1434 four reliefs, two large and two small, were complete. The second dates from 1435, when it was resolved that the sums paid to the sculptor should be increased, because work on the carvings then in progress was more arduous than it had been, and the carvings themselves were more beautiful. When we carry these documents round with us to the Opera del Duomo, the story of the Cantoria reliefs becomes relatively plain. In the first place there are only two small reliefs, the reliefs on the ends of the gallery, and these must therefore be among the earliest of the sculptures. In the second place the increased payment of 1435 could arise only from technical change, and a technical change in the form of cutting in greater depth is evident in certain of the carvings. The two carvings of singing boys from the ends of the gallery (Plate 43, Fig. 31) are couched in the serene classical language in which Luca habitually speaks. Yet for all the freshness of their inspiration these are tentative reliefs, as we discover soon enough when we try to determine the connection between the heads in the background to right and left and the feet beneath, or explain the exaggeratedly long arms with which the forward figures embrace. The documents do not specify which of the large reliefs were executed at this same time, but a clue to this is offered by the reliefs themselves, for when we look at all eight of them in sequence we notice that there is a change in scale. In six the relation of the putto to the relief field is uniform, but in two it varies, once no more than slightly but in the second case in a most striking way. In the six uniform reliefs the children fill the whole height of the field, whereas in the eighth the seated children, if they stood up, would be little more than half its height. Midway between the two types falls another of the reliefs, where the standing figures appear younger, and the seated figures have begun to grow. Significantly enough, it is the six reliefs with full-size children that are the most deeply cut.

What was the reason for the change? The reason in a word was Donatello, who after 1433 was engaged upon the Prato pulpit and the second Cantoria, and had addressed himself to the task of devising a relief style which would register from the height at which his reliefs were to be placed. The architectural sections of Donatello's Cantoria are instilled with an exuberance foreign to Luca's scheme. But Luca none the less was influenced by Donatello's boisterous figure style. This is reflected in deeper cutting and in the use of movement. Suddenly Luca's putti, like Donatello's, start to dance (Plate 41), not with the Bacchanalian zest of the putti on the Prato pulpit, but sedately, with short firm steps. The relief in which the dancing children come closest to Donatello is the Trumpeters (Plate 42), where three little girls in the centre seem for a moment to have thrown off all restraint. Yet paradoxically enough it is this same relief that shows most clearly the essential difference between the personalities of the two artists. Where Donatello's figures establish a continuous rhythmic pattern, Luca's are enclosed within a static frame, and the trumpeters themselves, their instruments held to their lips, establish the firm system of verticals and horizontals on which his compositions from first to last depend.

The term 'from first to last' is no hyperbole. When we turn to the Federighi monument (Plate 47) which Luca designed for San Pancrazio in 1455, we find that the same principles are worked out on a larger scale. Nine years go by, and Luca begins work on the reliefs of the bronze door of the Cathedral (Fig. 32), in which the frame was designed by Michelozzo under the inspiration of Donatello's doors in San Lorenzo. Whereas in Donatello's doors the function of the frame is to link each scene to the next, in Luca's the moulding shuts in the scenes, and each relief is constructed with its familiar system of verticals and horizontals as a unit independent of the rest. The bronze door, if not literally the end, is virtually so, since it was completed in 1469, and in 1482, at the age of over eighty, Luca della Robbia died.

Luca may have produced other works in bronze and marble, but if he did so, they have not survived, and after about 1440 the emphasis within his work shifts to a third medium, enamelled terracotta. From Vasari's day down to our own the legend has held currency that Luca's works in enamelled terracotta were an inexpensive substitute for works in other mediums, and were glazed in order to protect them from decay. The truth is the inverse of this, that enamelled terracotta was used initially not as a substitute for marble sculpture, but in contexts in which marble sculpture would have been inapposite, and that the

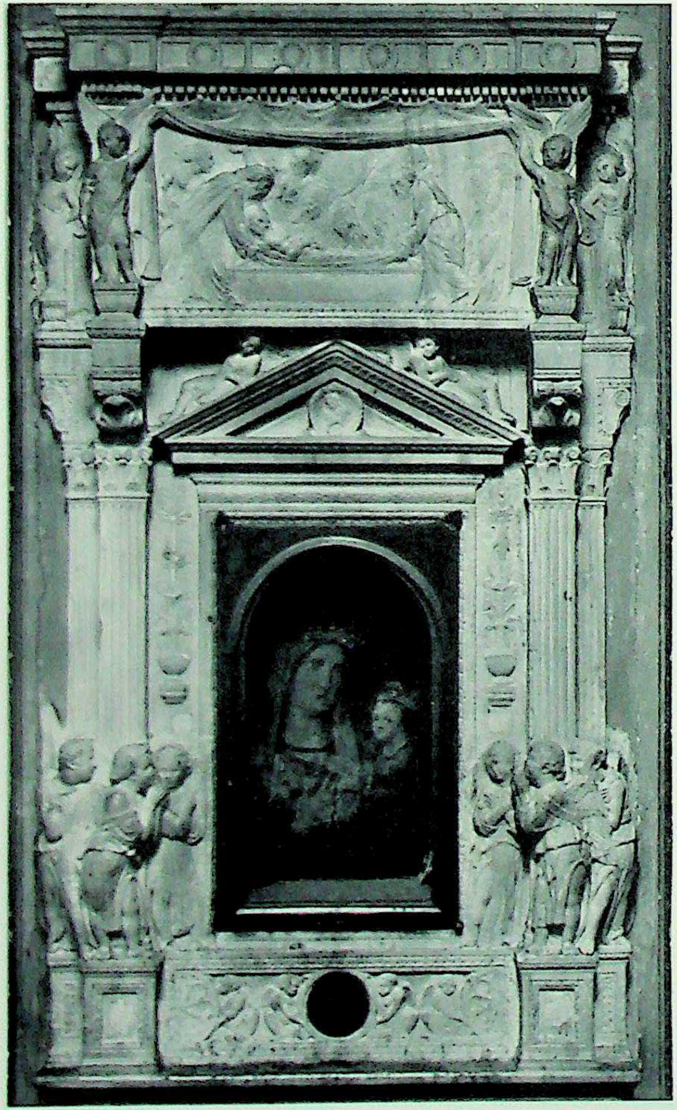


Fig. 38. Donatello: TABERNACLE. Sagrestia dei Beneficiati, St. Peter's, Rome.

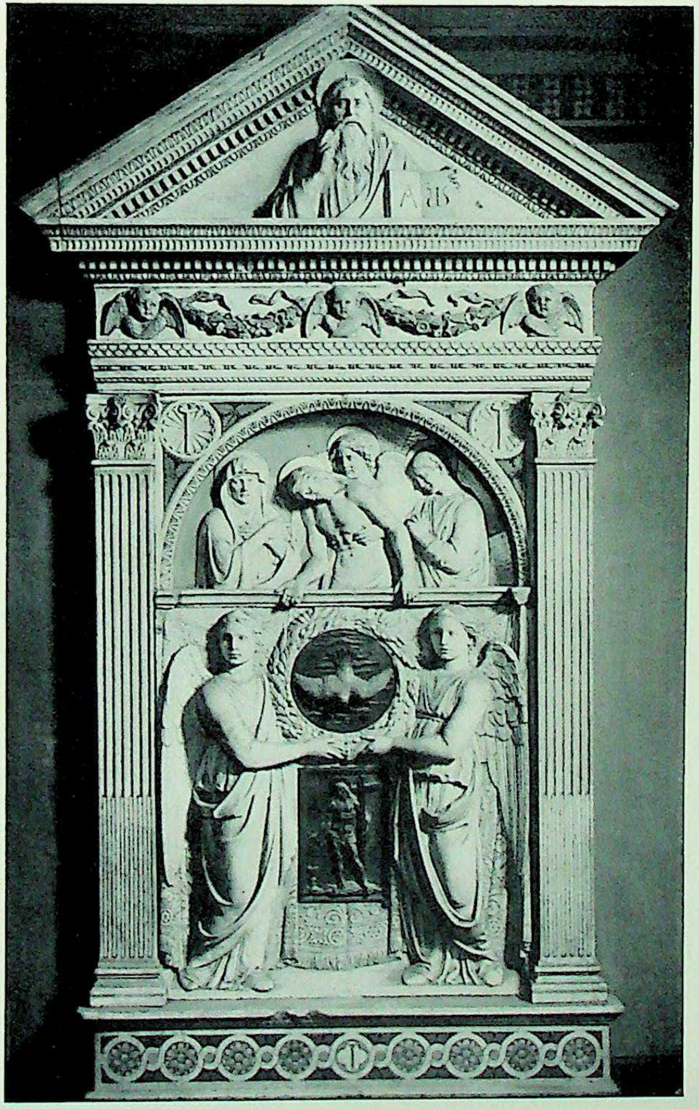


Fig. 39. Luca della Robbia: TABERNACLE. Peretola.

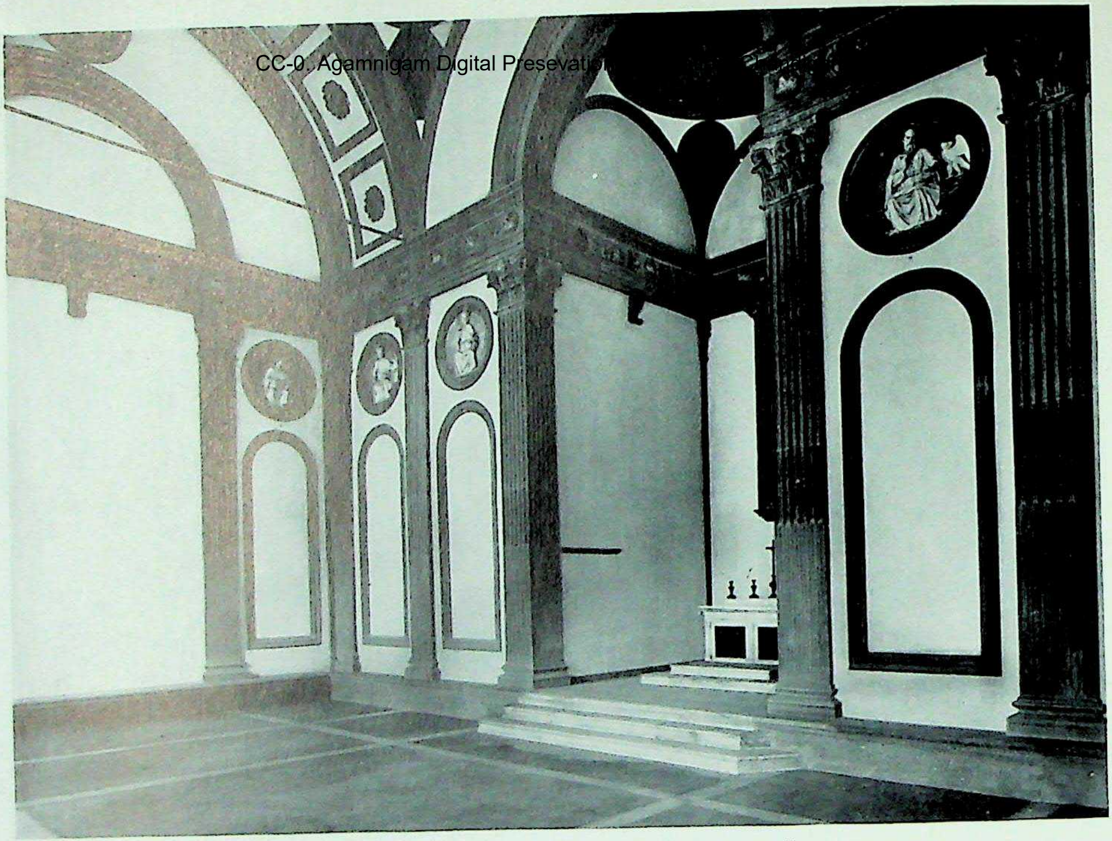


Fig. 40. Brunelleschi: THE PAZZI CHAPEL. S. Croce, Florence.

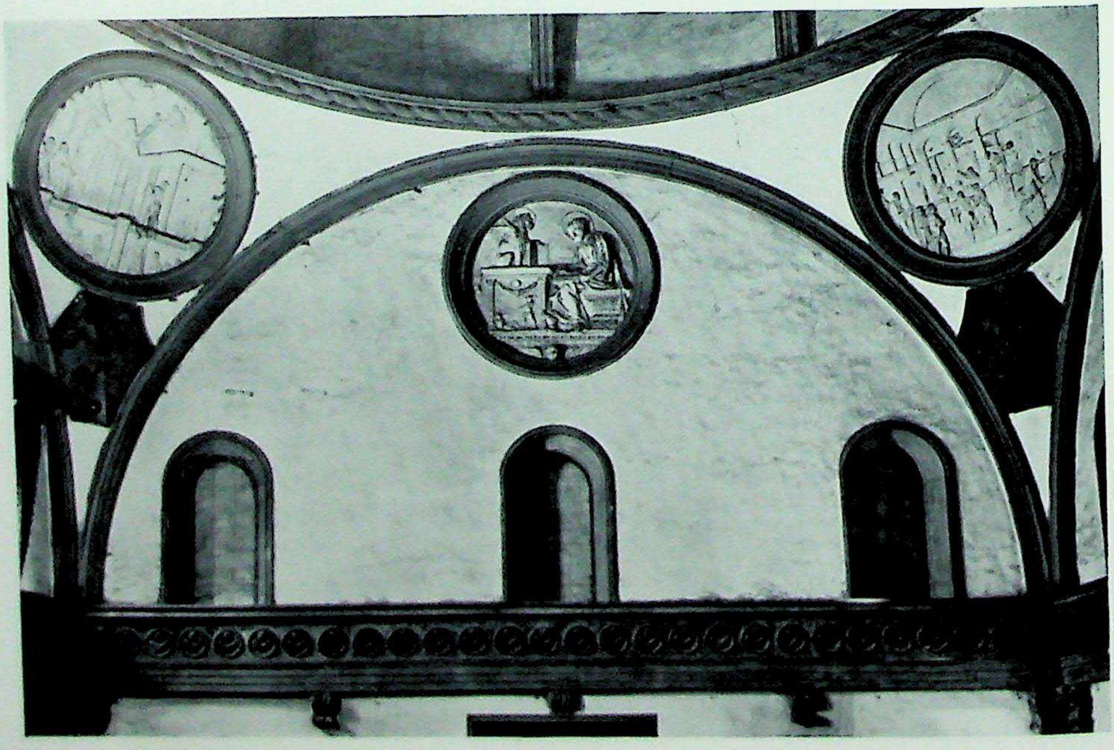
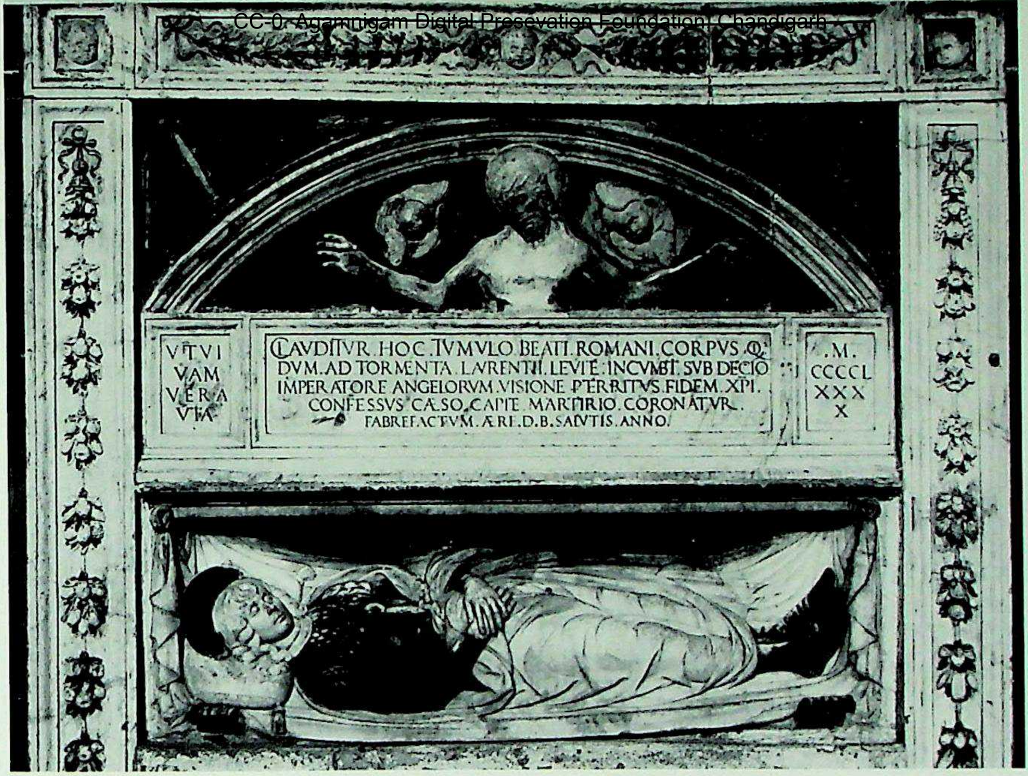


Fig. 41. Brunelleschi: THE OLD SACRISTY. S. Lorenzo, Florence.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FABREFACTVM AERE D.B. SALVTIS ANNO.
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Fig. 42. Matteo Civitali: THE TOMB OF SAN ROMANO. S. Romano, Lucca.

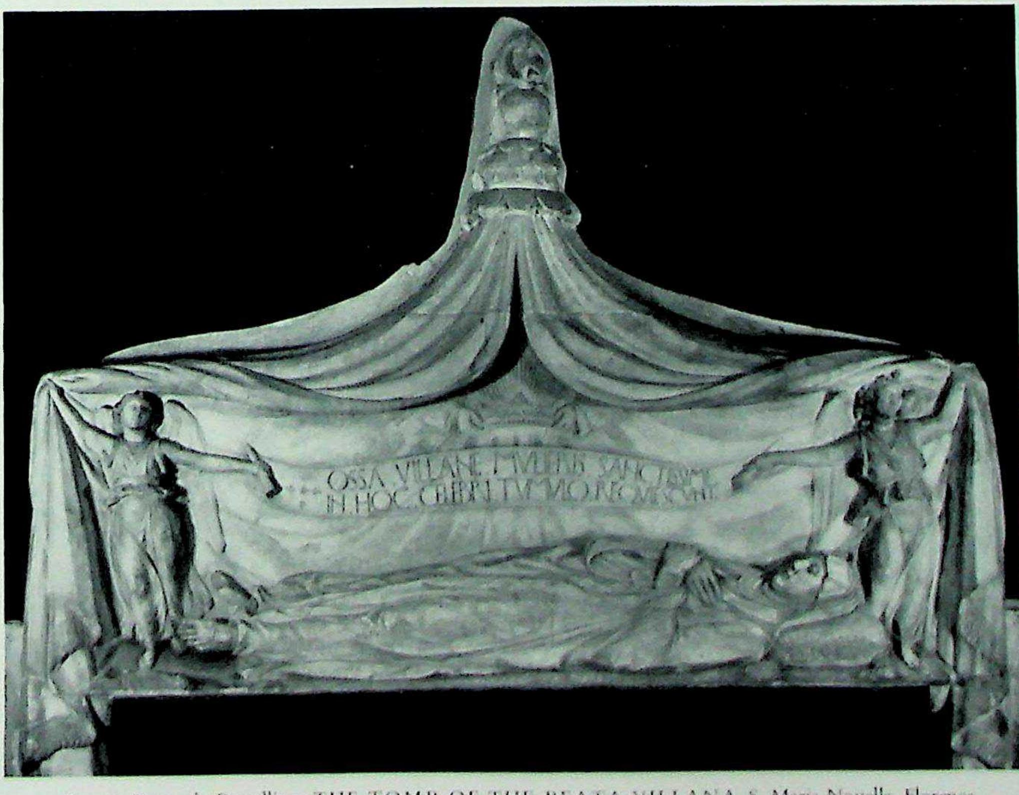
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Fig. 43. Bernardo Rossellino: THE TOMB OF THE BEATA VILLANA. S. Maria Novella, Florence.

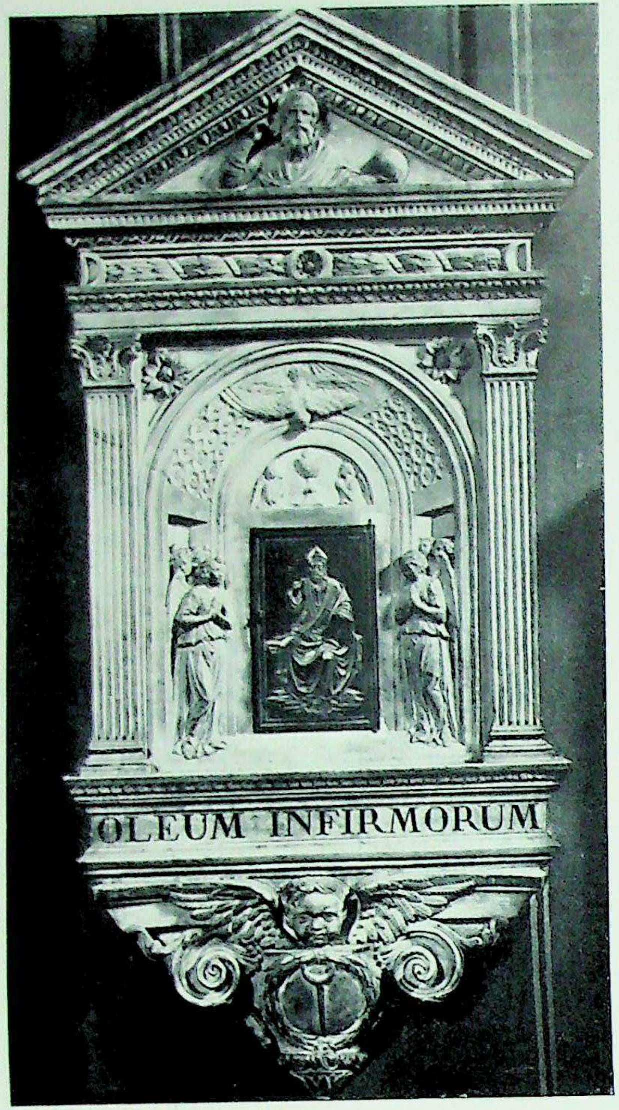
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Fig. 44. Bernardo Rossellino: TABERNACLE. S. Egidio, Florence.

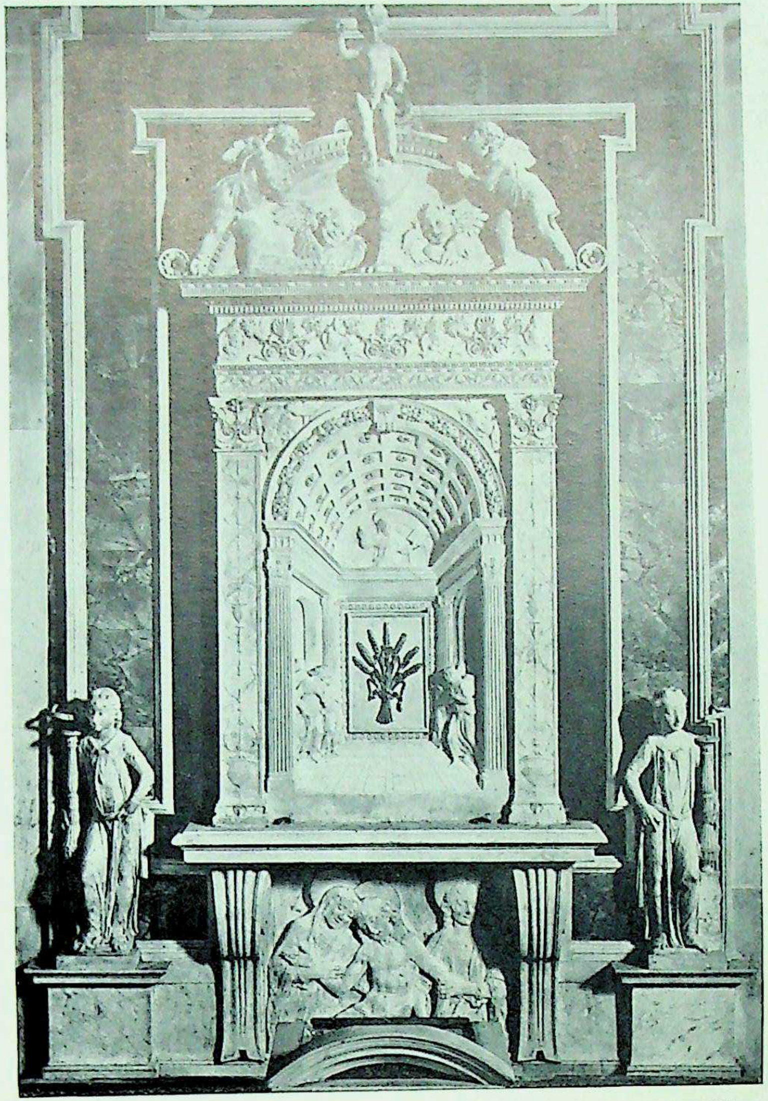

Fig. 45. Desiderio da Settignano: THE ALTAR OF THE SACRAMENT. S. Lorenzo, Florence.

function of the glaze in the first instance was colouristic and not preservative. On both these points the works speak for themselves.

The first dated work in which enamelled terracotta is employed is a tabernacle from Santa Maria Nuova in Florence, now at Peretola (Fig. 39), on which Luca was engaged between 1441 and 1443. Its design once more is Brunelleschan, and the style of the beautiful victory angels in the centre conforms exactly to that of the Cantoria reliefs. Certainly there is no question of the substitution of one medium for another here; the tabernacle is made of marble, and the use of enamelled terracotta is limited to blue inlay behind the marble group in the lunette, to the spandrels above, and to a polychrome strip of cherub heads beneath the pediment. The enamelled terracotta fulfils no organic function, but adds the ancillary element of colour to the rather frigid scheme. For reasons which are not hard to divine, the tabernacle remained *sui generis*, and only in two later works by Luca, the Federighi monument and the chapels at Impruneta, are enamelled terracotta and marble juxtaposed. But in the more elevated sphere of architecture, in Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel, glazed terracotta plays precisely the same role as in the tabernacle.

Almost from the first Brunelleschi seems to have made provision in his interiors for some form of sculptured decoration. The earliest building in which this is apparent is the Old Sacristy in San Lorenzo (Fig. 41), which contained in the spandrels four circular spaces framed in pietra serena, and equivalent spaces, at the same height, over the altar arch and on the three remaining walls. The old sacristy was completed in 1428, but the eight circular fields were left unfilled till the late thirties, when Donatello modelled for them four stucco reliefs of the Evangelists and four scenes from the life of St. John. These same fields are present in the Pazzi Chapel (Fig. 40). There are seventeen of them in all, filled with enamelled terracotta roundels, four in the spandrels with the Evangelists, twelve round the walls with the Apostles, and one on the outer wall over the entrance with St. Andrew, the patron of the chapel. The presence of the twelve frames round the walls can hardly be fortuitous, and from the first the mouldings must have been conceived as frames for a cycle of Apostles. When the problem of filling the frames in the Old Sacristy arose, the minds of Brunelleschi and Donatello reverted to antiquity, and pigmented stucco was chosen as the medium of the reliefs. There was no precedent in Florence for employing stucco in this way; and since stucco was not employed again in Florence for quite this purpose, we must conclude that the experiment was not looked on as a success. The reliefs in the Old Sacristy were presumably completed before Donatello left Florence for Padua in 1443, and in that year the structure of the Pazzi Chapel was already far advanced. Luca's enamelled terracotta roundels, therefore, must date from about the time when the failure of the stucco decoration of the Old Sacristy was becoming evident.

The roundels in the Pazzi Chapel fall into two groups, one of them the reliefs of the Evangelists (Fig. 3) set in the spandrels, and the other the reliefs of the Apostles (Plate 46) round the walls. So far as concerns the Apostle roundels, the issue of authorship is a comparatively simple one. Vasari ascribes all of them to Luca della Robbia, and there is no reason to dispute his view that we have here to do with thirteen autograph works. With the Evangelists there is no such certainty. Two hypotheses have been advanced, the first that the Evangelists were modelled by Brunelleschi and glazed by Luca della Robbia, and the second that they were additions to the scheme, and were made in the fourteen-sixties by some unknown artist. This latter view is based on the assumption that the palette of the earliest enamelled terracottas was limited to white and blue, and that the rather garish polychromy of the Evangelists is in itself evidence of a late date. The Peretola tabernacle of 1441, however, employs almost all the colours used in the roundels, and the Donatellesque style of the reliefs would be far harder to account for in 1460 than in 1442. Moreover, their glazing is cruder and less accomplished than the glazing in mature reliefs by Luca or the later members of his workshop, and they make use of a naturalistic pale-blue ground; it is as though the frames were windows and the figures themselves were seen against the sky. This is not a happy device, and in the Apostle roundels on the walls and all subsequent roundels of this type it is abandoned in favour of a neutral, deep-blue ground. The balance of probability, therefore, is that the Evangelists were modelled soon after 1440 by Brunelleschi and glazed in Luca's studio. It is generally claimed that Luca della Robbia must have worked in enamelled terracotta long before the making of the Peretola tabernacle. But if the technique was still unknown when the decorations in the Old Sacristy were planned, and was still experimental when the spandrels of the Pazzi Chapel came to be filled, it must be concluded that there are no enamelled terracottas before the earliest datable examples, and that the technique of enamelled terracotta was worked out by Luca della Robbia at Brunelleschi's instance for architectural use.

The reliefs of the Apostles are works of great elevation and nobility. The roundels are slightly concave, and the background is sometimes a uniform deep blue, and sometimes consists of blue concentric circles like those in the frieze beneath the tabernacle. Each figure sits on a ledge of cloud, with the feet supported on a cloud beneath, and almost the only touch of colour in the white raised surfaces occurs in the green cross held by St. Andrew over the entrance door. Within their deliberately restricted range, the poses reveal great variety, and an instinctive sense for the circular form of the reliefs. It has sometimes been suggested that the Apostle roundels in the Pazzi Chapel were executed at a considerably later date, in conjunction with Luca's nephew Andrea, who was not born till 1435. But over and above the fact that Andrea's saccharine touch is not evident in the reliefs, there is one overwhelming argument against this view, and that is their connection with a securely dated work, the Resurrection relief in the Cathedral (Plate 44), which was commissioned by Brunelleschi in 1443 and was completed in 1445. The relief is placed above the doorway of the north sacristy, below the position originally occupied by the Cantoria, and fills a Gothic lunette. The lunette is comparatively high and is inadequately lit, and on both counts the use of marble would have been inappropriate. More than this, the relief, like the roundels in the Pazzi Chapel, supplies a point of colouristic emphasis in the cold architecture of the church. Countless writers on Luca della Robbia have drawn attention to the relation between this relief and the Resurrection by Ghiberti on the first bronze door. A relationship there unquestionably is, but it is one of composition not of style. Ghiberti's Christ is an insubstantial Gothic spectre rising phantomlike from the sarcophagus, whereas Luca's is a static, boldly modelled figure, wearing a robe resolved in antique folds.

In 1446, a year after the Resurrection was completed, a corresponding relief of the Ascension (Plate 45) was commissioned from Luca for the lunette over the door of the south sacristy, but it was not begun immediately, and was not completed till 1451. In this scene rather surprisingly Luca does take a leaf out of Ghiberti's book, and uses the Christ from Ghiberti's Resurrection as the basis of his own ascending Christ. As a result the composition becomes less classical. The palette also undergoes a change. In the Resurrection the modelled areas are white and the ground is blue, and colour is confined to the eyes of the figures and to surface gilding. In the Ascension, on the other hand, the trees are green and the ground is a smudgy greenish brown, so that the whole effect is less homogeneous and less forcible. Perhaps these changes are connected with the fact that Brunelleschi died after the completion of the first and before the commencement of the second of the reliefs.

Once the technique of enamelled terracotta was brought to the consummate state in which we find it in the Pazzi Chapel roundels, there was no reason why it should be limited to architectural use. It could be employed for free-standing figures, like the beautiful pyramidal group of the Visitation at Pistoia, which dates from before 1445, and for reliefs planned in the same schematic way. It is difficult to describe these works, so simple and expressive and restrained, without striking that note of over-emphasis, that suspicion of excessive sentiment which Luca himself, in his own autograph reliefs, avoids with such success.

Luca's Madonnas reveal him from a formal point of view as one of the most fertile sculptors of the fifteenth century. Never does he repeat a composition, never does his invention flag, and in work on an extended scale like the beautiful Stemma of the Guild of Doctors and Apothecaries on Or San Michele (Plate 48), he produces a design which would not have shamed Domenico Veneziano. From below the effect of this relief is mainly decorative. But when we look at it more closely (and owing to the height at which it is set that can be done only in photograph) we find that the treatment of the central group is one of extraordinary subtlety. Indeed to those who approach Renaissance sculpture from the standpoint of the present day, and derive their satisfaction from abstract relationships of form, Luca della Robbia must speak more directly than any fifteenth-century Italian sculptor, not excluding Donatello.

As Luca aged, his style became more linear, and its decorative tendency grew more pronounced. When, for example, he was required to fill the little cupola of the loggia in front of the Pazzi Chapel, years after the roundels inside had been completed, he produced an astonishing design with the Pazzi arms in the centre inside a wreath of flowers and fruit, and outside it four concentric circles of medallions bounded by laurel wreaths. It was in this same spirit that he approached the commission for the ceiling of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at San Miniato al Monte. The ceiling (Fig. 65) shows in the centre the Holy Spirit, with seven candlesticks ranged round it, and in the corners in roundels the Virtues of Prudence, Temperance (Plate 49), Fortitude and Justice. The roof is slightly arched, and the five medallions are set on a surface of flat tiles. But the intention is illusionistic, and the tiles read as green and yellow cubes, while the four medallions of the Virtues are surrounded by circles of blue scales which suggest that each of them is recessed above a little cupola. Only when one of the roundels in the chapel is juxtaposed with one of the Apostle roundels, does it become clear how fundamentally Luca's style has changed. The Apostles are posed frontally, and each figure is contained within its silhouette. Of the Virtues two are in profile and two are in three-quarter face, and no expedient is spared to avoid aligning the four figures on the relief plane. The arms (with the exception of the left arm of Fortitude, holding a shield with Cardinal's arms, and the right arm of Prudence, holding a serpent) are outstretched, and establish an elaborate linear pattern on the relief field.

When Luca died in 1482, the work of his studio was continued by his nephew Andrea (1435-1525) and by five of Andrea's sons, headed by Giovanni della Robbia (1469-1529). A sensitive but facile sculptor, Andrea lacked Luca's seriousness. At his hands, Luca's naturalistic borders became conventionalized frames, Luca's Madonnas were weakened and sentimentalized, and Luca's spacious compositions were constricted and debased. The gulf that separates the artists may be gauged in the difference between the virile children on Luca's Cantoria and the foundlings by Andrea which ogle at us from the spandrels of the Ospedale degli Innocenti. In particular, the pictorial tendencies latent in Luca's lunette of the Ascension were developed by Andrea and Giovanni in a long series of polychrome terracotta altar-pieces which have little significance as works of art, but are acceptable enough when seen at Santa Fiora or La Verna or Camaldoli in the context of the Tuscan countryside.

The Relief and Statue in Florence in the later Fifteenth Century

During the years when Luca della Robbia and Donatello were working on their Cantorias, a third sculptural project was under way in the Cathedral. This was the construction of the lavabo in the North Sacristy (Fig. 4), which was designed in 1432 by Brunelleschi and was carried out by his sculptural amanuensis Buggiano. Brunelleschi was probably responsible for the planning of the figure sculpture as well as of the frame, and the equation between sculpture and architecture set up in this work was fundamental for the sculptors of the middle of the century, above all for Bernardo Rossellino (1409-64).

At this very time, between 1433 and 1436, Bernardo Rossellino was himself engaged upon an architectural scheme relieved by figure sculpture, not in Florence but at Arezzo where he was completing the Misericordia façade (Fig. 50). The pre-existing lower part of the façade consisted of a central doorway flanked by windows, and was divided by spiral columns in the familiar ratio of two to one, with a central section equal in width to the sum of the two sections at the sides. Rossellino preserved this ratio in the upper part, replacing the spiral columns by linked pilasters. The narrow outer sections were filled with tabernacles derived from the Parte Guelfa tabernacle of Donatello and Michelozzo on Or San Michele (Fig. 56), and in the centre was an irregular lunette with the Madonna of Mercy adored by members of the confraternity. Though the tabernacles depend from Donatello, Bernardo's sympathies were rather with Brunelleschi and Luca della Robbia, and the figures which fill the niches are staid and classical. Even in the beautiful relief in the lunette the sculptural style is unemphatic, and is subdued by an exceptionally heavy moulding, as though Rossellino were determined that the figure sculpture should not disturb the serene equilibrium of his scheme.

From the fourteen-thirties on, the moral influence of Brunelleschi and the practice of Bernardo Rossellino lent a new emphasis to categories of sculpture in which the figurative content was subordinate to the decorative whole. The most important of these were the tabernacle and the pulpit. The impact of Donatello's tabernacle in St. Peter's in Rome (Fig. 38) is made primarily through its figure sculpture; at the base statuettes of angels are employed to bridge the awkward interval between the lateral pilasters and the tabernacle door. Bernardo Rossellino, on the other hand, in a tabernacle carved for Sant' Egidio in Florence in 1450 (Plates 50, 51, Fig. 44), reduces the figure sculpture to a bust of God the Father, two tiny half-length figures in prayer before a chalice, and two groups of adoring angels at the sides. Where Donatello places his praying angels in front of the lateral pilasters, Bernardo Rossellino treats the centre of the tabernacle as a kind of hall, with a receding barrel-vaulted roof which leads the eye back to the tabernacle door, and his angels are shown inside this artificial space, advancing from doorways at the sides. This beautiful scheme established a tradition which was carried on by two pupils of Bernardo Rossellino, his younger brother Antonio (1427-79) and Desiderio da Settignano (*ca.* 1430-64), and by two putative pupils of Antonio

Rossellino, Benedetto da Majano (1442-97) and Matteo Civitali (1436-1501).

In pure artistry the tabernacle in the centre of Desiderio's Altar of the Sacrament in San Lorenzo (Fig. 45) is the outstanding decorative achievement of the century. Considerably larger than Bernardo Rossellino's, it forms part of a complex which includes two statuettes of candle-bearing angels (Plates 62, 63), a lunette with two angels and a standing figure of the Child Christ, and an antependium relief of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ (Plate 64). In Desiderio's tabernacle the hall is more spacious than Bernardo Rossellino's, and the recession of the pavement and the roof is more severe. With a touch of incomparable virtuosity the cornice is supported not by pilasters but by fluted columns, whose rotundity is suggested by slight deformation at the sides. In order to establish the necessary sense of scale, the angels are reduced in size, and are shown dancing in ecstasy before the tabernacle door. Not only was Desiderio's tabernacle more elaborate in form, but it had at the same time a new programmatic character, for the mystical Adoration of the Sacrament was combined with a statuette of the Child Christ in benediction and a relief of the suffering Christ. Desiderio was a lyric poet, not a writer of heroic verse, and for the violent gesticulation of Donatello's Entombment on the St. Peter's tabernacle he substitutes a passive melancholy. His relief is a tranquil meditation on the Passion, not a narrative scene. The contrast between the radiant Child of the Nativity and the suffering Christ beneath is not the less affecting on that account. Both the Child Christ at the top and the candle-bearing angels beside the tabernacle speak with the innocence, the child-like rapture, that is the essence of Desiderio's interpretative art.

The pulpit also set a premium on decorative carving. Throughout the fifteenth century the suspended pulpit devised by Donatello retained its popularity. It was adopted by Brunelleschi for Santa Maria Novella (Fig. 48), in a beautiful design in which the pulpit proper is approached by a staircase encircling a pier of the nave, and by Benedetto da Majano for Santa Croce (Fig. 51), in a scheme in which access to the pulpit is gained through the pier. At Prato it was modified by Antonio Rossellino (Fig. 49) in the form of a circular basin balanced on a single central support. Before his pulpit was completed Brunelleschi died, and his plans were once more realized by Buggiano, who supplied the upper part with four inferior narrative reliefs. Less organic in design, the Prato pulpit is technically the superior work. Based on the external pulpit of Donatello, the upper section contains five narrative reliefs, and in the three of these for which he was responsible Antonio Rossellino achieves remarkable success in creating a space illusion on the convex relief surface and in reconciling this with the decorative requirements of the pulpit as a whole. In the five scenes from the life of St. Francis on the Santa Croce pulpit (Plate 73), Benedetto da Majano, avoiding the challenge of a convex surface, produced some of the most accomplished narrative reliefs of the later fifteenth century. From the time they worked together in the chapel of Santa Fina at San Gimignano, Benedetto was associated with the painter Ghirlandaio, and the style of his pulpit reliefs is that of the frescoes which Ghirlandaio was painting simultaneously in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità. Of the two artists, it was Benedetto who was gifted with the more poetic sense of narrative, and his Stigmatization of St. Francis on the pulpit has a lyrical refinement that is seldom found in Ghirlandaio's work.

With the Santa Croce pulpit the barrier between painting and sculpture all but disappears. In two altar-pieces carved for Naples it is eliminated. The first of these was executed by Antonio Rossellino concurrently with the Prato pulpit, and represents the Adoration of the Shepherds between two statuettes of Saints (Fig. 46). No previous Renaissance sculptor had faced the problem of constructing a monumental pictorial relief, and had the scene no other merits its spatial content—the foreground delimited by the receding stable roof, the middle distance by a foreshortened wheel of angels in the sky, and the far distance by a landscape on the right—would entitle Antonio to a place among the most resourceful sculptors of his time. A corresponding altar-piece with the Annunciation was completed fifteen years later by Benedetto da Majano (Fig. 47), and is a work of exquisite decorative taste, in which the statues at the sides, leaning forward from their niches, augment the depth of the perspective vista in the central scene. By strict sculptural standards the ambivalent style of the relief represents a sad decline from the heights of the Cavalcanti Annunciation of Donatello, but it is impossible to repress a sense of pleasure at the delicate handling of the figures (Plate 72) and at the subtlety with which the sculptor merges the interior architecture with the architecture of the frame.

When Donatello transferred his studio to Padua in 1443, Antonio Rossellino was aged sixteen and Desiderio da Settignano was three years his junior. As

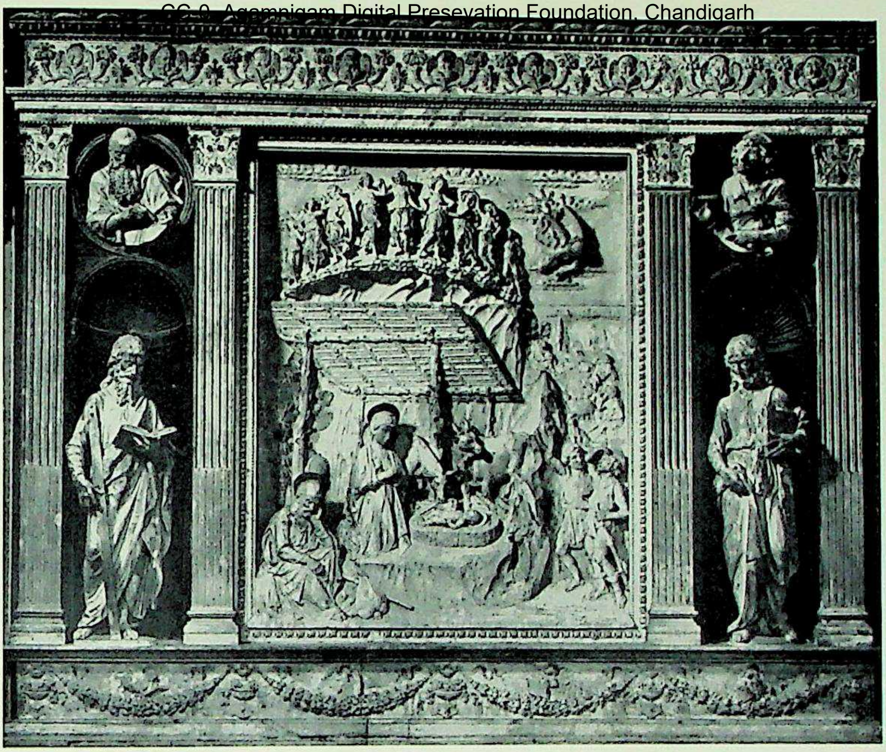

Fig. 46. Antonio Rossellino: THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS. S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples.

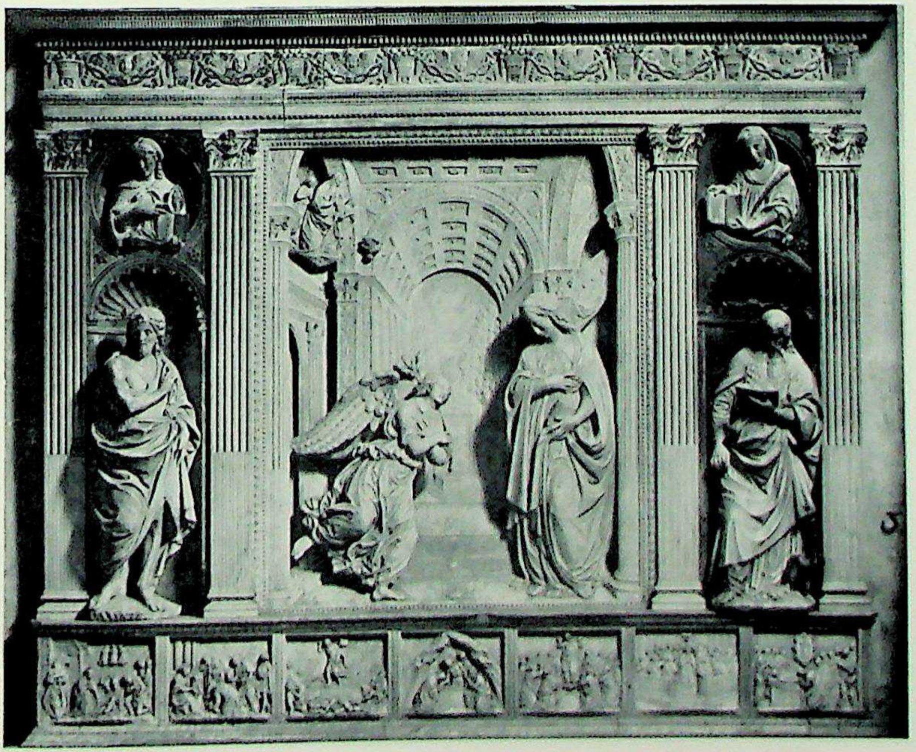

Fig. 47. Benedetto da Majano: THE ANNUNCIATION. S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples.

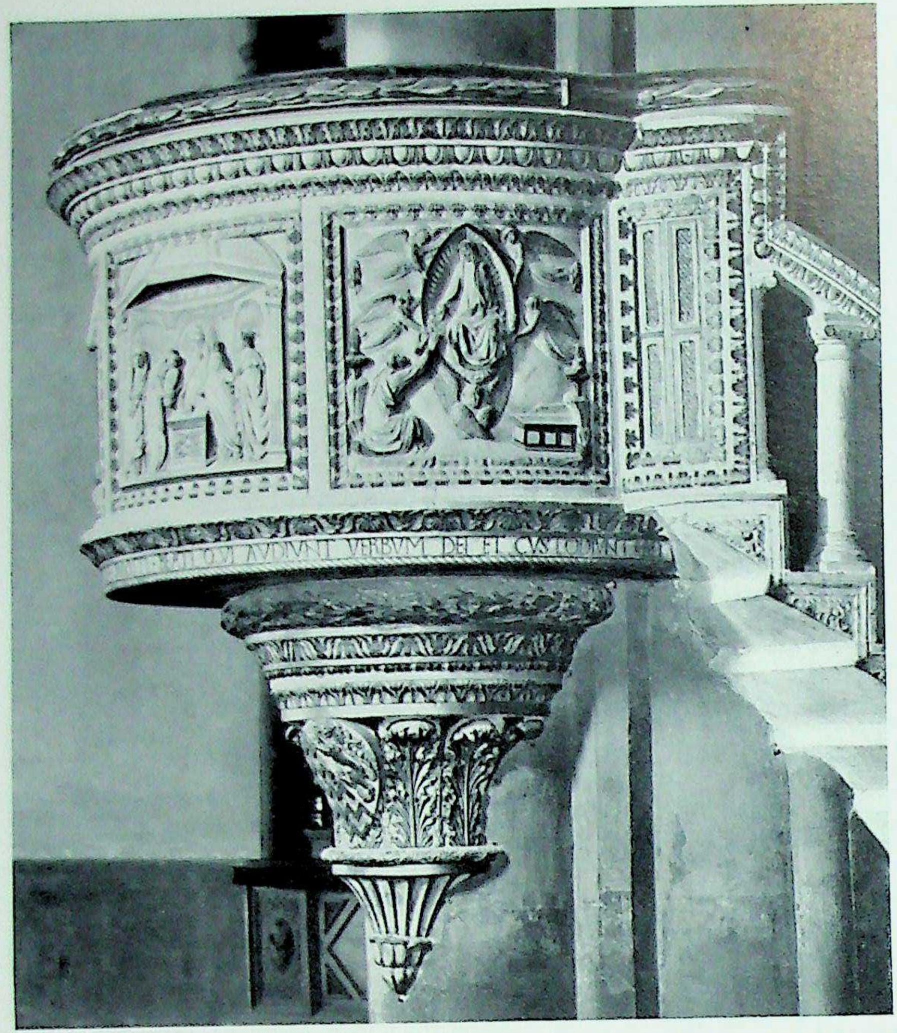
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Fig. 48. Brunelleschi and Buggiano: PULPIT. S. Maria Novella, Florence.

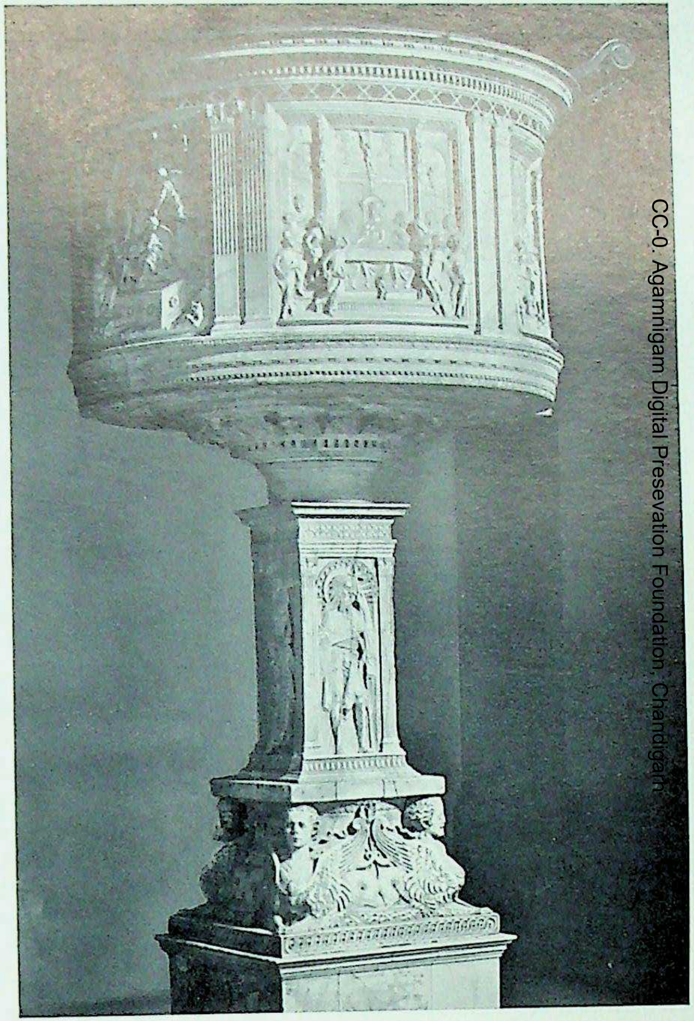

Fig. 49. Antonio Rossellino: PULPIT. Duomo, Prato.

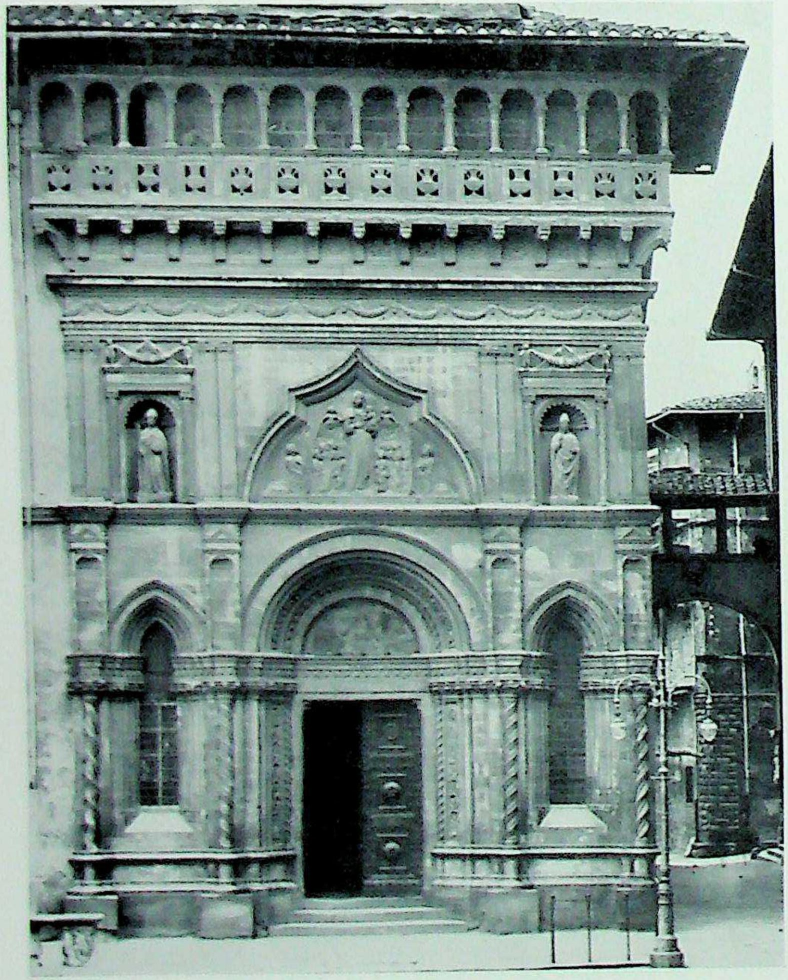
Fig. 50. Bernardo Rossellino: THE FAÇADE OF THE MISERICORDIA. Arezzo.

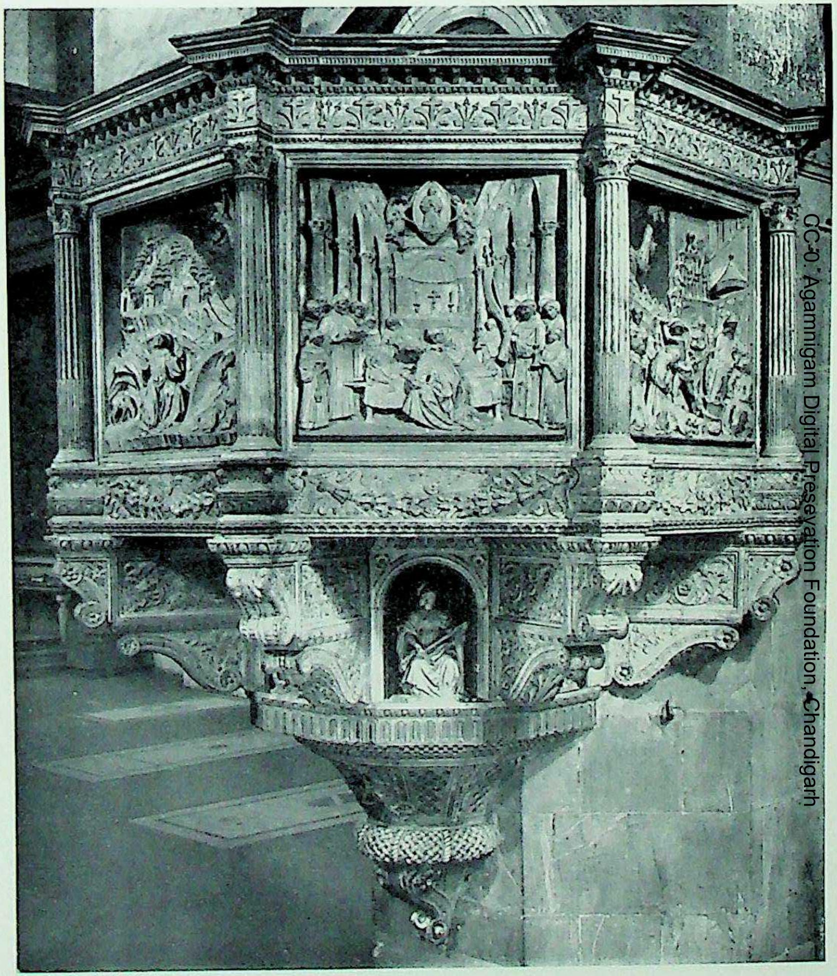
Fig. 51. Benedetto da Majano: PULPIT. S. Croce, Florence.

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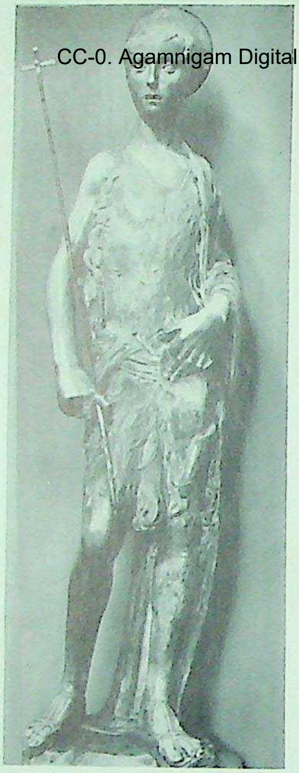

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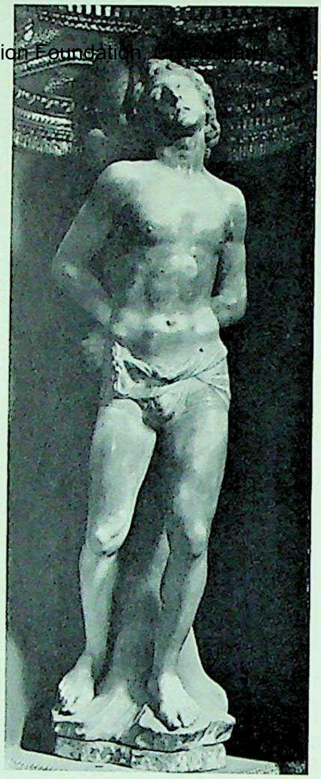

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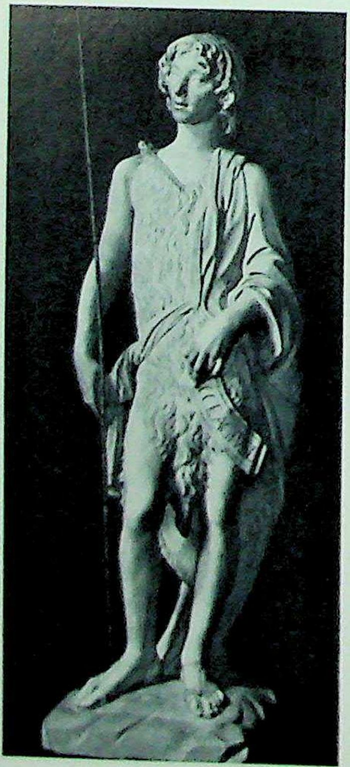
Fig. 52. Desiderio da Settignano: ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Museo Nazionale, Florence.
Fig. 53. Antonio Rossellino: ST. SEBASTIAN. Collegiata, Empoli.



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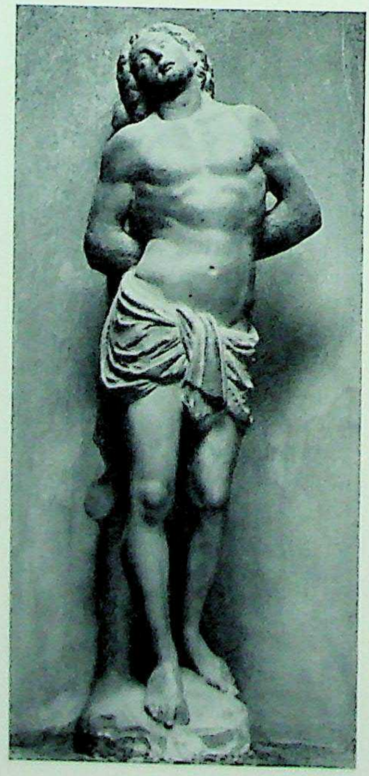

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Fig. 54. Benedetto da Majano: ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.
Fig. 55. Benedetto da Majano: ST. SEBASTIAN. Misericordia, Florence.

they matured, both artists must have been familiar with Donatello's work, though neither can have had direct experience of his overpowering personality. Desiderio was a draughtsman of the first rank, and alone of the sculptors of the middle of the century he employed the technique of *rilievo stiacciato*. At first the facility with which he carved in low relief proved a source of weakness rather than of strength. In the Foulc Madonna at Philadelphia (Plate 61) the Virgin and Child gaze out to the right of the relief with open eyes and parted lips. The execution of this carving is beyond all praise, for Desiderio, better than any other marble sculptor of the fifteenth century, knew how to portray those slight surface variations—the Virgin's breasts beneath her robe, creases in the Child's neck, shallow indentations beneath the eyelids and the lips—which communicate a sense of lifelikeness. But when it is compared with Donatello's terracotta Madonna in the Louvre (Plate 19), we find that Desiderio, in reducing his relief to one continuous plane and eliminating visual emphasis, has sacrificed not only the physical weight of Donatello's work, but also its spiritual gravity. His values are human, not divine. After Donatello returned to Florence from Siena, he seems, however, to have exercised a direct influence on Desiderio's work. The main evidence for this is a little group of carvings, probably executed after the Altar of the Sacrament, which reveal a more ambitious attitude towards relief sculpture. Among them are the so-called Panciatichi Madonna in the Bargello, a circular relief of Christ and the young St. John in the Louvre, and last and most remarkable the St. Jerome before a Crucifix in Washington (Plate 65). The content of this scene differs from Donatello's much as the predella panels of Fra Filippo Lippi differ from Masaccio's; the conception is less forceful, the space is less firmly apprehended, and the sense of narrative is less secure. None the less in its use of visual half-statement, its rendering of atmosphere, and its relatively strong plasticity, the relief is proof of the rich promise that was cut short at Desiderio's death.

Antonio Rossellino's command of low relief was never comparable with Desiderio's. As we look at the surface of his carvings, it seems that the calm of Desiderio has been succeeded by a gentle swell. Antonio's interest in movement and his facility in rendering it were less great, and the effect of his reliefs is solider and in conventional terms more sculptural. Desiderio died at the age of thirty-six, and his carvings have the freshness and urgency of youth. Rossellino, on the other hand, lived on through middle age, and in his late reliefs, such as the Madonna del Latte in Santa Croce, the tide of inspiration seems to have receded, and the handling is placid and dull. There is nothing placid, however, in the sculptures of his middle years, and the best of his reliefs, the Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Plate 60), while it is less appealing than the Foulc Madonna, displays the grasp of form and the emotional stability of a great artist.

About 1470 a pupil of Antonio Rossellino, Andrea del Verrocchio, brought this pictorial tradition to a close. The single autograph Madonna from Verrocchio's hand is a terracotta relief (Plate 76) made for the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, now in the Bargello. This splendid work is modelled in such depth that the Child seems to stand free of the ground, and the scheme is worked out as an equipoise between two solid heads. Even the drapery is no longer flattened, as it was in the middle of the century, but is treated with new exuberance. No marble Madonna by Verrocchio survives, but a powerful head of Alexander the Great in a private collection in New York proves that he found an equivalent for this style in marble sculpture.

The story of the statue runs parallel to that of the relief. The only independent statues by Bernardo Rossellino, two figures of the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate at Empoli, are planned as reliefs rather than as figures in the round. Through most of his career Desiderio too was most at ease with figures destined for a flat complex like the Altar of the Sacrament, where the angels at the sides are used pictorially and are limited to a single view. At the end of his life, however, he came to terms with Donatello's statues, as he did with his reliefs. At this time he carved a wooden Magdalen for Santa Trinità (Fig. 98), which was based on Donatello's Magdalen in the Baptistry and was finished at his death by Benedetto da Majano, and a free-standing marble statue of St. John the Baptist now in the Bargello (Fig. 52). This, the so-called Martelli Baptist, has been persistently ascribed to Donatello, but its handling and conception are not consistent with Donatello's style. In the hands and head the plastic contrasts are minimized, while the hair is represented by surface drawing in somewhat greater depth but with the same rhythmical character as in the Panciatichi Madonna and Desiderio's other late reliefs. It is characteristic, moreover, of Desiderio that the figure is posed on a single plane, as though the bronze David of Donatello, the figures on the Campanile, even the St. Mark, had never been. Antonio Rossellino's only statue of this class, a marble figure of

St. Sebastian at Empoli (Fig. 53), is based not on Donatello but on the antique, and is conceived more plastically than Desiderio's, with a new tension in the pose and the body turned above the hips. This admirable statue finds a lineal successor in the beautiful figure of St. John the Baptist carved by Benedetto da Majano for the doorway of the Sala dei Gigli in the Palazzo Vecchio (Plate 74, Fig. 54), where the stance gives an illusion of mobility, the lips are parted and the muscles are relaxed. While the reliefs of Antonio Rossellino and Benedetto da Majano have no importance for the future, these two statues are of considerable significance, in that they form two of the antecedents of the Bacchus of Michelangelo. In one of Benedetto da Majano's last works, the St. Sebastian in the Misericordia in Florence (Fig. 55), we sense the physical stresses and emotional tensions of the sixteenth century.

The free-standing figure as it was evolved by Donatello was bound up with the medium of bronze, and could be realized only by an artist who was also a proficient bronze caster. Here too it was Verrocchio who returned to the principles of Donatello and developed them afresh. His progress can be traced in three masterpieces: the bronze David in the Bargello (about 1473-5), the Christ and St. Thomas on Or San Michele (1465-83), and the Putto with a Fish in the Palazzo Vecchio (about 1470). The first two have an explicit relationship to Donatello, since one of them was inspired by Donatello's bronze David and the other was designed for the niche which had originally contained Donatello's St. Louis of Toulouse. Unlike the David of Donatello, Verrocchio's David (Plate 79) is intended to be seen at eye level, and is relatively small in size. Its base is oval, not circular, and the figure is represented clothed, not in the nude. The placing of the legs and the left arm derive directly from Donatello, but the diagonals of Donatello's statue are replaced by a new scheme whereby the left elbow and left knee protrude from the main plane of the figure, and the right arm is drawn back behind the leg. Verrocchio's David is virile and tense. The loose folds of the buskins set off his muscular calves, the skirt emphasizes the spare thighs, and at the back the corselet, shown free of the body, sets in relief the tensely modelled spine and shoulder blades. A less original achievement than Donatello's David, Verrocchio's figure had greater influence. His lithe youth, gazing resolutely out from beneath an aureole of hair, was at once adopted as the type David of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and even when this David symbol was in turn replaced by the colossal David of Michelangelo, it continued to be reproduced in terracotta statuettes.

The central niche on the east side of Or San Michele had been constructed in 1422-5 on the commission of the Parte Guelfa, and in the latter year was filled with Donatello's St. Louis of Toulouse (Fig. 56). The St. Louis remained in position till 1459-60, when the tabernacle was sold by the Parte Guelfa to the Arte della Mercanzia, who in 1463 appointed a commission to supervise the filling of the newly acquired niche. Two years later the Christ and St. Thomas (Plates 80, 81, Fig. 57) was commissioned from Verrocchio. Not only was the Parte Guelfa tabernacle the most ostentatious of the niches on the Oratory, but the relation between Donatello's statue and its setting was more intimate than with any of the other statues. For Verrocchio, therefore, the commission formed a challenge on two counts; first, it obliged him to design sculptures for a tabernacle with strong architectural idiosyncrasies, and second, it imposed the duty of placing two figures in a niche designed for one. His success in solving these two problems is one of the miracles of Florentine Renaissance sculpture. Taking as his points of departure the Quattro Santi Coronati of Nanni di Banco, where four figures were shown together, and the Cavalcanti Annunciation of Donatello, where the relief surface was treated as a stage, Verrocchio set his Christ with right hand raised against the back wall of the niche, somewhat to the right of centre, and his St. Thomas facing inwards on the left, half in and half out of the tabernacle. In this way he reduced the significance of the architectural forms, and imposed upon the group a calculated disequilibrium which looks forward to the baroque. From the standpoint of imagery the group is no less notable, and in a company which includes the St. Matthew of Ghiberti and St. Mark of Donatello, Verrocchio's Christ and St. Thomas is conspicuous for its intellectual elevation and moral seriousness.

The third of Verrocchio's three statues, the bronze figure of the Putto with a Fish (Plate 78), is not specifically linked with Donatello, though it was Donatello who had first developed the free-standing bronze putto in the statuettes of the Siena font. Since Verrocchio's Putto with a Fish stood on a fountain, it was, like Donatello's Judith, visible from every side. But where the Judith was planned as a figure with four static faces, Verrocchio in the Putto with a Fish achieved a design in which the eye is never still but is carried on relentlessly from one view to the next. Just as the Christ and St. Thomas reaches out to the seicento, so the spiral movement of this statue is the source of the *figura serpentinata* of the sixteenth century.

The Humanist Tomb

Of the motives which affected conduct during the Renaissance one of the most potent was what Macchiavelli calls 'the desire to perpetuate a name'. It supplied the inspiration for biographical collections like Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Uomini Illustri*, where the achievements of the principal figures in Florence in the earlier fifteenth century are recorded, as though by a Renaissance Plutarch, in short lives, and it impinged on art in the sepulchral monument. Just as the role of the biographer was to protect the reputations of great men from the ravages of time, so the sculptor's role was to present them to posterity.

The story of the humanist monument goes back to a day, probably in 1430, when Leonardo Bruni, the translator of Aristotle and historian of Florence, on his way from Florence to Arezzo, met two stationary carts. His curiosity was roused when he saw that they were filled with marbles, and he began a conversation with one of the men goading the oxen on. 'Damnation take all poets past and future,' exclaimed the man, wiping the sweat from his face. 'But what,' asked Bruni, 'have you had to do with poets, and what harm have they done you?' 'It was like this,' the man replied. 'This poet, the loquacious fool, died not long ago in Rome, and left orders that he should have a marble monument in his native town. So we are taking these marbles to Montepulciano, though heaven knows if we shall get them there. That is his effigy that you are looking at, and this is the portrait of his mother.' What Bruni saw when he looked into the cart were the pieces of the Aragazzi monument, the effigy of Bartolommeo Aragazzi, with his hands folded on his breast and his eyes closed in death, and a scene in the manner of a classical sarcophagus showing Aragazzi, like some figure from antiquity, bidding farewell to his family (Plate 40). He may also have seen a second relief, in which the traditional scene of the dead man presented to the Virgin and Child was treated in a quite unprecedented fashion, with Aragazzi's mother, the youths portrayed in the first scene, and the three children interceding with the Virgin on his behalf. So rigorously classical are these two carvings that in one the religious content is not immediately discernible, and in the other there is no religious content to discern. Perhaps Bruni also saw the extraordinary figure of St. Bartholomew (Plate 39) which originally stood behind the effigy. This statue belongs in the company of Nanni di Banco's St. Luke and Ghiberti's St. Matthew, the Saint disguised as a philosopher. Bruni may even have inspected the classical Virtues from the monument. Today at Montepulciano we see less than Bruni saw, for the monument has been disassembled, and lacks two features he mentions, the columns that originally framed the sides, and the arch or superstructure which closed it at the top. Yet enough of it remains to show what Bruni also must have seen, that this is the first tomb which consciously reflects the humane ideals of Renaissance life. The Aragazzi tomb is by Michelozzo, the associate of Donatello, and it was Michelozzo who presided at the birth of the Renaissance monument.

This was the first humanist monument, but it was not the first Renaissance tomb, for chronologically it was preceded by two monuments which were commissioned from the joint studio of Donatello and Michelozzo. In both cases Michelozzo's seems to have been the designing mind. The first, the tomb of Cardinal Brancacci (Fig. 59), is in Naples, and its form was determined by that fact. Almost a hundred years earlier Tino di Camaino had introduced in Naples a tomb type consisting of an architectural tabernacle with a decorated gable and a sarcophagus resting on caryatids and surmounted by a sculptured lunette. Through the later fourteenth century this Angevin tomb type was retained, so it was not unnatural that it should be adopted once again for the Brancacci tomb. But a world of spiritual endeavour separates this from earlier tombs. Michelozzo's monument is classicized; the tabernacle rests on massive columns, the wall surface is broken by pilasters, and in the superstructure there are the paired pilasters that appear again in the Arezzo façade of Bernardo Rossellino and in the Cantoria of Luca della Robbia.

This change also affects its figure sculpture. The familiar motif of angels holding back curtains (as we find it in Tino's tombs) recurs once more, but instead of Gothic angels Roman youths are shown meditating on the corpse. The Virtues supporting the sarcophagus (Plate 38) are preserved as well, but here there is a still more fundamental change. This is not the case of an old concept clothed in a new dress; rather the concept has itself been revised, and the romantic Petrarchan virtues of the Middle Ages have been ousted by the austere virtues which were revered in the Renaissance because they had been reverenced in antiquity.

Before he began work on the Brancacci monument, Michelozzo had undertaken a monument in Florence jointly with Donatello, the tomb of Pope John XXIII in the Baptistry (Fig. 58). From the point of view of imagery this is a less notable work than the Brancacci monument, but it has great historical importance, since it was the first monument in Florence that was planned as a rational entity. The space it was to fill was narrow and disproportionately high, and the tomb was designed by Michelozzo as a flat architectural unit with a moulding at the top and a classical frieze beneath. Above was the Virgin and Child in a semi-circular lunette, below were the Virtues in relief, and between them was a protruding sarcophagus which Michelozzo must have designed as well. At this point it seems that Donatello intervened, first with the brilliant device of the suspended curtain, which relieves the rather rigid plan and links the tomb to the architecture of the church, and second with the bronze figure of the dead Pope, an effigy of unprecedented authenticity. Two features of this scheme were repeated in countless Renaissance tombs; one is the geometrical division of the wall surface behind the effigy, and the other the frieze on which the whole tomb rests. But Donatello's devices were ignored by later sculptors, and it was from foundations laid by Michelozzo that the humanist tomb grew.

The first of these monuments, the tomb of Pope John XXIII, was begun by 1424, the second, the Brancacci monument, was in course of execution in 1427, and the third, the Aragazzi monument, was partially complete when Bruni saw it, but was not assembled until 1437. In Bruni's character there was a strain of Emersonian priggishness, and his meeting with the Aragazzi marbles led him to reflect on the vanity of Aragazzi's thirst for immortality. Yet when the Aragazzi tomb found a successor, its subject was Leonardo Bruni. Bruni died in 1444, and there is an account by Vespasiano da Bisticci of his funeral, held 'according to the custom of the ancients', with the corpse dressed in a long silk robe, and a copy of Bruni's *History of Florence* between his lifeless hands. As the ceremony reached its climax, the humanist Gianozzo Manetti encircled the head of the dead man with a laurel wreath. When the tomb of Bruni came to be erected in Santa Croce (Fig. 60), it was in this way that the great Greek scholar was shown on his monument. The moral was pointed in an epitaph written for the tomb by Bruni's successor as State Chancellor, Carlo Marsuppini: 'After Leonardo departed from life, history is in mourning and eloquence is dumb, and it is said that the Muses, Greek and Latin alike, cannot restrain their tears.'

Aragazzi was a poet of no great distinction, but Bruni was one of the most eminent figures of his time, and just as his funeral was conducted in conformity with antique ceremonial, so it must from the first have been intended that his monument should embody something of the intellectual detachment, the peaceful equilibrium of his life. It was designed by Bernardo Rossellino. Bernardo Rossellino was trained by Brunelleschi, and in the Bruni tomb he applied the principles of Brunelleschi to the sepulchral monument. Where the architecture of Michelozzo's tombs is a static background for the sculpture disposed in front of it, in the Bruni monument it dictates the whole form of the tomb. The only features in which we are specifically reminded of Michelozzo's monuments are the base beneath and the triple division of the rear wall. What Rossellino introduced in the Bruni tomb was a new conception of the sepulchral monument as a triumphal arch set against the wall. It contains a Virgin and Child in the lunette, but otherwise there is no religious imagery. There are no caryatid figures, the bier rests on classical eagles, and beneath are two flying Victories on the sarcophagus. Throughout the tomb the sculpture is subordinate to the architectural scheme, and only at the top does it finally break free of the frame with two putti who hold up a laurel wreath. None the less Bernardo Rossellino was a great figure sculptor as well as a great architect, and the head of Bruni (Plate 52), tranquil and idealized, is among the noblest creations of its time.

No Florentine tomb exercised so great an influence as the Bruni monument. In it Bernardo Rossellino achieved the quintessential memorial of Renaissance man, an ideal embodiment of the aspirations and achievements for which it was felt that he should be immortalized. The most important of the monuments that derive from it in Tuscany stands opposite it in Santa Croce, and is dedicated to Carlo Marsuppini (Fig. 61), who had written the inscription for the Bruni tomb. Marsuppini died nine years after Bruni, in 1453, and his tomb was entrusted to Desiderio da Settignano. Desiderio's design is imitated from the Bruni tomb, but the forms are less functional and the ornamental detail is more deeply undercut. For that reason it lacks the grandeur and austerity of the Bruni monument. Desiderio's gifts were lyrical; so personal was his message that the idiom of Donatello and Bernardo Rossellino was of little use to him, and almost as a boy he seems to have worked out a vocabulary of his own. In

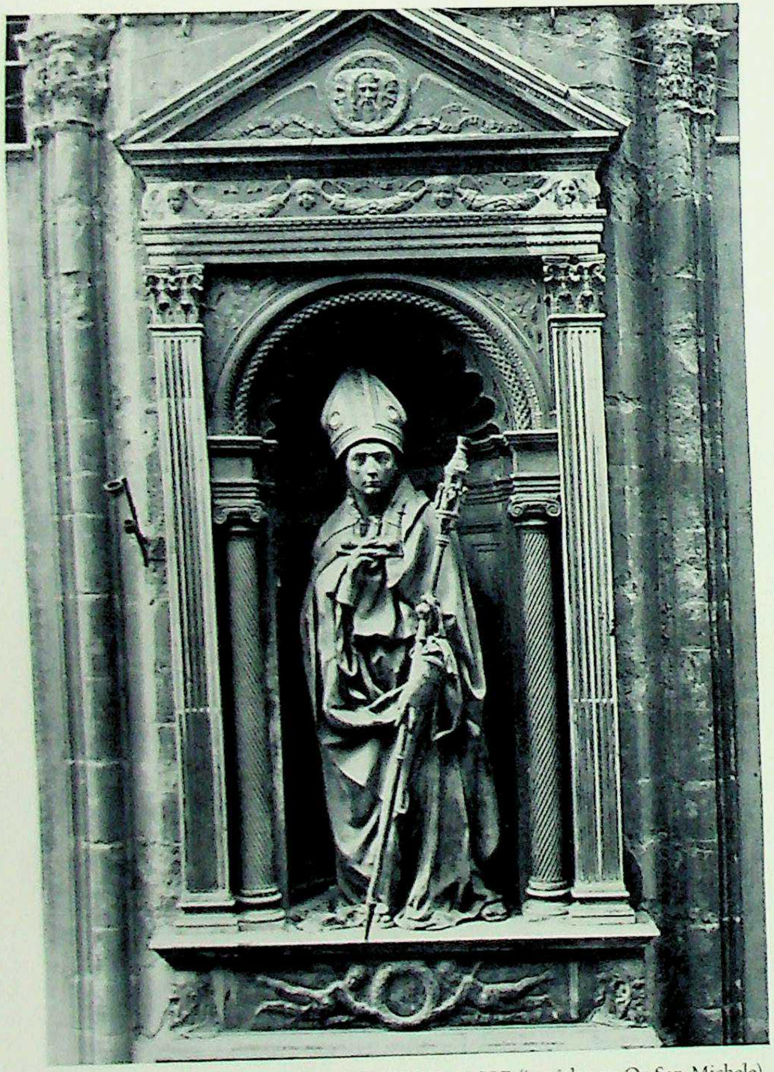

Fig. 56. Donatello: ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE (in niche on Or San Michele).

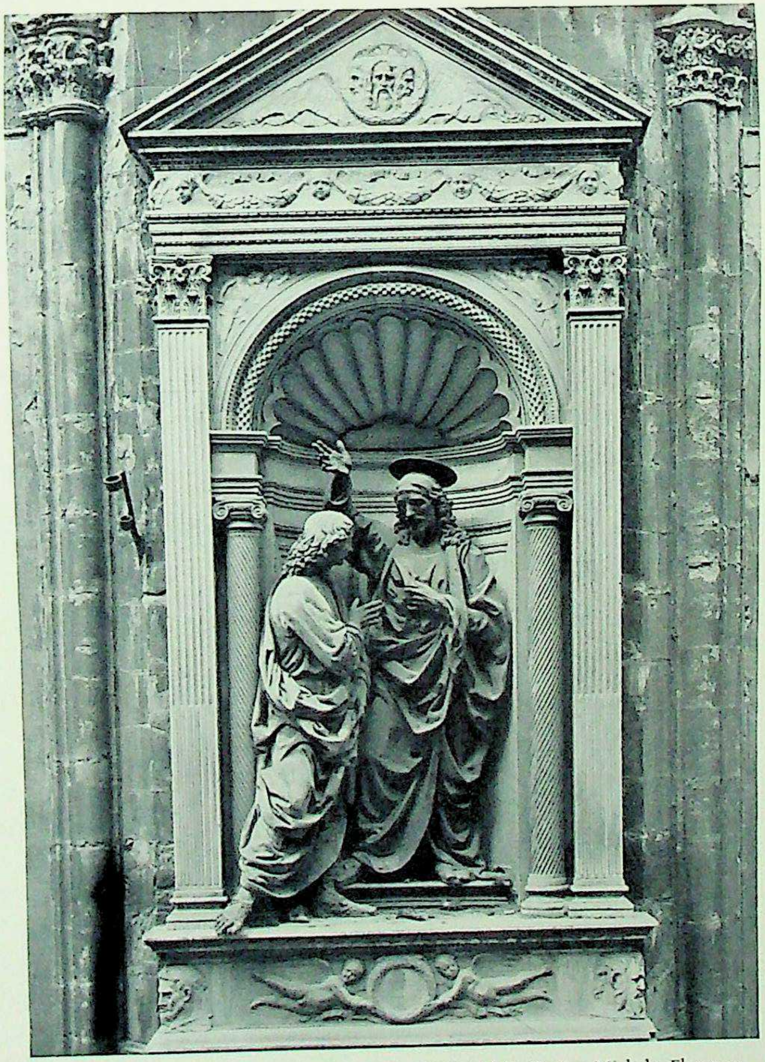

Fig. 57. Verrocchio: CHRIST AND ST. THOMAS. Or San Michele, Florence.

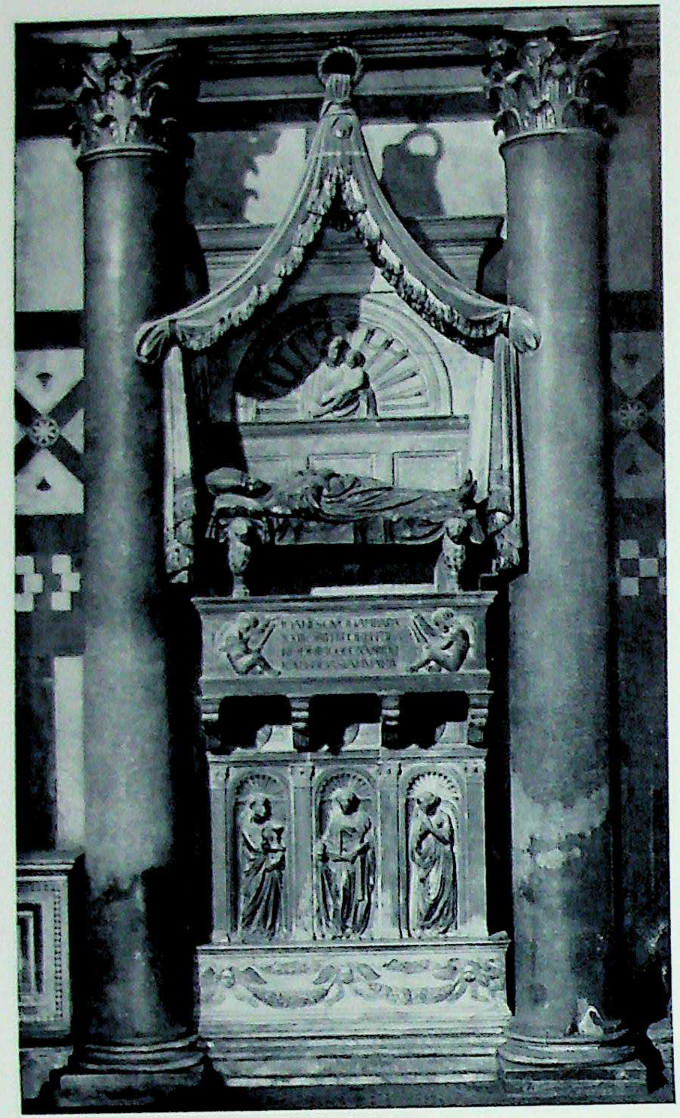

Fig. 58. Donatello and Michelozzo: THE MONUMENT OF POPE JOHN XXIII. Baptistry, Florence.

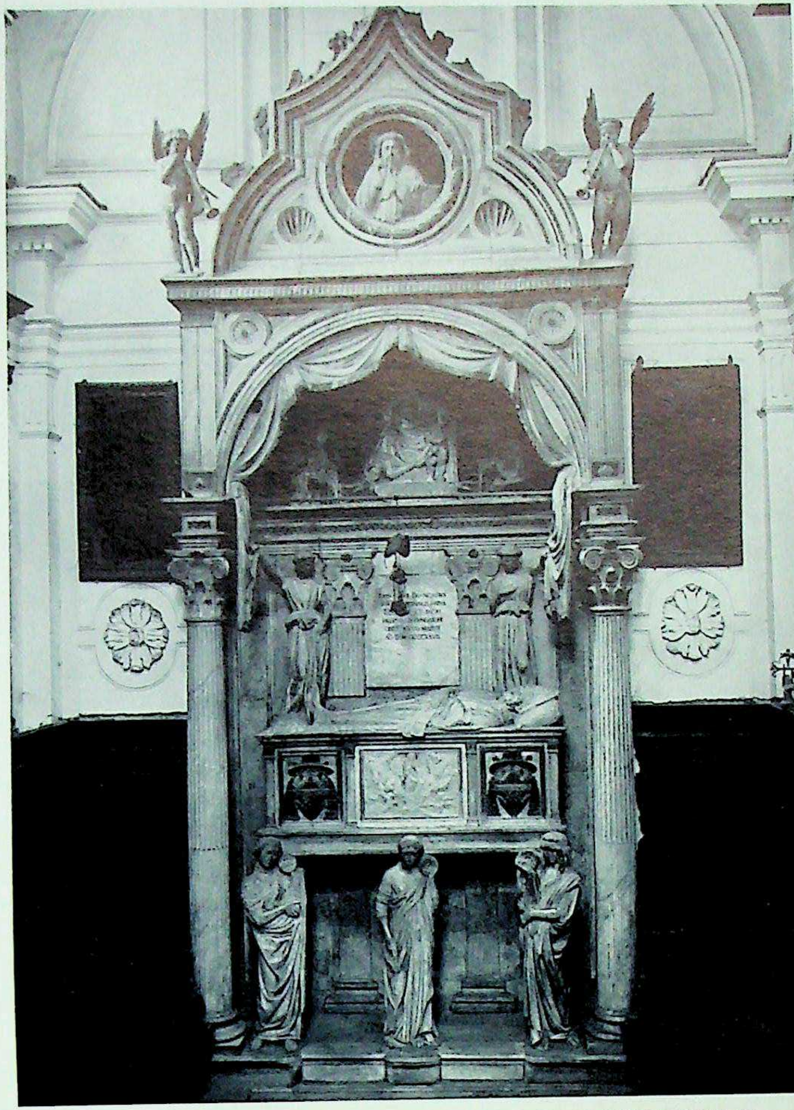

Fig. 59. Donatello and Michelozzo: THE BRANCACCI MONUMENT. S. Angelo a Nilo, Naples.

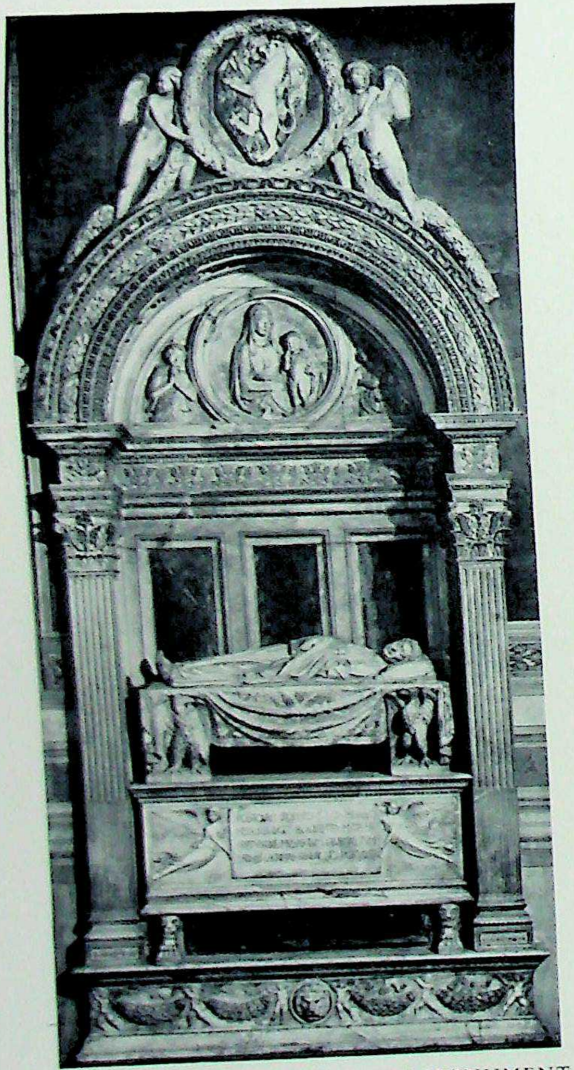

Fig. 60. Bernardo Rossellino: THE BRUNI MONUMENT.
S. Croce, Florence.

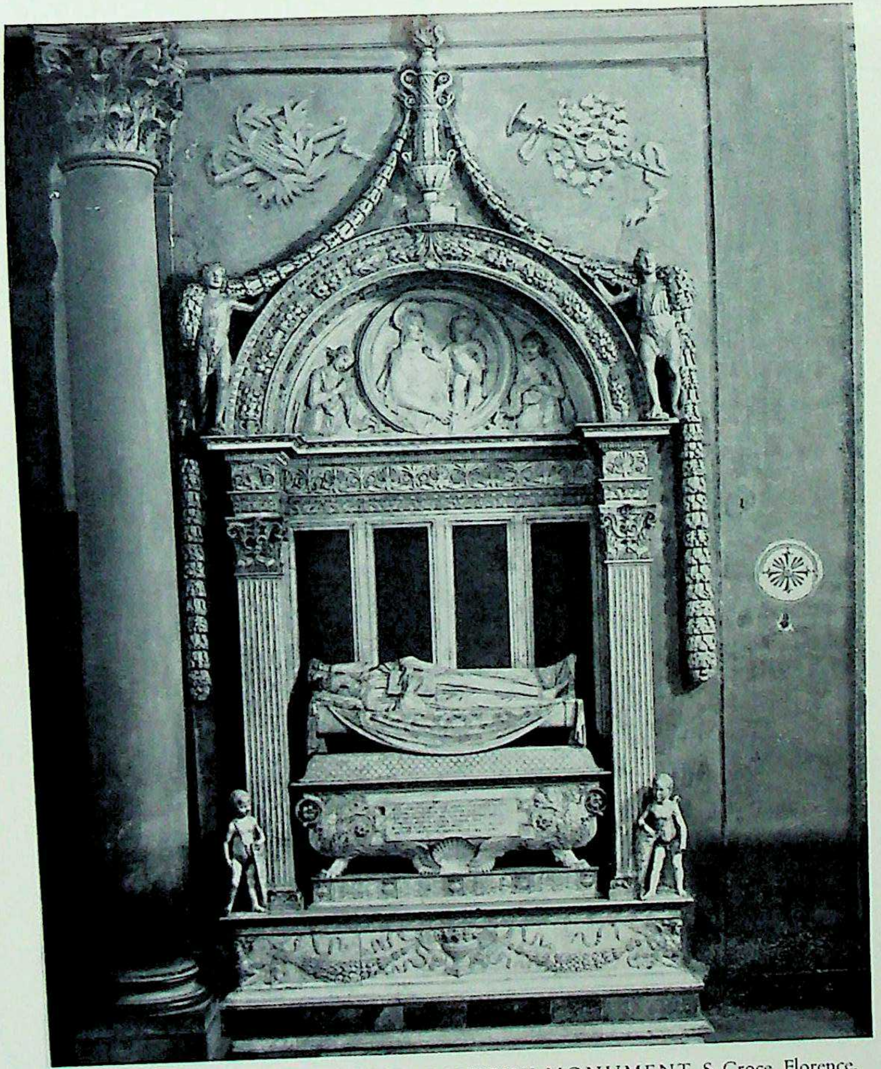

Fig. 61. Desiderio da Settignano: THE MARSUPPINI MONUMENT. S. Croce, Florence.

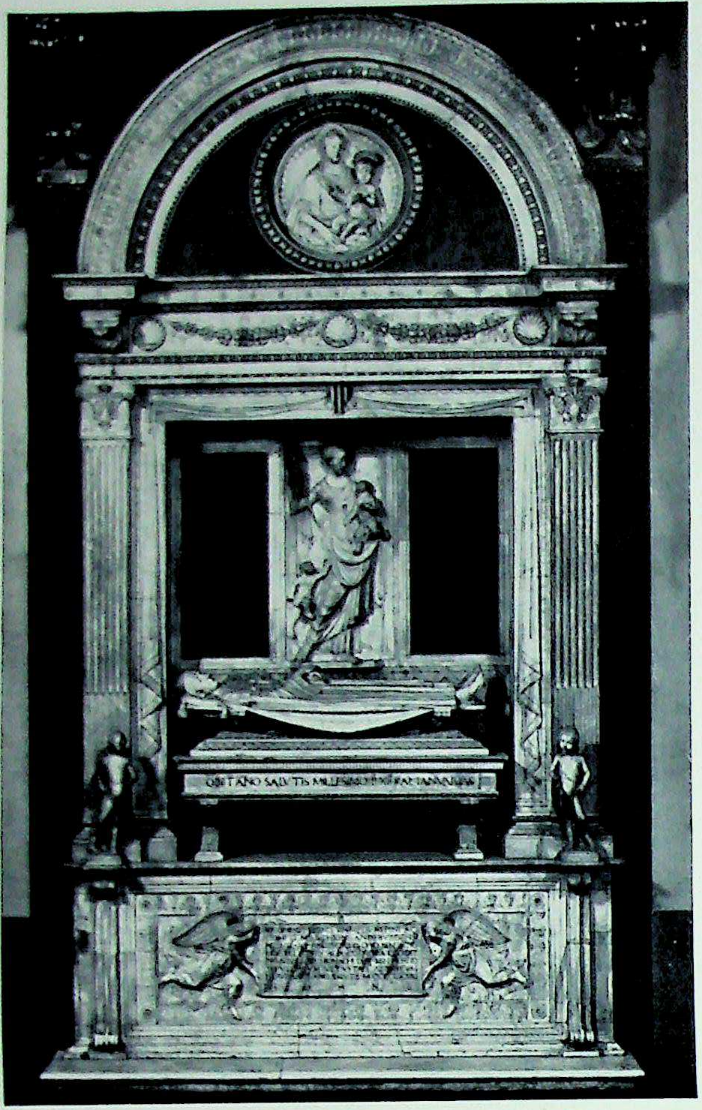

Fig. 62. Mino da Fiesole: THE MONUMENT OF COUNT HUGO OF TUSCANY. Badia, Florence.

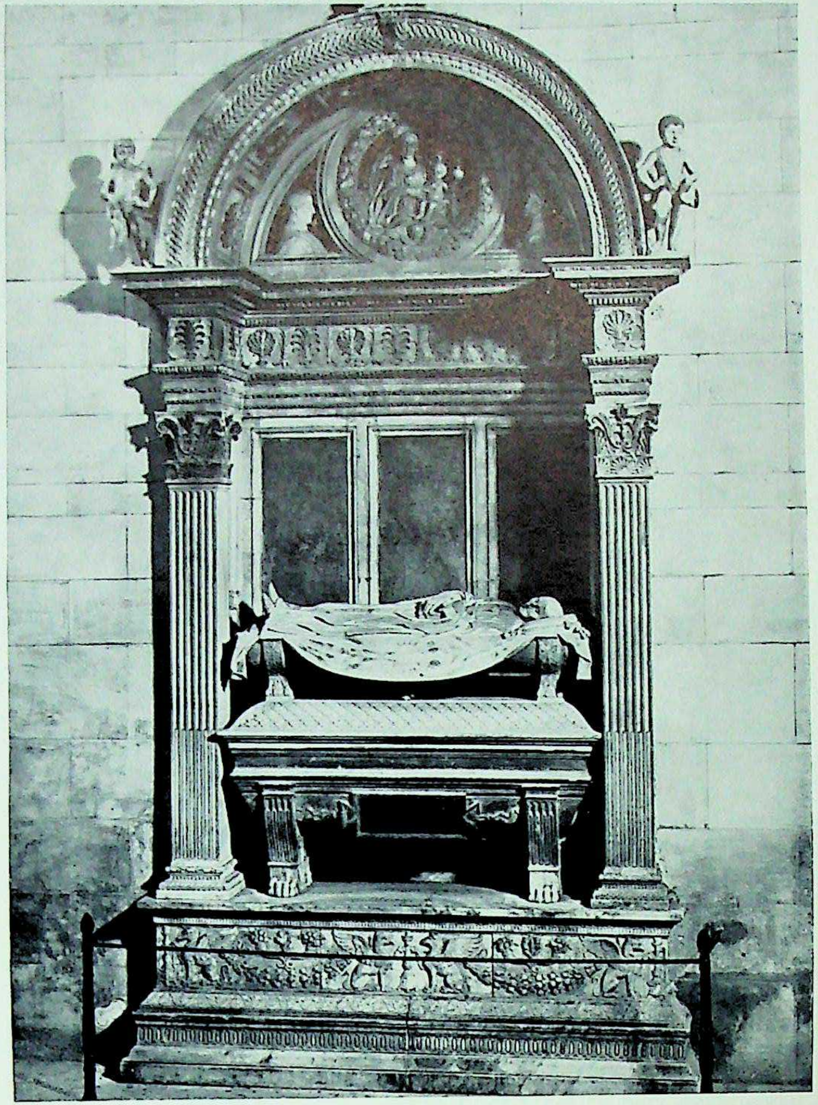

Fig. 63. Matteo Civitali: THE MONUMENT OF PIERO DA NOCETO. Duomo, Lucca.

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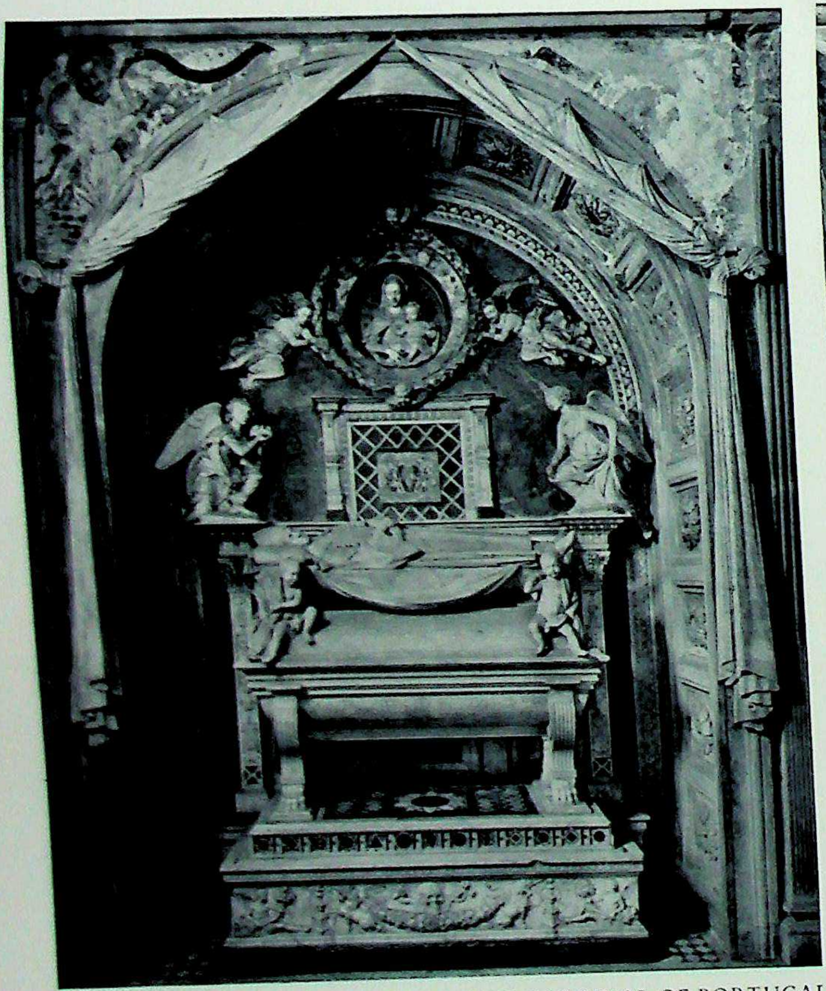


Fig. 64. Antonio Rossellino: THE TOMB OF THE CARDINAL OF PORTUGAL. S. Miniato al Monte, Florence.

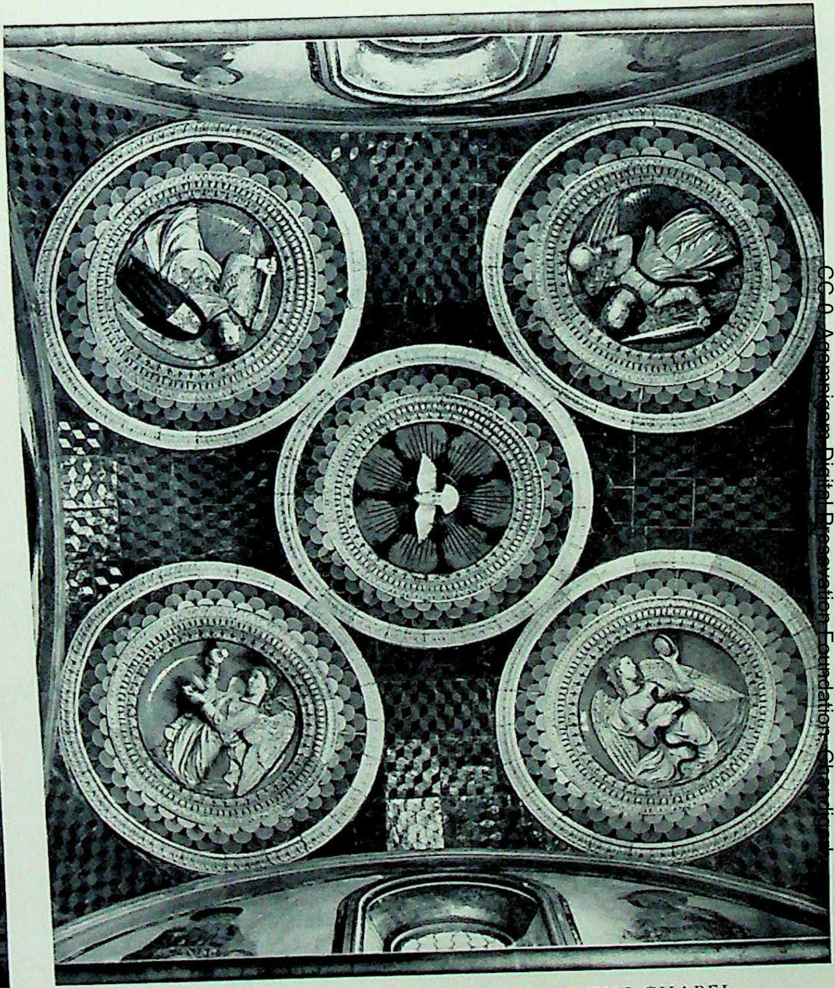
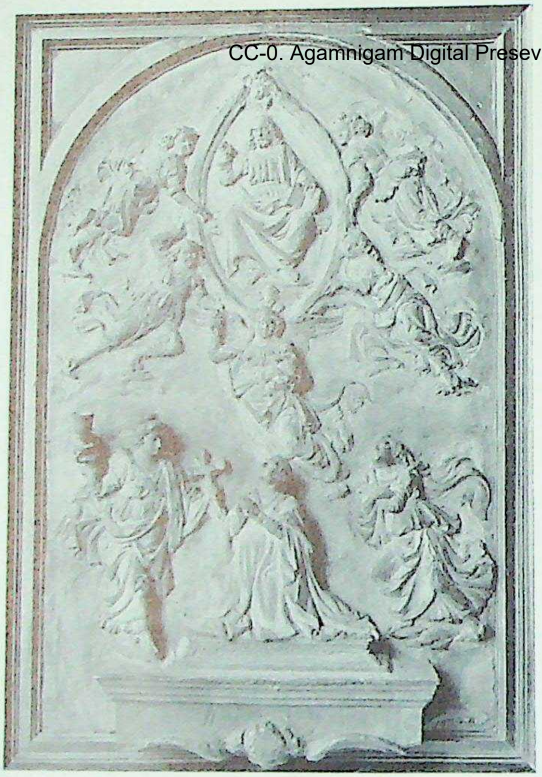


Fig. 65. Luca della Robbia: THE CEILING OF THE CHAPEL OF THE CARDINAL OF PORTUGAL. S. Miniato al Monte, Florence.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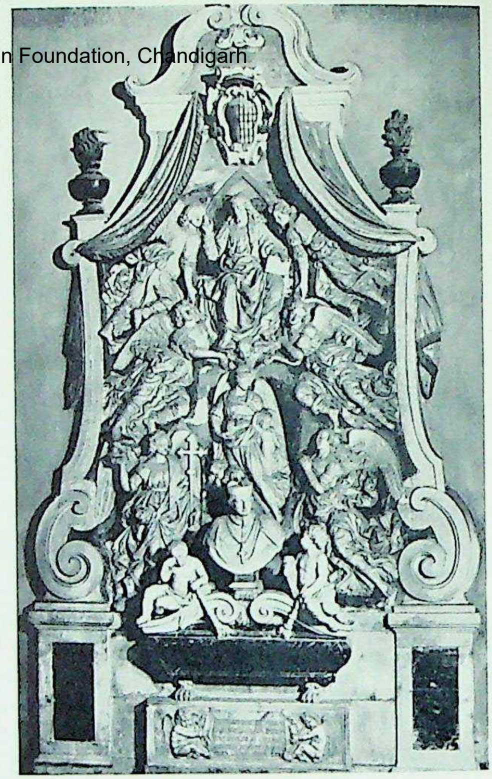
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Fig. 66. Verrocchio: MODEL FOR THE FORTEGUERRI MONUMENT. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
Fig. 67. Verrocchio: THE FORTEGUERRI MONUMENT. Duomo, Pistoia.

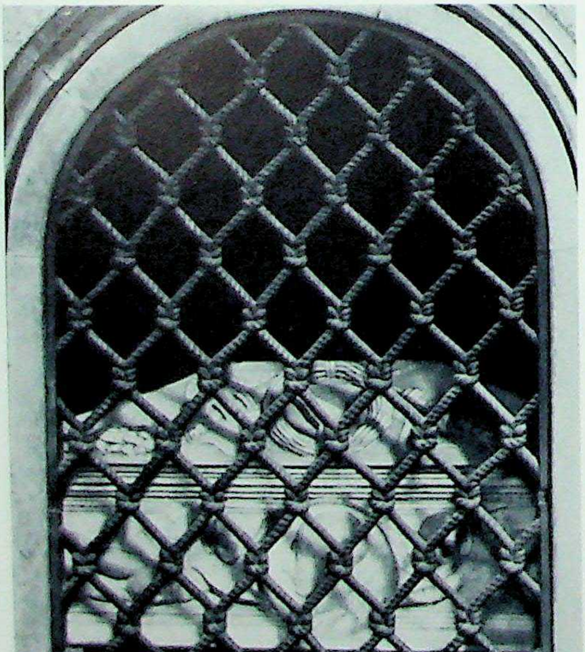


Fig. 68. Bernardo Rossellino: TOMB OF NERI CAPPONI. S. Spirito, Florence.

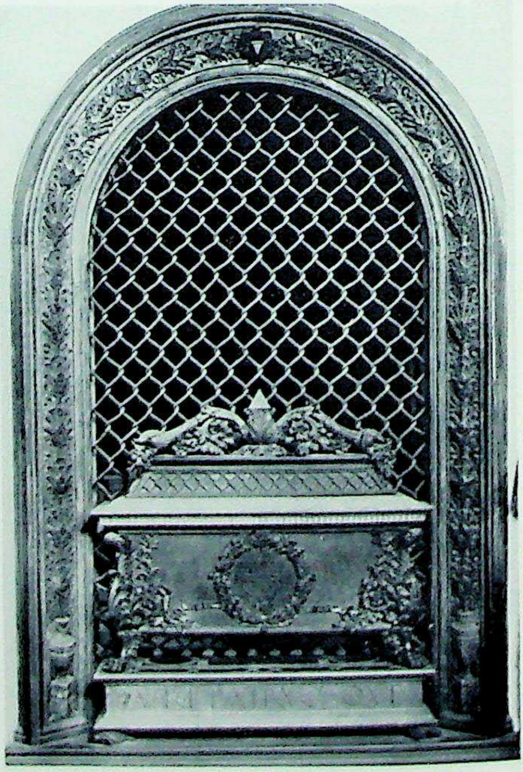
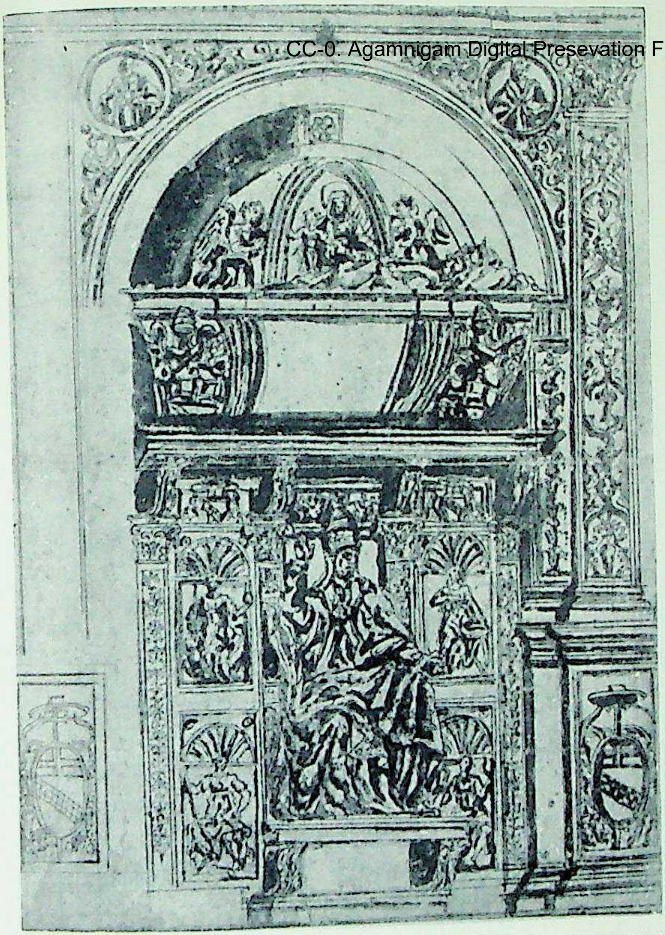


Fig. 69. Verrocchio: THE MEDICI MONUMENT. S. Lorenzo, Florence.



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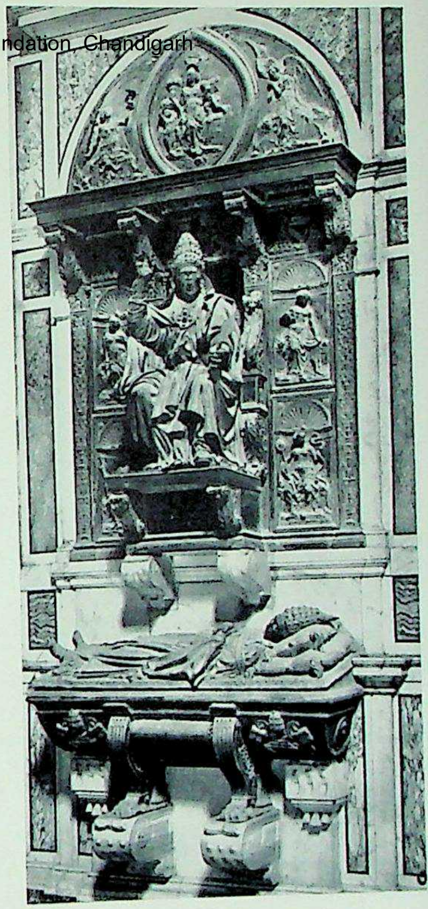

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Fig. 70. DRAWING AFTER THE TOMB OF POPE INNOCENT VIII. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Fig. 71. Antonio Pollajuolo: TOMB OF POPE INNOCENT VIII. St. Peter's, Rome.

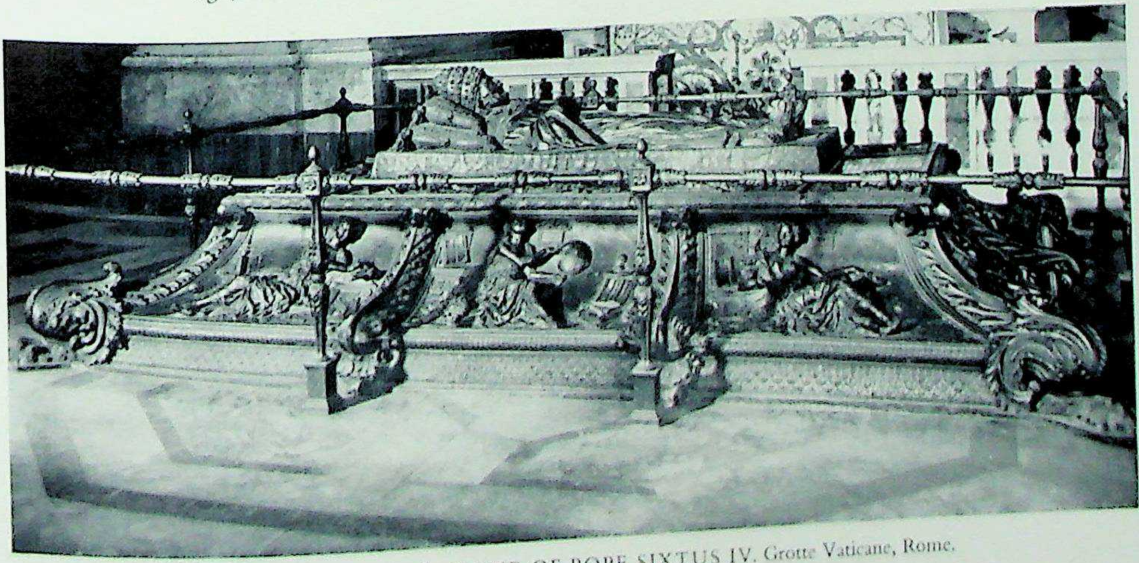


Fig. 72. Antonio Pollajuolo: TOMB OF POPE SIXTUS IV. Grotte Vaticane, Rome.

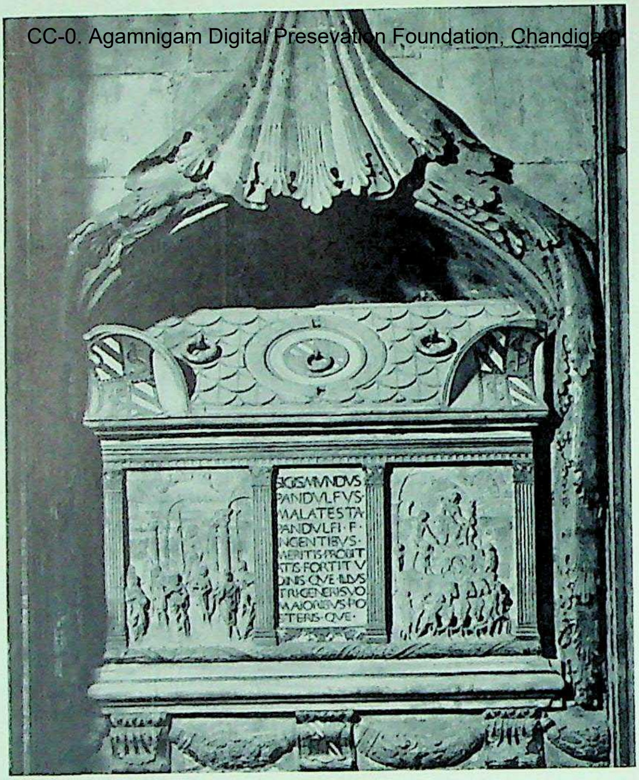

SIGISMVNDVS
PANDVLFVS
MALATESTA
PANDVLFI F
INGENTIBVS
MERITIS PROBIT
ATIS FORTIT V
DINIS QVE ILLVS
TRI GENERI SVO
MAIORIBVS PO
STERIS QVE

Fig. 73. Agostino di Duccio: ARCA DEGLI ANTENATI. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini.

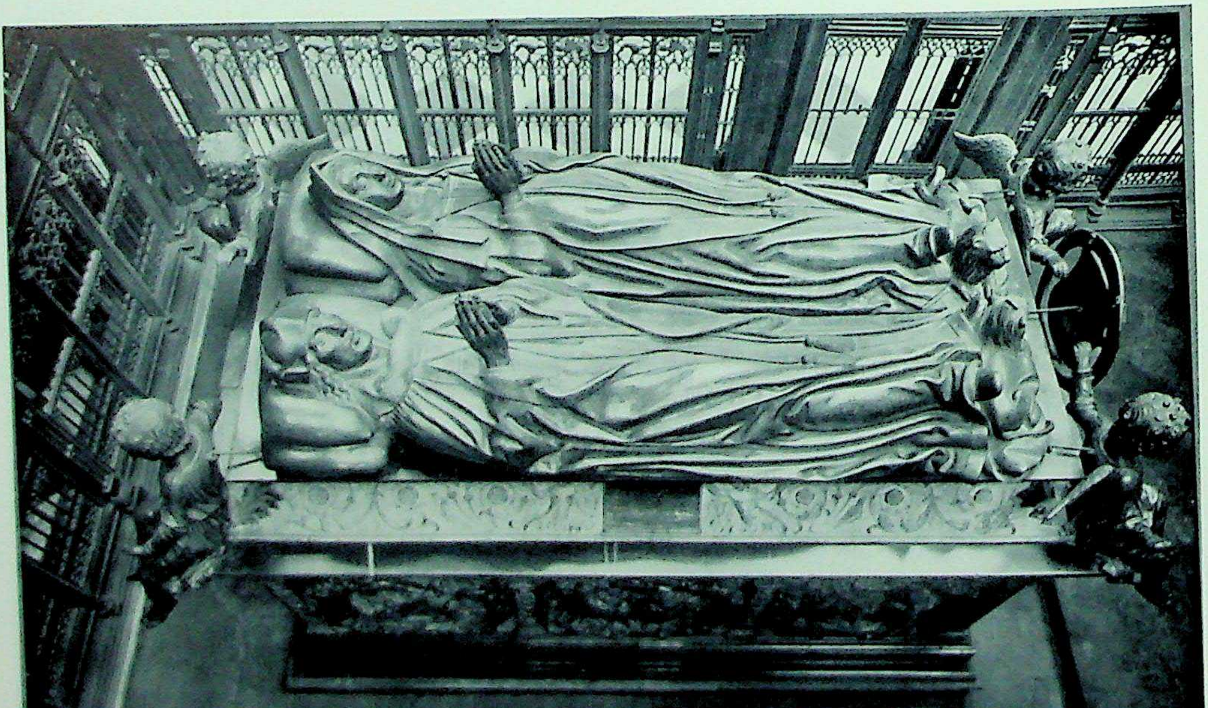


Fig. 74. Torrigiano: THE MONUMENT OF KING HENRY VII AND ELIZABETH OF YORK. Westminster Abbey, London.

the Marsuppini monument the roles of the sculpture and the architecture are reversed. At the top two angels stand on the cornice, disrupting the architectural scheme, and at the bottom the pilasters are relieved by putti (Plate 68) at either side. What Desiderio contributed to the sepulchral monument was some of the most elegant figure sculpture of the whole Renaissance, and this invests the tomb with its liveliness and buoyancy. Desiderio's concern was with the transitory movements of the body and the fleeting expressions of the face. The Madonna of the Bruni monument (Plate 54) is shown in a static, monumental pose, circumscribed by a heavy frame. The forms are rounded, noble, and remote. The Madonna of the Marsuppini monument (Plate 67), on the other hand, protrudes beyond the frame, and is caught in a moment of entrancing intimacy just before the Virgin drops her eyes and the Child lowers his arm. The forms are not blocked out forcefully as they are by Bernardo Rossellino, but are devised in limited recession, and their surface is diversified with carving in low relief which derives from Donatello's *stiacciato* carvings. Admittedly this new territory was not won without some sacrifice, and in the head of the Child we find a tendency towards flattened, schematic forms which was its natural corollary; the ear, for example, is treated as though it rested on the plane of the relief, the fingers and drapery are ironed out, and the hair is reduced to a calligraphic pattern on the skull. Within the limits Desiderio set himself, however, this is a deeply original and an outstandingly ambitious art. The marvel of the Marsuppini monument is that Desiderio also carries out in three dimensions the effects that he achieves so easily in two. The boys holding up the garlands at the top of the monument are treated with such freshness that they seem scarcely to be posed at all, and so are the confiding, wistful, humorous putti at the base. These are the children of Luca della Robbia rather than Donatello, but they are treated with a surface illusionism to which Luca did not aspire. Very few sculptors have possessed such total mastery over their medium as Desiderio, and even in the purely decorative sections of the monument he addresses us in his own absolutely individual voice, and communicates a sensuous pleasure in the surface of the marble that Donatello would have disdained or repressed.

The Bruni and the Marsuppini monuments now stand alone in Santa Croce as an embodiment of the ideals of their time. Had fate not decided otherwise, they would, however, have been accompanied by a third tomb, that of the humanist Poggio Bracciolini, who before his death in 1459 provided for a marble tomb in Santa Croce, decided 'il modo che voleva ch'ella istesse' (how it was to look), and composed his epitaph. In this case money ran out, and the tomb was never built.

Ruskin wrote of a fifteenth-century sculptor that 'his chisel seems to cut life and carve breath, the marble burns beneath it, and becomes transparent with very spirit'. These words refer not to Desiderio (to whose work they might well be applied) but to his contemporary, Mino da Fiesole. There is little in common between the two artists; Mino was a comparatively poor technician, and his emotional repertoire was a vein of frank sentimentality that endeared him to the nineteenth century but is rather unpalatable now. The differences between the sculptors are best brought out if we compare one of Desiderio's putti with a putto from Mino's monument of Count Hugo of Tuscany in the Badia (Plate 69). Mino's putto depends directly from Desiderio's and the monument on which it stands (Fig. 62) depends directly from the Bruni tomb. The equation between them, however, is not that between the Marsuppini and the Bruni monuments; rather is this a conversation between two people who are perpetually at cross-purposes. The externals are the same, the great pilasters at the sides, the triple division of the rear wall, the frieze and the semi-circular lunette. But the entablature is defaced with a scroll-motif which conceals its function, the central section of the background is filled with a stiff figurated relief, the central section is framed by conventionalized curtains, and the bier is developed into a sarcophagus so that the front of the sarcophagus can in turn be employed as the back of a seat. More than that, the relations in depth to which the Bruni monument owes much of its distinction have vanished, and the architectural elements are conceived on a single plane flat against the wall. Not unnaturally Mino da Fiesole made little headway in Florence, and a great part of his life was spent in Rome, where standards were lower and the conception of the tomb remained more rudimentary.

Far more valuable are the monuments carved in Lucca by Matteo Civitali. Born in 1436, Civitali was an associate of Antonio Rossellino. Probably he was trained in Antonio's studio, certainly the two artists were on good terms, for when Rossellino completed a monument at Pistoia its value was assessed by Civitali, and when Civitali completed his first great tomb in Lucca, its value was assessed by Rossellino. This is the tomb of Piero da Noceto in Lucca

Cathedral (Fig. 63). Piero da Noceto's contacts were with Roman humanism; he was the secretary of Pope Nicholas V and a lifelong friend of Pope Pius II, and after he died in retirement in 1467, his son determined to commemorate him with a tomb based on the Bruni and Marsuppini monuments. Like Bernardo Rossellino, Civitali was an architect, and in this tomb architecture has the same predominance as in the Bruni monument; figure sculpture is largely eliminated, save for two shield-bearing putti derived from Desiderio who are set out of harm's way at the top. Where the tomb departs from the Bruni monument is in the form of the sarcophagus, which is based on a Roman porphyry sarcophagus that was also reproduced by Antonio Rossellino. Civitali was not an artist of much originality, but he was gifted with great technical proficiency and unfailing taste, and as through his whole life he maintained his studio in his native town, Lucca in the later fifteenth century became the main centre of Tuscan marble sculpture outside Florence.

All these are secular tombs. With religious monuments, religious imagery was predominant. When Benozzo Federighi, the Bishop of Fiesole, died in 1450, his tomb (Plate 47) was commissioned from Luca della Robbia. Owing to the site it originally occupied, its height was limited, and it was planned as a square of marble with an enamelled terracotta frame. In the form of the sarcophagus, with its victory angels, Luca was evidently influenced by the Bruni tomb, but his vision and technique were more staid and rigid than Bernardo Rossellino's, and both the angels and the effigy take on a different inflection at his hands. For his iconography, Luca turned back to the fourteenth century, perhaps to the Baroncelli monument in Santa Croce, where the base is divided into three panels with figures of the dead Christ, the Virgin and St. John. The back of the Federighi monument is divided in precisely the same way, though once more the figures take on a personal inflection, and in expressiveness and artistry transcend those of the Baroncelli tomb.

By far the most important of these religious tombs is Antonio Rossellino's monument of the Cardinal of Portugal. All of the tombs discussed up to this point were designed for pre-existing contexts. The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, on the other hand, was that rare thing, a totally new edifice, and the tomb proper (Fig. 64) was therefore part of a much larger scheme. The ground plan of the chapel was square, and the three walls were treated in a uniform way, each with an arched recess, containing on the wall facing the entrance the altar, on the left a throne and on the right the tomb. The decoration of the chapel involved two sculptors—Luca della Robbia, who designed the enamelled terracotta ceiling (Fig. 65), and Antonio Rossellino, who executed the tomb and the throne opposite—and two painters—Baldovinetti, who was responsible for the spandrels beneath the ceiling and an Annunciation above the throne, and Antonio Pollajuolo, who painted the altar-piece and frescoes on the altar wall. The chapel is a unitary conception in which painting and sculpture meet on equal terms. When, for example, Baldovinetti painted his Virgin Annunciate in 1466, he transcribed the formal language of Rossellino's angels on the wall opposite with such precision that the fresco and the sculptures seem to be inspired by one stylistic will. Conversely the paintings by Antonio Pollajuolo afford a clue to the intention behind the monument. The altar-piece shows three Saints, with the Cardinal's patron St. James in the centre moving forwards with eyes turned towards the tomb. Above is a circular window framed in painted curtains held back by two foreshortened angels represented against a painted sky. The tomb is framed by sculptured curtains, and the circular aperture which corresponds with the window on the altar wall contains a Virgin and Child with two angels depicted as though flying through the air. In front is the Cardinal's effigy, and above are two more angels who seem just to have alighted on the monument. This vision of the tomb as a *tableau vivant* was a completely novel one.

With the Marsuppini monument we paused for a moment to look at the components of the tomb as sculpture, and we shall be more than repaid if we treat this tomb in the same way. The relief of the Madonna and Child (Plate 55) is carved in considerably greater depth than the Madonna of the Marsuppini monument. Animation is not the artist's aim, and the figures are shown in repose, no longer absorbed in one another but gazing at the effigy below. The design is one of extraordinary mastery—particularly beautiful is the way in which the Virgin supports the Child's left arm—and by comparison with Desiderio the treatment is staid and classical. For the two children seated beside the bier (Plate 56) classical models were employed, and the angels poised above the monument (Plate 57) are handled with a plastic freedom which Desiderio did not command. The complex drapery of these figures anticipates the drapery studies which were produced a decade later by Leonardo.

The chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal is the most important funerary monument produced in Florence after the Bruni tomb, and its merits seem to have been widely recognized. When a chapel was decorated in San Giobbe in Venice, its roof was reproduced, and when Mary of Aragon died in Naples in 1470, she was commemorated by a copy of Rossellino's monument, which has lost almost all the impetus of the original. But only one artist developed the idea that underlay the monument. That artist was Verrocchio in the Forteguerri monument in Pistoia Cathedral (Fig. 67).

Cardinal Forteguerri died in Rome in 1473, and was buried in a monument by Mino da Fiesole in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. The monument at Pistoia therefore is a cenotaph. Had it been completed, it would have been the most richly figurated monument of the whole century. When Verrocchio died in 1488, however, it was unfinished; a quarter of a century later it was added to; and in the middle of the eighteenth century it was given the monstrous form that it has now. If therefore we are to recognize it as the masterpiece it is, we must take away the frame in which the sculptures are now compressed, eliminate the baroque sarcophagus, the bust and the lamenting putti at the sides, and erase the Charity, the central figure at the bottom, which was added in the sixteenth century. When this is done, we are left with the Redeemer in benediction in a *mandorla* supported by four angels, and flying figures of Faith and Hope below (Plate 82). The effect made by these carvings when they were spaced out on the wall can be judged from a sketch-model (Fig. 66) made in Verrocchio's studio before the poses of the angels had been finally decided on. In one respect, however, the impression left by the model is also a misleading one, since the original figure of the Cardinal survives, blocked out by Verrocchio and completed early in the sixteenth century, and we know from this that at the bottom of the tomb the Cardinal was seen kneeling in full-face. Only when this statue is replaced in its proper context, does the Christ (Plate 83), with right arm raised in absolution and eyes gazing compassionately down, take on its full significance. From a formal point of view Verrocchio had a precedent for the Forteguerri monument in Nanni di Banco's relief of the Assumption of the Virgin over the Porta della Mandorla of the Cathedral, where flying angels also support the central figure in an almond-shaped surround. If we compare the angels figure for figure, there can be little doubt that he had this carving constantly in mind, though Nanni di Banco's motifs are translated into alien terms, and the drapery forms have taken on a baroque amplitude. Iconographically Verrocchio had a precedent as well, in the fourteenth-century Bardi monument in Santa Croce, which contains a fresco by Maso di Banco showing Bettino Bardi kneeling before Christ as Judge. Naturally in Verrocchio's monument this theme is treated with greater insight and wider expressive range, and in this respect too the tomb looks forward to the baroque. Indeed when we reconstruct the Forteguerri monument as Verrocchio conceived it, with its emotional tension communicated through the broken rhythms of a continuous plastic surface, it seems utterly irrational that a century and a half of classicism should separate it from the St. Teresa of Bernini.

The Forteguerri monument makes its effect through figure sculpture. In Verrocchio's only other tomb, the Medici monument in San Lorenzo (Fig. 69), there is no figurative element, and at first sight we might think that the two tombs were planned by two quite different brains. Yet on a closer view we find that the stylistic inclination behind them is basically the same. Where they differ is in the tradition from which they depend. In Florence great ceremonial tombs were an exception rather than the rule, and the men who were commemorated by tombs with sepulchral effigies were far outnumbered by those who were commemorated in a less personal and ostentatious way. The type of these more modest tombs was established in 1418 in the well-designed but coarsely executed monument of Onofrio Strozzi, which consists of a sarcophagus in a double-sided semi-circular frame. As the century went on, tombs of this kind became extremely popular, and on one occasion, in Bernardo Rossellino's tomb of Neri Capponi in Santo Spirito (Fig. 68), the containing arch was heightened and filled with a simulated rope-work grille in bronze. Verrocchio must have recalled this work when he planned the Medici tomb.

The tomb dates from 1469, and was commissioned by Lorenzo il Magnifico to commemorate his father Piero de' Medici and his uncle Giovanni. Like the Bruni and the Marsuppini tombs, it was designed for a pre-existing context, but this time a Renaissance context, the Medici place of burial in San Lorenzo, where it faced in one direction on to the transept of Brunelleschi's church and in the other towards the Old Sacristy. For this reason it was necessary that the framework of the monument should correspond with the frames round the stucco reliefs by Donatello over the two doors. The mediums employed in the old Sacristy also dictated the mediums of the new monument. On one side of the Sacristy were Donatello's bronze doors, and bronze was used throughout the tomb; the marble platform rested on bronze tortoises, the sarcophagus rested on bronze feet, there was bronze foliage at the corners and a bronze superstructure on the lid, and above was a bronze grille. The use of bronze enabled Verrocchio to poise the heavy marble sarcophagus on visually slight supports. At the same time it immeasurably enhanced the effect of the porphyry flanks of the sarcophagus with their central medallions of green porphyry. No one who has seen them is likely to forget these dark-green epitaphs framed in their bronze wreaths, or the smooth red sides of the sarcophagus broken by the boisterous foliage of the bronze supports. There is no work of non-figurated sculpture in the fifteenth century which gives us the same sense of inventive power as this extraordinary tomb.

Verrocchio's Medici monument is the first tomb in Florence after the monument of Pope John XXIII in which bronze plays a substantial part. There was no reason, however, why an entire tomb should not be cast in bronze, and Verrocchio was pre-eminently qualified to carry out just such a monument. Unhappily he never did so, and the first experiments in bronze monumental sculpture were undertaken in Rome by Antonio Pollajuolo. In 1479, seven years after Verrocchio's Medici monument had been completed, Pope Sixtus IV issued a bull providing for the building of a funerary chapel in St. Peter's. The Pope ordained that he should be buried in the middle of this chapel, and when he died in 1484, his nephew, Giuliano della Rovere, the future Pope Julius II, commissioned Pollajuolo to carry out a free-standing bronze tomb (Fig. 72, Plate 86).

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries one of the commonest types of commemorative monument was a tomb slab set in the church floor. Occasionally, in the hands of a great sculptor, this was elevated into a work of art. In San Frediano at Lucca it was stamped with the personal rhythms and rolling drapery of Jacopo della Quercia's mature style; in Santa Maria Novella in Florence it took on the flowing silhouette of Ghiberti's tomb slab of Leonardo Dati; and in Siena Cathedral it embraced the complex space structure of the Pecci tomb slab of Donatello. On one occasion, and one only, the tomb slab was developed further still, and was raised on a carved marble surround which lent it the status of an aspirant free-standing monument. The work in question is Donatello's tomb slab of Pope Martin V in St. John Lateran (Fig. 36), and it was this, the only early Renaissance papal tomb in bronze, that served as a point of departure for the Sixtus IV monument.

Antonio Pollajuolo seems to have been a few years older than Verrocchio. He was twenty-two or twenty-three when Donatello returned from Padua to Florence, and was influenced in a decisive fashion by Donatello's late bronze sculptures, above all by his bronze reliefs. The great mountain of bronze that he produced in Rome consisted of a kind of tomb slab, with a raised effigy, and of a chamfered platform, with ten reliefs of the Liberal Arts divided from each other by great curling consoles that tethered the tomb to a green porphyry step beneath. There can be little doubt that Pollajuolo, before modelling his effigy of Pope Sixtus IV, had looked intently at the Martin V slab and at Donatello's effigy of Pope John XXIII. The effigy of Pope John XXIII, however, represented a relatively early phase in the development of Donatello's bronze technique, and if he had produced a bronze effigy during the last decade of his life, it would have been marked by rougher handling and still more uncompromising realism. In the strongly naturalistic head of Pope Sixtus IV and in the broken planes of the Pope's vestments is implicit a close knowledge of the work of Donatello's final phase.

As a sculptor Antonio Pollajuolo is a less commanding figure than Verrocchio. No large sculptures by him survive, and in the works we have there is nothing to suggest that he was capable of creating closely meditated, self-consistent statues like Verrocchio's Christ and St. Thomas group. Nurtured on the study of classical reliefs, he was temperamentally a relief artist. When, therefore, he was called upon to design the Sixtus IV monument, he avoided the challenge of the statue or statuette, and planned it as an aggregation of bronze reliefs. The reliefs fall into two groups, the Virtues beside the effigy and the Liberal Arts set round the base. The Virtues are based on a set of paintings of the Virtues that Antonio and his brother Piero had painted for the Mercatanzia in Florence. The Liberal Arts, on the other hand, are original designs, and it is on them that emphasis must rest. The Sixtus IV monument was based on a scholastic Aristotelian programme, which reflected the interests of the Pope. Music apart, each of the Liberal Arts has a book with an inscription, and very heterogeneous the sources of these inscriptions are—Aristotle, Euclid, the *Centiloquium* of Ptolemy, and Peckham's *Perspectiva Communis* are among them. There is something almost incongruous in the unity that they acquired at Pollajuolo's hands; it is as though Giuliano della Rovere were determined to conceal his uncle's medieval mind in a decent Renaissance dress. To the neoclassical taste of

Winckelmann the imagery of this monument seemed 'etwas lächerlich', but there is nothing risible in these designs, for Pollajuolo had a genius for rendering the human figure and for the medium of bronze, and his reliefs reach great heights of artistry. When we compare the Rhetoric (Plate 88) with the Hadrianic coin from which it was evolved, it becomes clear why Pollajuolo ranks as a great artist. In the Arithmetic (Plate 89) the posture he adopted was more elaborate still; one leg is extended and the head turned away, and the resulting pose has something of the character of a sixteenth-century supporting tomb figure, a tiny foretaste of Guglielmo della Porta.

The tomb of Sixtus IV was finished in 1493, but a year before it was installed his successor, Innocent VIII, died in his turn, and Pollajuolo was commissioned to produce a second papal monument (Plate 87, Figs. 70, 71). The tomb of Innocent VIII was a wall monument, set in an arch between richly carved pilasters resting on supports carved with the Pope's arms. The interior once more was bronze, with a lunette at the top and the sarcophagus and sepulchral effigy beneath, and on a lower level four reliefs of Virtues and a platform with a seated figure of the Pope. What is original in the conception is the seated Pope in benediction holding the relic of the Holy Lance. There had been life statues of Popes before, but never previously had the life image coalesced with the sepulchral monument. For that reason Pollajuolo's monument is a turning point in the history of the tomb; before it was dismantled in 1606 it inspired Guglielmo della Porta's monument of Pope Paul III, and after it was reinstalled in 1621, in a wrong form which reflected the preconceptions of the time, it kindled the imaginations of Algardi and Bernini.

Under Innocent VIII's successor, Pope Alexander VI, there came to Rome in a secondary capacity a young Florentine bronze sculptor, Pietro Torrigiano, who had worked in Florence at the Medici Academy as a pupil of Bertoldo. Alone of his contemporaries Torrigiano read the lesson of Pollajuolo's monuments. So lively was his memory of the intellectual ferment that had thrown up these tombs, and so enduring his impression of the potentialities which they revealed, that when, fifteen years later, he was commissioned to undertake in London the tombs of Lady Margaret Beaufort and of King Henry VII and Elizabeth of York (Plate 94, Fig. 74), his point of departure was Pollajuolo's Sixtus IV monument. In their incongruous setting, beneath late Gothic vaulting and inside Gothic grilles, these splendid tombs, with their sharply characterized effigies and sumptuous ornament, form the northernmost bridgehead of Florentine Renaissance art.

The Portrait Bust

When we encounter portrait busts today, we take for granted the fact of sculptured portraiture. Not so the early humanists, who looked back across aeons of emblematic portraiture to a remote age when sculptors had been capable of rendering in marble the lineaments of a specific human face. Sculptured portraits appeared on tombs and monuments, but from these only one inference was possible, that the gulf between the simulacrum and reality was too wide to span. When in 1421 a figure of Martin V was carved for Milan Cathedral (Vol. I, Plate 63), the head was treated, with the laborious literalism of late Gothic art, as an accretion of naturalistic detail, and somewhat the same path was followed by Ghiberti, with greater genius and restraint, when modelling the self-portrait on the first of his bronze doors.

As the fifteenth century advanced, the urge towards portraiture increased, and in Florence it became (if Vasari is to be believed) a normal practice among progressive artists to enhance the lifelikeness of figures by giving them the features of individuals. Masaccio, for example, painted in the Carmine a figure of St. Paul which was supposed to represent a certain Bartolo di Angiolino Angiolini, and his lost fresco of the Consecration of the Carmine included portraits of Niccolò da Uzzano, Bartolommeo Valori, Lorenzo Ridolfi and other notabilities. In the sixteenth century the heads of Donatello's statues on the Campanile were also looked upon as portraits of Francesco Soderini and Giovanni Chierichini and other figures of the time. How far these were really portraits of living persons we shall never know, but it is evident that Donatello could not have carved them had he not been familiar with Roman portrait busts. Perhaps the clearest instance of the function of the Roman bust as a catalyst of contemporary portraiture occurs in what is an indubitable portrait, though couched in a style based on the antique—the self-portrait of Ghiberti on the second bronze door.

There was testimony and to spare of the character of this peculiarly Roman art. In the first place there were the busts themselves, the face sculptures that confront us in so many museums today. And in the second place there were literary accounts of Roman portraiture—Pliny, for instance, lamenting that in his day the sideboards of rich Romans were no longer covered with wax masks. Pliny it was, too, who handed down the name of Lysistratus of Sicyon, 'the first person who modelled a likeness in plaster of a human being from the living face itself, and established the method of pouring wax into this plaster mould, and then making the final corrections on the wax cast', the inventor in short of the life mask. Logically the reanimator of the portrait bust should have been Donatello, and so long as a painted terracotta bust of Cicero in the Bargello was looked on as a head of Niccolò da Uzzano and ascribed to Donatello, it seemed that this was really so. But there is no proof that Donatello practised portrait sculpture, and the earliest surviving Renaissance portrait bust is by an artist of very different tendencies and calibre. The sculptor is Mino da Fiesole, the sitter is Piero de' Medici, and the date is 1453.

Mino's bust of Piero de' Medici (Fig. 79) is important for what it aspires to be rather than for what it is. What it aspires to be is a repristinated Roman bust. Its most classical feature is the head, which suggests that Mino had been looking hard, too hard perhaps, at classical originals, though more of the arms is shown than was customary in Roman portraits and the rendering of the sleeve and surcoat is startlingly unclassical. By comparison with Roman sculptors, Mino was handicapped by a defective grasp of form, and we find the heavy jaw of Piero de' Medici reproduced in other busts, even in what is by far the finest of Mino's portraits, the Niccolò Strozzi in Berlin (Plate 70). In the fifteenth century one of the provoking things about the Roman bust must have been its anonymity. Here were the features of an individual perpetuated by an artist, but what individual and by whom? Probably for this reason most male portrait busts in the fifteenth century are inscribed beneath, on a classical cartellino, with the name of the sitter, the name of the artist and the date. This is the case with the Niccolò Strozzi, which was carved by Mino in Rome in 1454. In Rome Mino must have extended his experience of antique portrait sculpture, and this led him on to experiment with busts like the beautiful Diotisalvi Neroni in the Louvre, in which the sitter is dressed in a kind of toga, and the Giovanni de' Medici in the Bargello, where classical armour is substituted for contemporary dress. It taught him, too, to individualize the features in such a way that certain of his later busts, like the finely conceived Astorgio Manfredi in Washington, offer a real challenge to antiquity. But the possibilities of this type of free, classicizing portraiture were limited, and Mino in effect exhausted them.

At the very time when Mino was engaged in Naples in carving the Manfredi bust, a step taken in Florence changed the whole character of the sculptured portrait. This was the reintroduction of the classical life cast. In one sense the life cast was only an extension of the death mask, and in sculpture, above all in sepulchral monuments, the death mask had long had a major role to play. How much importance attached to verisimilitude in posthumous portraiture we know from the case of the Cardinal of Portugal, whose effigy in San Miniato al Monte was carved by Antonio Rossellino from a death mask and from a cast of the Cardinal's hands. The death mask even gave rise to a bastard form of sculpture, in which a cast from the mask was superimposed on a terracotta bust. These busts form an exact equivalent of the wax masks described by Pliny, and serve only to remind us how dead death masks look.

The life mask, on the other hand, was an aesthetic device, which resulted from a new conception of the purpose of the portrait bust. It was a manifestation of humanist art, and forms a corollary to the humanist sepulchral monument. When the physician Giovanni Chellini died in 1463, his tomb at San Minato al Tedesco was constructed by Bernardo Rossellino, and for the effigy, with its sunken face and pendulous fold of skin beneath the chin, a death mask was certainly employed. But Chellini has the singular distinction of being the only subject in the entire fifteenth century whose features are also recorded in a bust made from a life cast. This bust (Plate 59, Fig. 75), which is now in London, was carved by Antonio Rossellino in 1456. We know that it was made from a life cast, because the features are rendered in great detail and the ears are shown pressed back against the head, precisely as they would have been in a wax or gesso mask. By contrast with the busts of Mino da Fiesole, this shows an extraordinary concern with the surface texture of the face. The veins on the temple, the furrows on the forehead, the wrinkles at the corners of the eyes, all are rendered with marvellous exactitude. Rossellino seems to have had a preference for a blotchy brownish marble, which he used for the St. Sebastian at Empoli, and he employs it again in the Chellini bust, so subtly that the brown stains accentuate the parchment-like texture of the skin. Rossellino must have had in mind Roman busts of the type of a head in the Museo delle Terme (Fig. 76), but his technique was infinitely more refined. Certainly the humorous eyes and benign, rather cynical smile of the Chellini bust argue a richer and

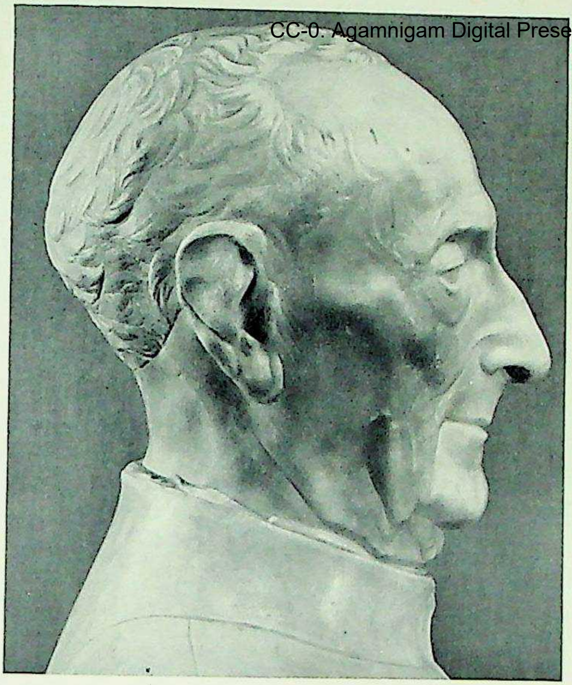


Fig. 75. Antonio Rossellino: GIOVANNI CHELLINI.
Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

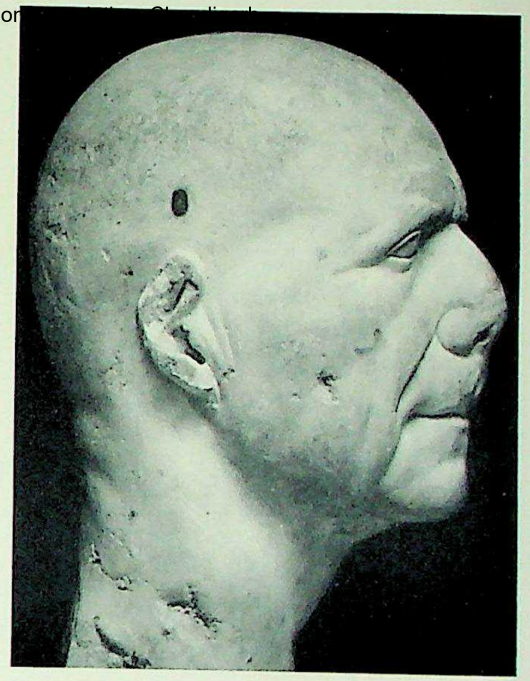


Fig. 76. Roman, 1st century B.C.:
MALE PORTRAIT BUST. Museo delle Terme, Rome.

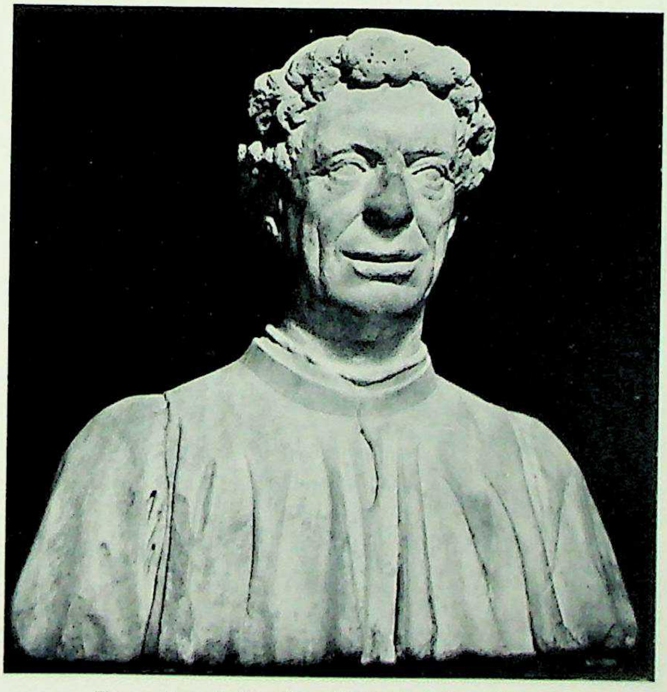


Fig. 77. Antonio Rossellino: MATTEO PALMIERI.
Museo Nazionale, Florence.

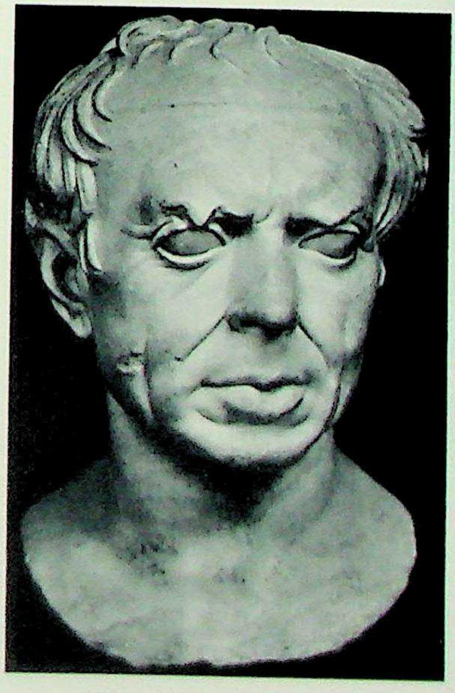
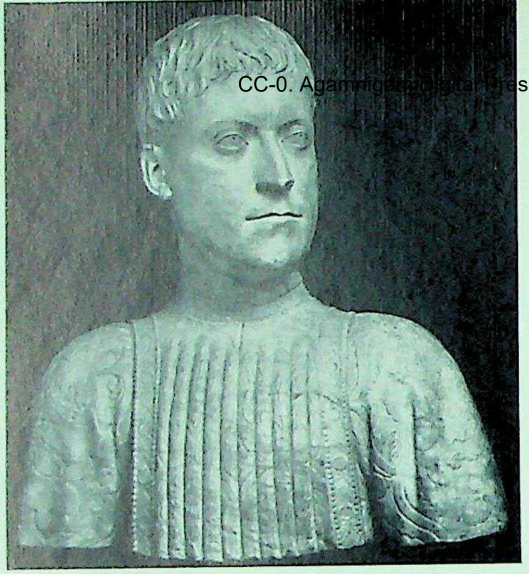


Fig. 78. Roman, 1st century B.C.:
MALE PORTRAIT BUST. Museo Vaticano, Rome.



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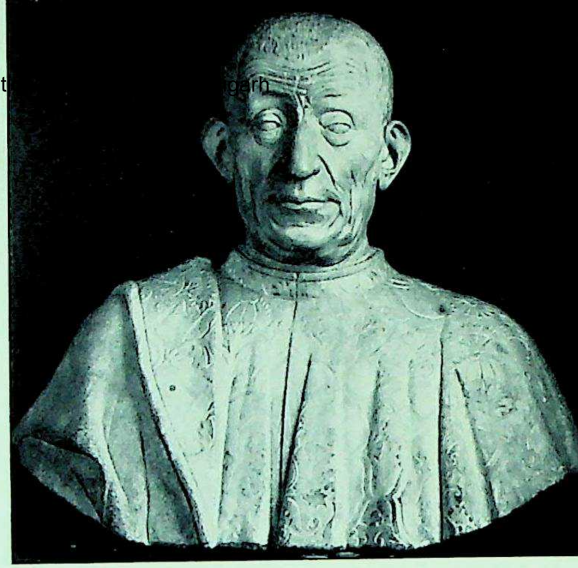

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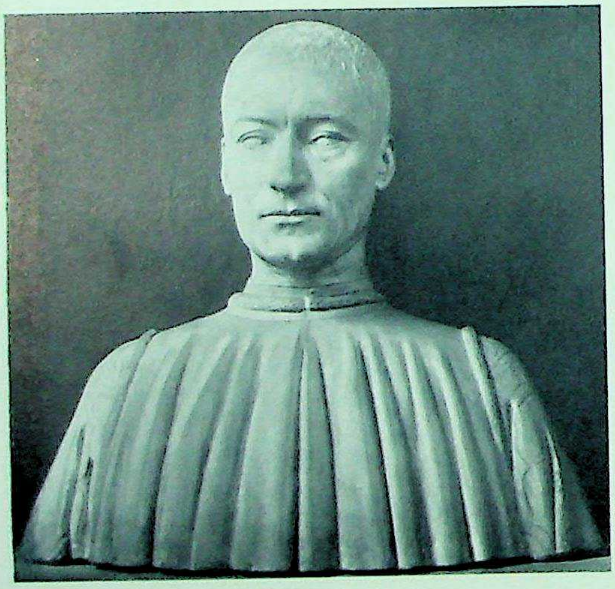

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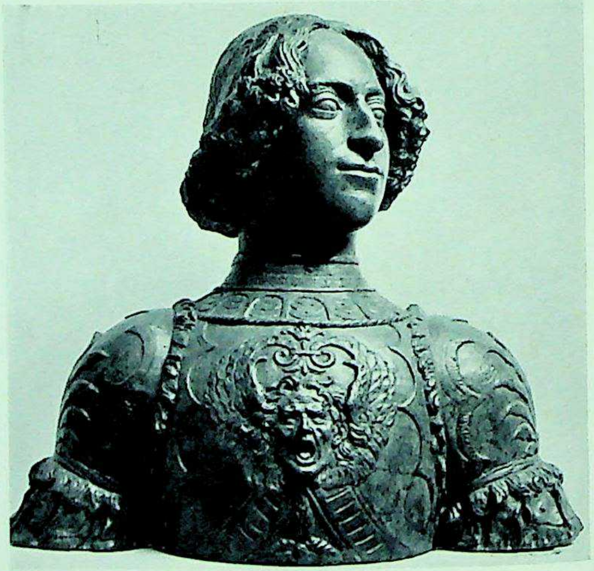

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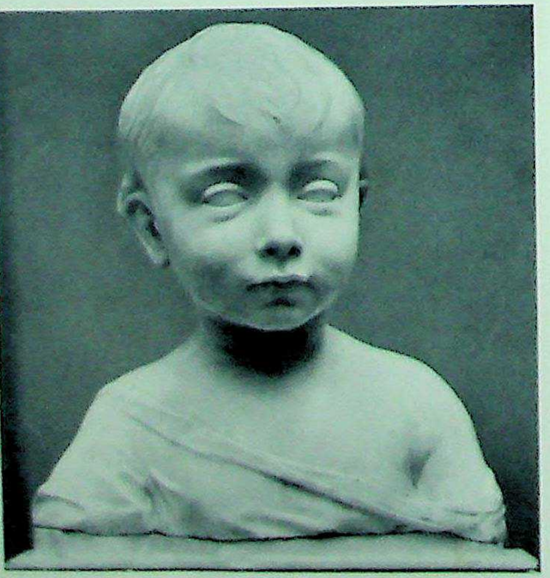

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Fig. 79. Mino da Fiesole: PIERO DE' MEDICI. Museo Nazionale, Florence.

Fig. 80. Benedetto da Majano: PIETRO MELLINI. Museo Nazionale, Florence.

Fig. 81. Benedetto da Majano: FILIPPO STROZZI. Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 82. Verrocchio: GIULIANO DE' MEDICI. National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Fig. 83. Desiderio da Settignano: BUST OF A CHILD. National Gallery of Art, Washington.

more penetrating sense of character than any implied in the marble snapshots of classical Rome.

Paradoxically, therefore, with the introduction of the life-mask there obtrudes into the portrait bust for the first time an interpretative element. Rossellino's aim was to supply not merely a topographical survey, a relief map of his sitter's features, but an image of the whole man: a record, but a record transcendentalized. With the Chellini bust Renaissance portraiture acquires a third dimension, a new weight and thoughtfulness, and we are face to face for the first time with a portrait, from which, had we no written evidence, the Renaissance attitude to human personality might be deduced. In the whole fifteenth century there is no theoretical discussion of the problems of sculptured portraiture, and when we infer that a coherent body of theory stands behind this type of portrait, we are logically on weak ground. Alberti, in his treatise on sculpture, the *De Statua*, talks of the differences between one human being and the next. For Alberti the aim of sculpture was verisimilitude, and since human beings differed from one another, it followed that the sculptor must aim at representing a specific man. No matter if its subject was Socrates or Plato or anybody else, the statue, declares Alberti, must portray an individual; it must provide an image not of man in general but of a man, be he utterly unknown. Alberti, when he wrote these words, was speaking of statuary, but they have an oblique relevance to portrait sculpture too, and fortify the probability that some form of theory underpins the portrait bust. Just as the change in the character of fourth-century Greek portraiture is ascribable to what has been called 'the invention of the soul as a psychological fact', so here we seem to sense the current of thought which culminates thirty years later in Pico della Mirandola's *De Hominis Dignitate.*

The Chellini bust does not consist simply of a head, but shows the body as well, and the body organized in rather a peculiar way. The arms, as in Mino's Niccolò Strozzi, are cut off slightly above the elbows, and the weight of the two shoulders is balanced on a centre marked down the back and front. The presence of this central line establishes that the head is turned a little to the right. All of the great Florentine portrait busts are organized in this fashion, and to this their aesthetic coherence is in large part due. Had Alberti discussed portraiture in the *De Statua*, we can imagine that he might have advocated a procedure of this kind.

This procedure appears again in the only other fully authenticated portrait bust by Rossellino, that of the statesman and poet Matteo Palmieri in the Bargello (Fig. 77). Like Bruni and Marsuppini, Palmieri was a distinguished Latinist, and his bust was assimilated to a Latin portrait type (Fig. 78). Carved in 1468, it was displayed till the early nineteenth century over the doorway of his house in Florence, remaining there indeed until its surface had vanished and its detail was effaced. In its present weathered state it might suggest that Antonio Rossellino became the Rembrandt of sculptured portraiture. But the large formal relationships through which its effect is made today would originally have been less evident, and the hair, which is now remarkable for its plasticity, is drilled like the hair of the two angels on the monument of the Cardinal of Portugal, and must have been finished in rather the same way. The Palmieri bust is seen in its truest perspective if it is regarded as a middle term between the bust of Chellini and the next of the great Florentine male portrait sculptures, the bust of Pietro Mellini by Benedetto da Majano (Plate 71, Fig. 80). The Mellini bust was carved six years later, in 1474. Benedetto, like his contemporary and associate Domenico Ghirlandaio, belonged to a generation for whom the practical problems of artistic production had been in large part solved. On a technical plane he was one of the most accomplished marble sculptors of the quattrocento, but his work lacks the adventurousness and empiricism which stamps the sculpture of the middle of the century. An artist of great fastidiousness, Benedetto da Majano in the Mellini bust devotes the same attention to the dress as to the head. Its main fascination, however, rests in the handling of the features; the apprehension of their basic form is less firm than it had been with Rossellino, but the surface, covered with a pattern of little runnels that recalls the flattened reliefs of Donatello and Desiderio da Settignano, is treated with consummate mastery, and is inspired by a wealth of human feeling and a rich compassion which lift it to the front rank of portraiture. Benedetto da Majano's portrait style was taken over by his associate Ghirlandaio in a celebrated painting in the Louvre, but we have only to contrast the Mellini bust with Ghirlandaio's rather desiccated painting to realize the greater richness and far greater sophistication of portrait sculpture.

The only other bust signed by Benedetto da Majano represents Filippo Strozzi (Fig. 81). This is the sole Renaissance portrait bust for which a model survives. The terracotta model is in Berlin; it represents an aging man with head held forwards and turned slightly to the right, and eyes half closed and gazing down. In the marble all this is changed. The form has been condensed and centralized, the head is vigorous and erect, and the eyes look boldly outwards in full face. Without any diminution of its purely naturalistic features, the type has been ennobled and refined, while the back is resolved in a linear pattern which is perhaps the crowning beauty of the bust.

In child portraiture, too, there were lessons to be learned from Roman art. Just as the first generation of Tuscan Renaissance sculptors were attracted to Roman reliefs of putti, so the artists of the middle of the century directed their attention to Roman child portrait busts. There was no vogue for child portraiture as such, and the pretext for these busts was offered by the demand for busts of the young St. John and the Child Christ. Not all the busts of the Child Christ and the young St. John produced about this time were portraits; on many of them (and especially on the heterogeneous busts that are usually grouped together under the name of Antonio Rossellino) the concept of portraiture, the notion, that is, of modelling the head from the features of an individual child, left no mark at all. But in at least two cases we can argue with confidence that this was the procedure employed. Both busts are by Desiderio da Settignano and are in Washington (Fig. 83), and in both there is a miraculous play of movement in the cheeks that has no parallel till the child portraits of Houdon.

There is no female portrait bust in the entire fifteenth century which bears its sculptor's name or is attested by any document, and in studying these sculptures we have to cross a fragile bridge of style analysis. Almost all of the surviving female busts are ascribed to Desiderio da Settignano, but in the case of only one can Desiderio's authorship be demonstrated. This is in the Bargello (Plate 66), and must have been executed at about the same time as the supporting angels on the Altar of the Sacrament. The angels are carved with that marvellous softness, that inspired understatement with which Desiderio invariably speaks, the image built up in terms of surface modelling as though in wax. In the bust in the Bargello the head is treated in precisely the same way; the hair merges with the forehead, the mouth is depicted in arrested movement, and the sleeves beneath are resolved in two contrasting patterns of soft folds. As in all Desiderio's sculptures we are conscious of surface properties rather than of the organic structure under the design. Obviously the whole conception differs fundamentally from that of the putative bust of Marietta Strozzi in Berlin

(Plate 58). The Berlin bust is more prosaic, which is another way of saying that it is more life-like, and it is composed of statements, not of hints or innuendos, which is another way of saying that each feature is given its true plastic value and is not merely inscribed on the surface of the head. The folds in the sleeves of the Berlin bust are more recessive, details like the juncture and lacing of the bodice are more sharply defined, the mouth and eyelids are deeply carved, the hair is undercut and at the sides stands free of the scalp, and the headdress is treated as a plastic mass whose solidity is emphasized by relatively heavy drilling in the folds. More than this the design of the whole bust is established more firmly than that of the bust in the Bargello. In the angels on Antonio Rossellino's tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal we find exact parallels for these particulars.

Unlike the male portraits, the female portrait busts are relatively little influenced by antiquity. For the fifteenth-century Roman busts of women seem to have had no immediacy, and though the making of female portrait busts represented a return to antique practice, there is nothing about the busts themselves that is specifically classical. Where the male portrait busts are strongly realistic, the features in the female busts are smoothed out till they reflect what is almost an ideal type. Never do we find a record of those minute details of physiognomy on which the effect of the male busts depends. Where the female busts link up most closely with male busts of the type of the Palmieri is in the symmetrical planning of the lower part, from which the column of the neck and head rises with wonderful felicity.

At the same time it would be wrong to regard these busts as mere abstractions, for they are far less abstract than the busts which a contemporary of Rossellino, Francesco Laurana, was carving in Naples at about this time. Laurana's busts belong to the category of court art; their representational aim is deliberately restricted, so that the head is approximated to its nearest geometrical equivalent and the dress beneath is stereotyped. So static and impassive are they that at one time they were looked on as a form of posthumous official portraiture. In point of fact the sitters, in every case save one, were very much alive, and the form in which their features were recorded was due to the stylistic preconceptions of the sculptor. Just as Agostino di Duccio in his reliefs at Rimini treats the heads of his figures schematically, so Laurana effects a marriage between geometry and portraiture. In one bust (Plate 105) a painted surface still redresses the defective naturalism of the forms. To speak of defective naturalism is not to denigrate Laurana's busts. Of their kind they are some of the most sensitive achievements of the fifteenth century, and there is a perennial fascination in their frozen masks. Yet how much more elevated, how much more ambitious, how much more profound is the concept of portraiture espoused by Desiderio and Rossellino.

Painted portraiture in Florence in the fifteenth century was dominated by the profile portrait, and initially fidelity to the profile also affected the portrait bust. It is evident in Rossellino's Giovanni Chellini, where the view in full-face (Plate 59) is of secondary importance compared with the views from the two sides (Fig. 75), and it dogs Desiderio's Bargello bust. Only with Antonio Rossellino's bust of a lady in Berlin is the difficulty of reconciling the three views of the head and equating their importance largely overcome. None the less the profile view retained a rather special significance in Renaissance sculptured portraits. This is true even of a head which seems at first sight as solid and as three-dimensional as Rossellino's bust of Matteo Palmieri, where excellent as is the frontal view, it is the profile through which the character is most graphically expressed. If the profile portrait was a limiting factor in the development of the portrait bust, the portrait bust had a radical influence on painted portraits, and must indeed have been largely accountable for the great step forward through which the rather unambitious female portraits of the fifties and sixties developed into the masterly portraits produced by Antonio Pollajuolo about 1470, where the profile view appears for the first time as one aspect of an image which is fully three dimensional.

Meanwhile, a new type of portrait sculpture had been gaining ground. Its protagonist was not Pollajuolo the classicist, but the anti-classicist Verrocchio. Just as Verrocchio evolved the unclassical Forteguerri monument from the classicizing monuments of the middle of the century, just as he intruded the unclassical Christ and St. Thomas into the classical company of the statues on Or San Michele, so he transformed the portrait bust. The prime document for this is the beautiful bust of the Lady with the Primroses in the Bargello (Plate 77), the first bust in which the hands are shown. More important than the inclusion of the hands is the style tendency of which this forms part. The back is once more centralized, but the front, though the centre is marked by a button on the throat, is a denial of centrality. The head looks out and slightly upwards to the left, the hands are placed irregularly on the breast, and the diaphanous dress falls from the shoulders in folds on which no artificial unity has been imposed. The profile bust of Desiderio was developed by Rossellino into a bust in which the front and side views coexist, and Verrocchio in turn developed this into a sculptured portrait in which all views were fused in a continuous whole. Verrocchio, after Donatello, was the fifteenth-century Florentine sculptor with the strongest feeling for plasticity, and this led him to substitute for the mid-century conception of the portrait bust as a self-consistent unit, a new conception of the bust as a unit in space with an exact spatial reference defined by the receding planes of hands, breasts and head.

What Verrocchio achieved for the female portrait, he did also for its male counterpart. The Giuliano de' Medici in Washington (Fig. 82) traces its descent from the early Medici portraits of Mino da Fiesole rather than from the busts of Rossellino. It is conceived rhetorically, like the Colleoni statue, with an expression of such lifelikeness that the attention seems to be directed to some unseen incident in its vicinity. Here is a portrait type in which character is sketched not by the particularized rendering of physiognomical detail, but through an intuitive sense for characteristics of deportment and expression, and in it are implicit the principles of portraiture that were to culminate in the succeeding century in Vittoria's portrait busts.

The Equestrian Monument

The reintroduction in the fifteenth century of the life-size bronze statue led in turn to the revival of another classical art form, the equestrian monument. In the trecento, especially in North Italy, equestrian figures occur on tombs, but in stone or marble the sculptor was fettered by the block in which he worked. In Verona in the early fifteenth century riding figures were modelled in stucco or cement, and both in Northern and Central Italy they were also carved in wood. In Venice a wooden equestrian statue was incorporated in the Savelli monument in the Frari, and in Tuscany equestrian figures were carved by Jacopo della Quercia and Agnolo Gaddi, the latter of whom was responsible in 1390 for a statue of Piero Farnese. For all their ease of working, wooden equestrian statues had one overriding disadvantage, that they were impermanent, and five years after it was carved Agnolo's figure was reported to be 'jam antiqua et non apparens'. For this reason it was decided that Piero Farnese and his fellow condottiere Sir John Hawkwood should be commemorated in the Duomo in Florence not in sculpture, but by frescoes painted on the wall. These were entrusted to the author of the wooden figure. By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, however, the late-Gothic fresco of Hawkwood seemed unworthy of its place, so in 1436 it was agreed that a new commemorative fresco should be commissioned from a younger artist, Paolo Uccello. Uccello's fresco (Fig. 86) is an ideal monument. It consists of a platform raised on consoles; on the platform stands the sarcophagus supported by marble blocks, and on the lid of the sarcophagus is an equestrian figure. As a young man Uccello had been employed in Venice on the mosaics of St. Mark's, and as he pressed the tesserae on the façade into their place, he must have looked day after day at the bronze horses (Fig. 85) above the entrance to the church. When he came to plan the Hawkwood fresco, his memory of these great bronze castings was still fresh, and round his painted horse there blows, for the first time in portrayals of the kind, the life-giving breath of the antique.

If Uccello had travelled more widely, he could have seen two classical equestrian monuments. The first of them was the Marcus Aurelius in Rome (Fig. 84). Standing in those days outside St. John Lateran, on a block of marble which raised it only a little from the ground, it must have seemed astonishing above all for the fidelity with which the horse was reproduced. In the fifteenth century, however, one other classical bronze equestrian monument was rated higher still. 'The movement of the one at Pavia,' notes Leonardo da Vinci in the Codex Atlanticus, 'is more highly praised than any other.' 'The one at Pavia' (also an Antonine monument) stood on a column outside the Cathedral, and because it was gilded was known as the Regisole.

We first hear of a Renaissance equivalent for these monuments in 1444. The place is Ferrara, and the occasion an equestrian statue erected by Lionello d'Este to his predecessor Niccolò III. Two models were prepared by Florentine sculptors. Opinion as to their merits was divided, and the architect Alberti, who was in Ferrara, was asked to give a casting vote. The completed monument was set up on Ascension Day 1451 between the Castello and the Cathedral, and remained there till it was demolished in 1796. It is in connection with this statue that we first hear the term that is later to haunt the notebooks of Leonardo, 'il cavallo'. 'Niccolò del cavallo' was the name bestowed upon its sculptor, Baroncelli, and 'Volto del cavallo' was the place where it was set. Such terms were the popular expression of a learned preoccupation, for the human figure apart, the horse was the canonical subject of Renaissance artists. Alberti, while in Ferrara, wrote an essay *De Equo Animante* (so called to distinguish it from the bronze horse under discussion at the time), and painters from Pisanello down to Leonardo gave the rendering of the horse the same close attention as the rendering of the human form.

The subject of the earliest surviving bronze equestrian monument was Erasmo da Narni or Gattamelata, Captain-General of the Republic of Venice, who died of a stroke at Padua in January 1443. The statue (Plates 28, 29, Fig. 88) was commissioned from Donatello, and was produced concurrently with the High Altar of Sant'Antonio. Its base was already building in 1447, the chasing was complete in 1450, and in 1453, after prolonged disagreement, the figure was set up outside the church. Unlike Uccello, Donatello was thoroughly familiar not only with the horses on St. Mark's, but also with the Marcus Aurelius in Rome, and in his attitude to the commission both seem to have played their part. But the Gattamelata is not an academic synthesis of antique elements; it is inspired by emulation, not the instincts of a copyist, and just as the putti carved by Donatello for the Cantoria and the Prato pulpit were unclassical though they were based on the antique, so the stocky, vigorous forms of the horse at Padua introduce a new realism into the equestrian monument.

The figure mounted on the horse also has a contemporary significance. Like the Judith in Florence, it embodies concepts which are of wider implication and greater depth than the context in itself necessitates. To achieve the effect at which he aimed, Donatello found it necessary to desert antiquity; it was central to his conception that the riding warrior should review his unseen troops with the same directness with which the marble Prophets on the Campanile harangued the crowds beneath. In the head the individual features (eyes, eyebrows, ears and the wild mat of hair behind) are not rendered literally, as they would have been in Roman art, but are subjected to distortions of an audacious and utterly unprecedented kind. Moreover, though the relation of the statue to the Santo may have been decided on with the Regisole in mind, its specific placing was determined by considerations of effect, so that entering the square from the north, it advances towards us, and entering from the west its menacing profile stands out against the sky.

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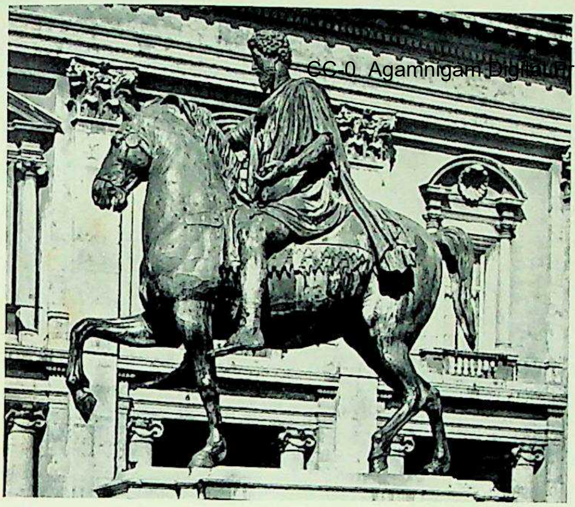

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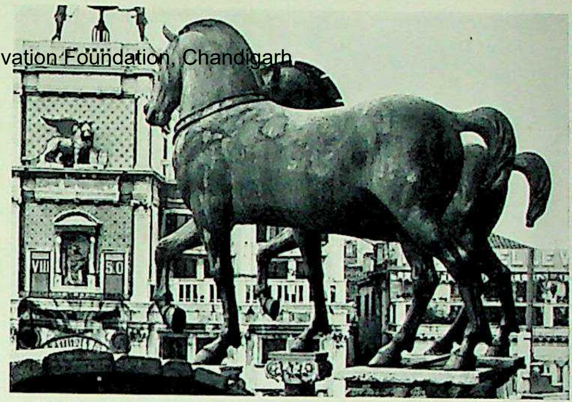

Fig. 85. Roman, 1st (?) Century A.D.: BRONZE HORSES. St. Mark's, Venice.

Fig 84. Roman, 2nd century A.D.: MARCUS AURELIUS. Campidoglio, Rome.

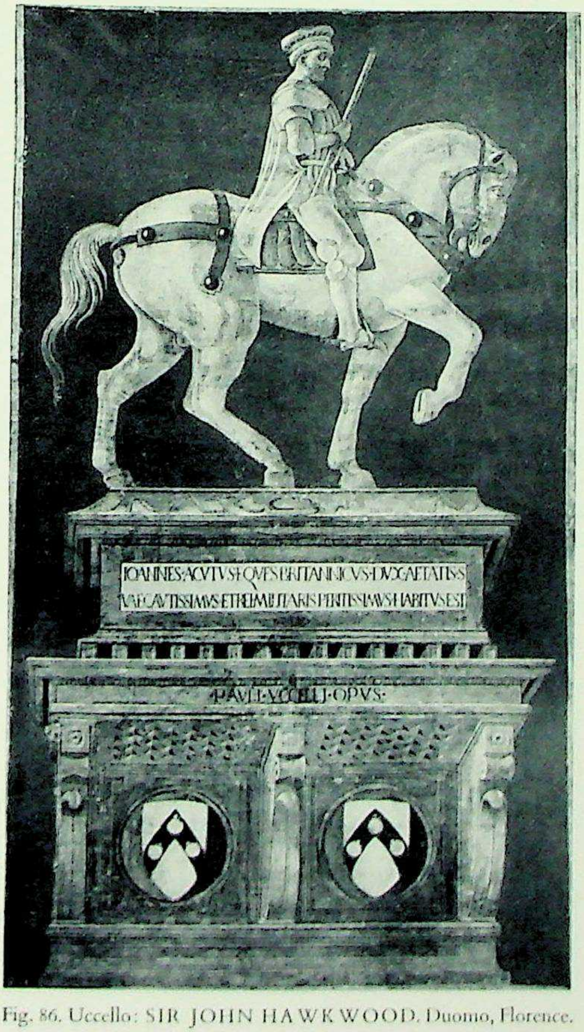
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Fig. 86. Uccello: SIR JOHN HAWKWOOD. Duomo, Florence.

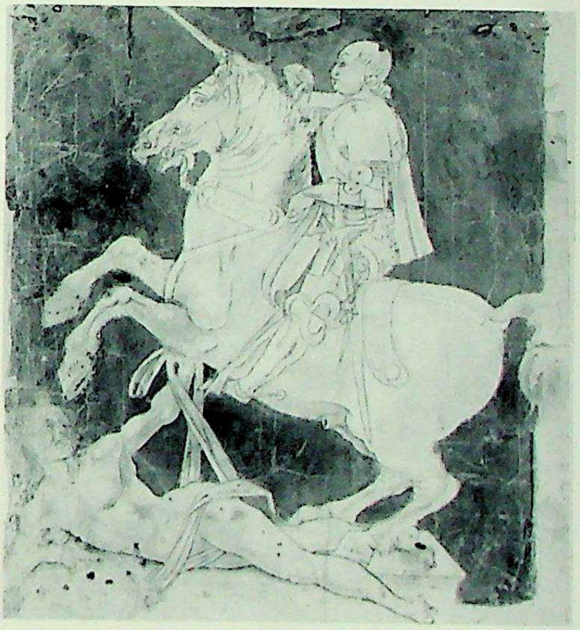

Fig. 87. Antonio Pollajuolo: DRAWING FOR THE SFORZA MONUMENT. Lehman Collection, New York.

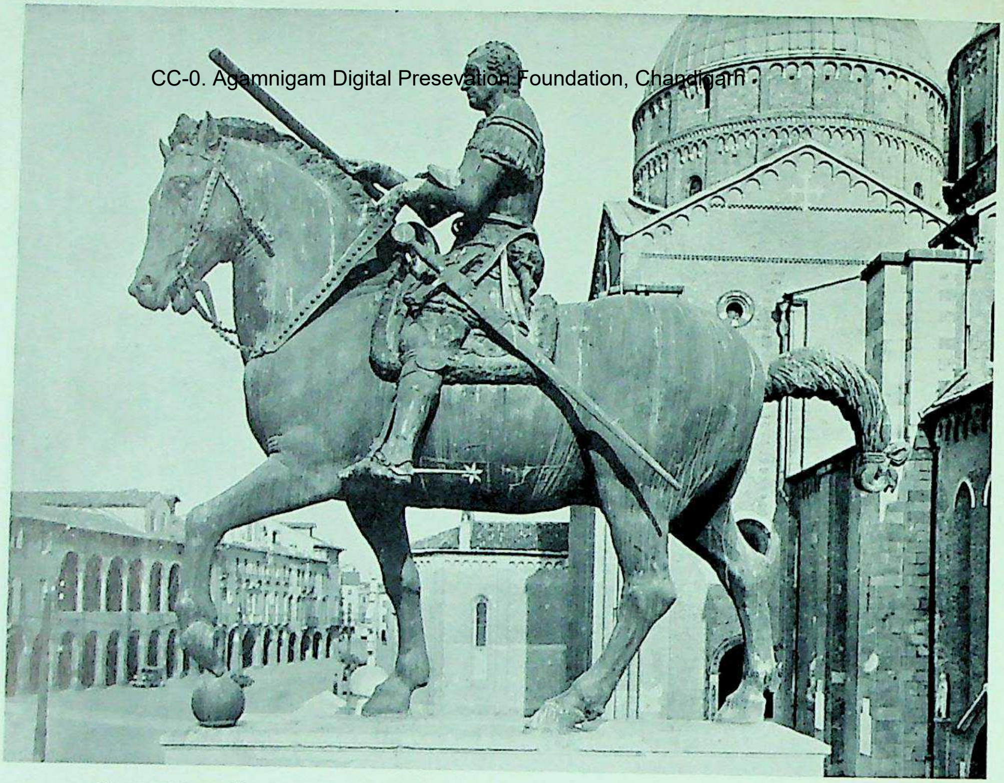

Fig. 88. Donatello: THE GATTAMELATA MONUMENT. Piazza del Santo, Padua.

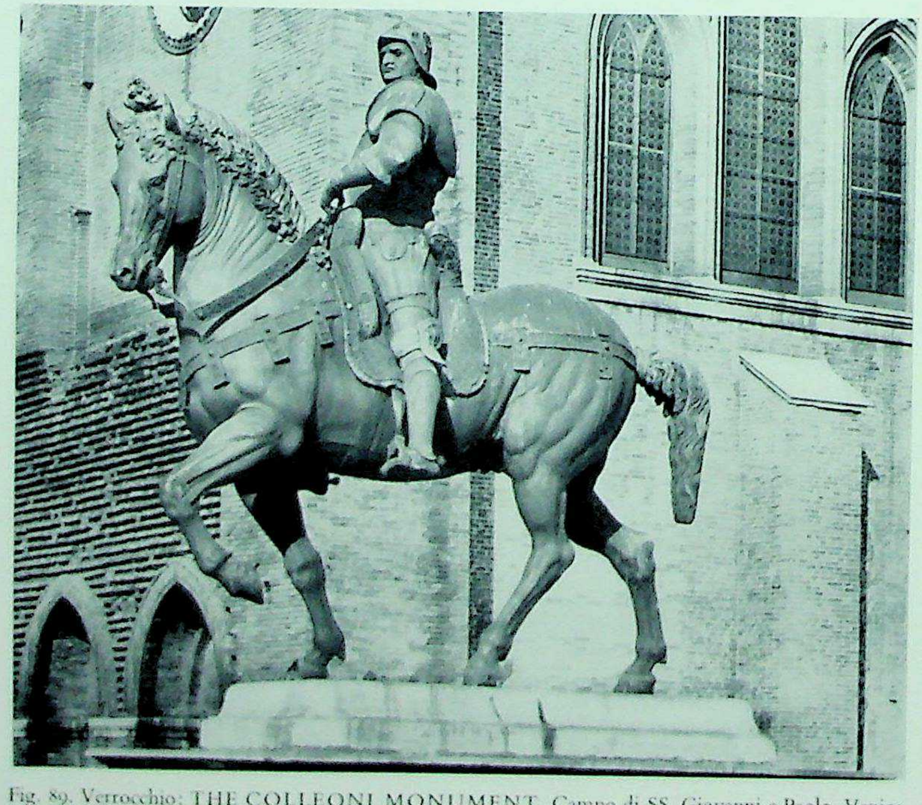

Fig. 89. Verrocchio: THE COLLEONI MONUMENT. Campo di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

None the less the Gattamelata and the Marcus Aurelius were spiritual counterparts, and when, thirty years later, another monument of the same type was under way in Venice, a clerical observer, an itinerant Dominican, declared that the Venetians were 'imitating the custom of the heathen nations' in setting up such a memorial. This memorial was Verrocchio's Colleoni monument (Plates 84, 85, Fig. 89). Unlike Gattamelata, Bartolommeo Colleoni was of noble birth. He came from the neighbourhood of Bergamo, and financially was one of the most successful military leaders of his time. In his will Colleoni bequeathed part of his personal fortune to the Venetian Signoria, but with the proviso that the Signoria should commission a statue of their benefactor seated on a bronze horse, and that this should be set up in the Piazza San Marco ('super platea sancti Marci') to his eternal memory. After four years of discussion the Signoria decided to comply, placing the statue, by a legal quibble, near the Scuola di San Marco outside Santi Giovanni e Paolo and not in the conspicuous position Colleoni intended it should occupy in front of the Basilica. Once more, as with all fifteenth-century equestrian monuments, the emphasis rested not on the rider but the horse, and when the Signoria put out the commission to tender, they offered 'especial honours to the artist who made the best-shaped horse'. Verrocchio's model must have arrived in Venice in the second half of 1481, for the middle of the year an application was made for the horse ('a life-size horse which is a pretty invention') to be given free passage through Ferrarese territory on its way from Florence to Venice. When Verrocchio died in 1488, the monument had not been cast, and after abortive negotiations with Verrocchio's heir, the painter Lorenzo di Credi, the casting was entrusted in 1490 to a Venetian bronze-founder, Alessandro Leopardi, whose confident signature can be read on the girth of Verrocchio's horse. In the Colleoni monument, therefore, we are confronted not with a finished work of art, but with the ideas of a great artist as they were realized by another hand. The head of Colleoni, for example, is often singled out for special praise, and admirable it is, but if Verrocchio had worked it up himself, it would have been more admirable still, and so would the dry detail of the saddle and the mane and muzzle of the horse.

Verrocchio was clearly aware that in the Marcus Aurelius the implications of movement were greater than in the Gattamelata. The supports were thinner, one fore-leg was held free, and the rear legs of the horse were posed in such a way as to suggest that it was capable of a sudden forward impetus and not merely of a slow advance. It was this sense of implied movement that he aimed at in his monument. Moreover, as a sculptor Verrocchio was repeatedly concerned with the visual effect of a great weight of bronze or marble raised on a seemingly inadequate support. In the Colleoni monument this led him to modify the ratio between rider and horse, and to substitute for the relatively small figure of the Gattamelata a larger figure of greater weight. He had a preference also for figures turned on their own axis, like the St. Thomas in the group of Christ and St. Thomas on Or San Michele and the fountain figure of the Putto with the Fish. This preconception too leaves its mark upon the Colleoni monument. Where Donatello disposes the shoulders of his rider on a single plane, Verrocchio advances the left shoulder and retracts the right. This rhetorical device accounts for the liveliness of the whole image and divorces it from classical originals.

Since equestrian statues of this class could be made only in bronze, it was inevitable that the only other large-scale bronze sculptor in Florence in the later fifteenth century, Antonio Pollajuolo, should also become involved in a project of the kind. It was inspired by Colleoni's erstwhile colleague, the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza. Francesco Sforza had been a condottiere in the service of the Visconti Dukes of Milan, and in 1450 was elected Duke. He died in 1466, and in 1472 we first hear of a proposed memorial. It was to be commissioned from two Milanese marble sculptors, the brothers Mantegazza, who were employed on the Certosa at Pavia, but with a modesty unusual among artists, the Mantegazzas seem to have turned the commission down. Francesco Sforza's son, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, was assassinated in 1476, and in 1479 he was succeeded by his brother Lodovico il Moro who at once concerned himself with the projected monument. The little that we know of Pollajuolo's scheme is due to a passage in Vasari. This is what Vasari says: 'After Pollajuolo's death, there was discovered a drawing and a model for the equestrian monument of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, which he made for Lodovico Sforza. The drawing is in our album in two versions; in one of these Verona is shown beneath the horse, while in the other Sforza, in full armour, makes his horse rear over an armed man.' The second drawing showed a base filled with battle-scenes. Pollajuolo's Sforza monument was not carried out, but his ambition to execute a bronze equestrian statue simmered on, and at the end of his life, when he was in Rome working on the papal tombs, he offered Virginio Orsini the chance to eternalize himself by commissioning a statue based on the

Sforza monument. The year of the Sforza project is uncertain, but the balance of probability is that it dates from the early eighties. In this case it would be contemporary with Verrocchio's Colleoni monument. Two of Pollajuolo's drawings for the monument survive (Fig. 87), and they show us that he had in mind something entirely new in the way of an equestrian statue. Pollajuolo's mind was formed by classical works in small dimensions, above all by classical sarcophagi. One group of sarcophagi, that with battle scenes, held a special fascination for Florentine artists in the later fifteenth century, and to eyes seduced by the riding warriors in these reliefs, sedate statues like the Marcus Aurelius and the Gattamelata must have seemed inadequate. How was this sense of movement, this wildness and ferocity, to be transferred to the full-scale equestrian monument? That question is fundamental for Pollajuolo's drawings and for the whole later history of the equestrian statue.

Possibly the reason why the Sforza monument was not entrusted to Pollajuolo was that in 1482 Lodovico il Moro received a letter from Florence. It was written by Leonardo da Vinci, and it ended with the celebrated sentence: 'Also I can execute sculpture in marble, bronze or clay, and also painting, in which my work will stand comparison with that of anyone else, whoever he may be. Moreover, I would undertake the work of the bronze horse, which shall endue with immortal glory and eternal honours the auspicious memory of the Prince your father and of the illustrious house of Sforza.' As a result of this letter Leonardo was invited to Milan, and began work on the Sforza monument.

We know absolutely nothing about Leonardo as a sculptor—not one single work survives—but we can reconstruct the milieu in which he was trained. From the late sixties (probably 1469) till about 1478 he worked as a member of Verrocchio's studio, and he must to a greater or lesser degree have been involved in all of the major commissions that were awarded to it at this time. Among them were the Medici monument in San Lorenzo, which was completed in 1472, the Forteguerri monument at Pistoia, which was begun in 1476, and the group of Christ and St. Thomas on Or San Michele, one figure of which was finished in 1476 and the other in 1483. Leonardo must also have been in close touch with Verrocchio during the early stages of work on the Colleoni monument, that is during the preparation of the model for the horse, which was finished in 1481. When he offered his services to Lodovico il Moro in 1482, therefore, so far from having an inadequate knowledge of bronze sculpture, he had behind him the experience accumulated in the only studio in the whole of Italy that was continuously engaged on large-scale bronze casts. Years later Leonardo regarded himself, and was regarded, as a technical specialist in the production of bronze sculpture, and in 1498 he offered his services to Piacenza to make bronze doors for the Cathedral—bronze doors that might have formed the final term in the series that opens with Ghiberti's two doors on the Baptistry, and continues with Luca della Robbia's door in the Cathedral and Donatello's in the Old Sacristy.

When Leonardo moved to Milan in 1482, he left unfinished the painting of the Adoration of the Magi which is now in the Uffizi. The background of this altar-piece contains two horsemen fighting and a number of other riding figures, and reveals an obsessive interest in the active representation of the horse. Leonardo made many preliminary drawings for these horsemen, and they formed the point of departure for his work in Milan on the Sforza monument. He arrived in Milan in 1482, but there is no further mention of the statue until the summer of 1489, when the Florentine agent in Milan informed Lorenzo de' Medici that the Duke was preparing a memorial to his father, and that Leonardo was making a model for it, 'a colossal horse in bronze, with Francesco Sforza armed'. Since Lodovico il Moro, the agent went on, required a statue of superlative quality, he was anxious that Lorenzo de' Medici should send him one or two masters suited to this type of work. The agent added his own gloss on this request: 'Though the Duke has entrusted this matter to Leonardo da Vinci, it does not seem to me that he is fully confident that Leonardo understands how to complete it.' So far as is known no Florentine bronze founder applied for the post, and in April 1490 we read in Leonardo's notebooks the words: 'Ricommincai il cavallo' ('I began the horse afresh'). By 1493 a clay model of the horse alone was finished, and was shown in the courtyard of the ducal residence, but owing to the French invasion it was never cast. Used as a target by French troops, by 1501 it was already derelict. Thereafter we hear nothing more. Leonardo's drawings, however, enable us to reconstruct, in a very tentative way, some of the stages through which the design passed.

Pollajuolo's drawings for the Sforza monument show Francesco Sforza on a prancing horse riding over a vanquished foe. To judge from an engraving which reproduces some of Leonardo's lost sketches (Fig. 91), Leonardo accepted this idea as well. There is a famous drawing at Windsor which

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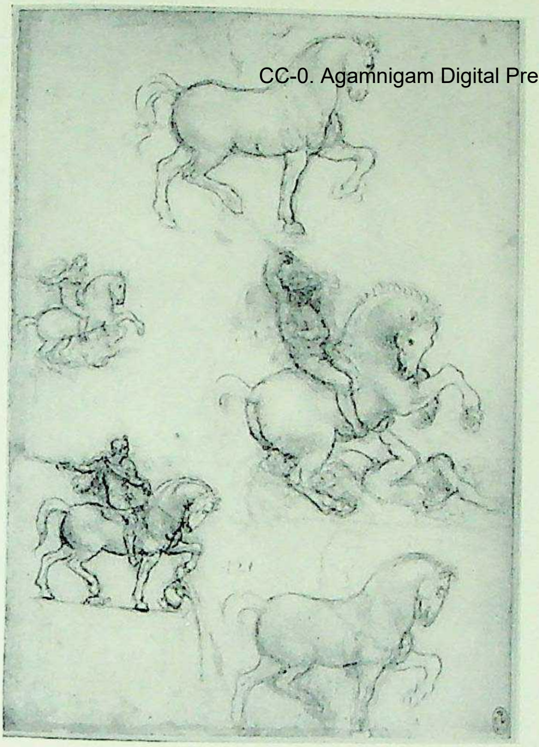

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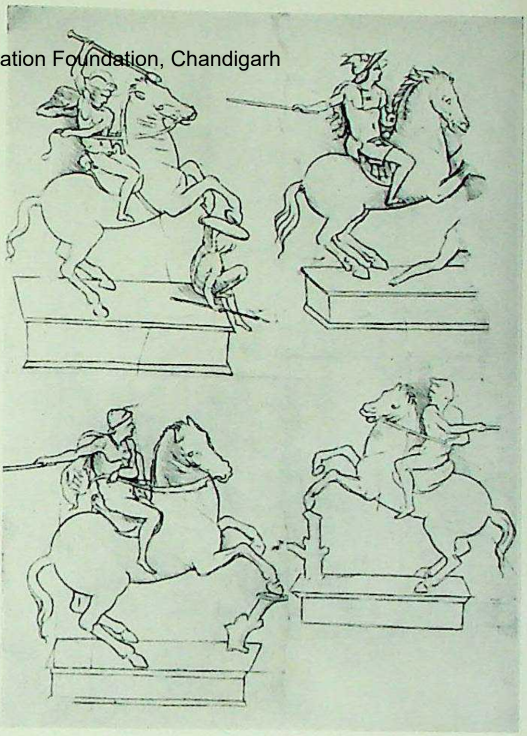

Fig. 90. Leonardo da Vinci: STUDIES FOR THE TRIVULZIO MONUMENT. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.
Fig. 91. After Leonardo da Vinci: STUDIES FOR THE SFORZA MONUMENT. British Museum, London.

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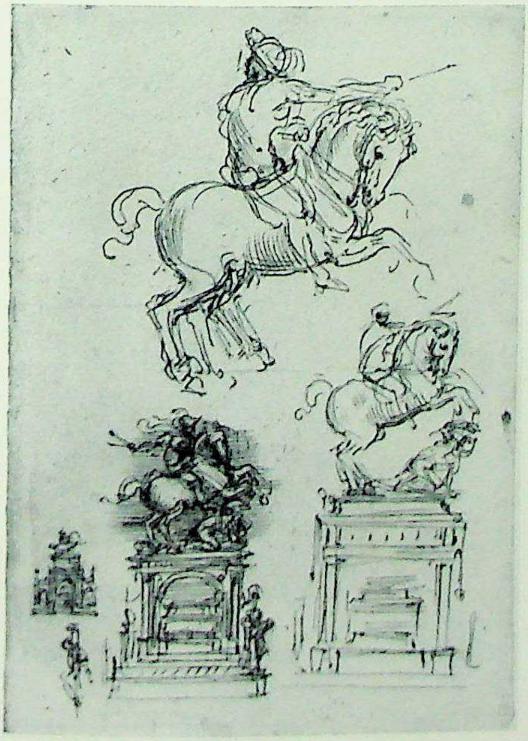

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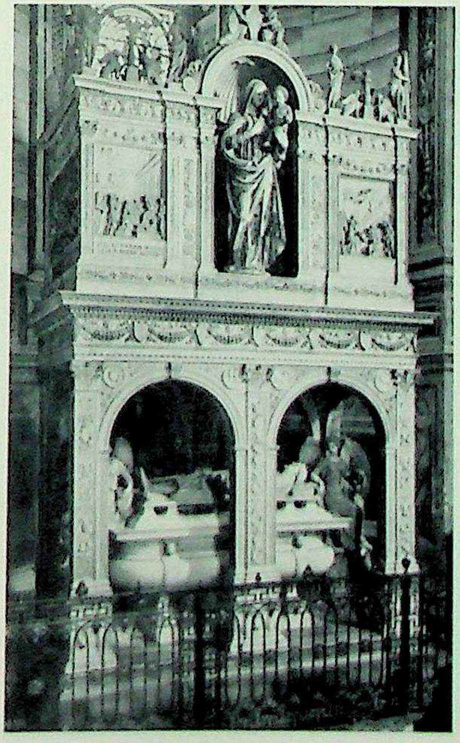


Fig. 92. Leonardo da Vinci: STUDIES FOR THE TRIVULZIO MONUMENT. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.
Fig. 93. Gian Cristoforo Romano: MONUMENT OF GIAN GALEAZZO VISCONTI. Certosa, Pavia.

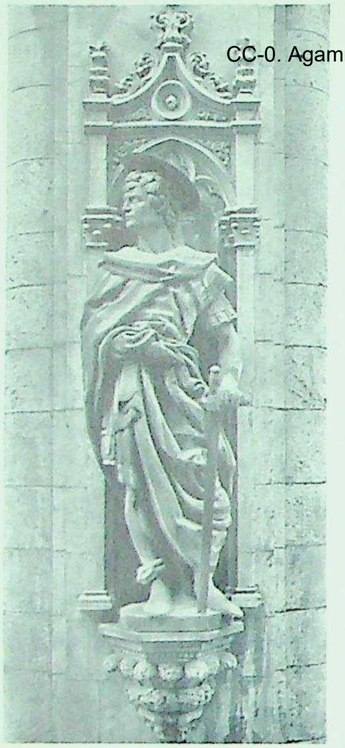


Fig. 94. Antonio Federighi: ST. ANSANUS.
Loggia di S. Paolo, Siena.

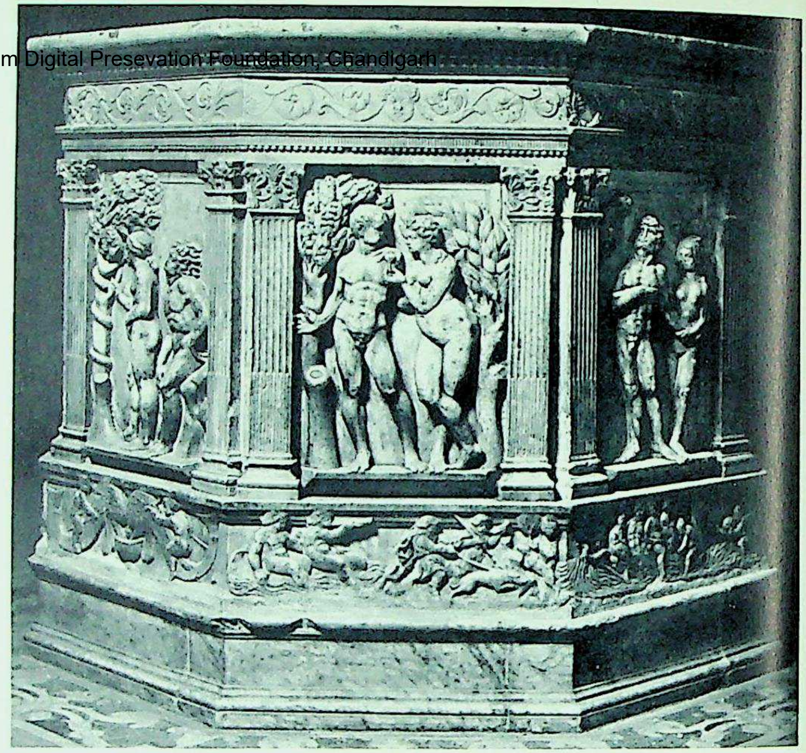


Fig. 95. Antonio Federighi: BAPTISMAL FONT. Duomo, Siena.

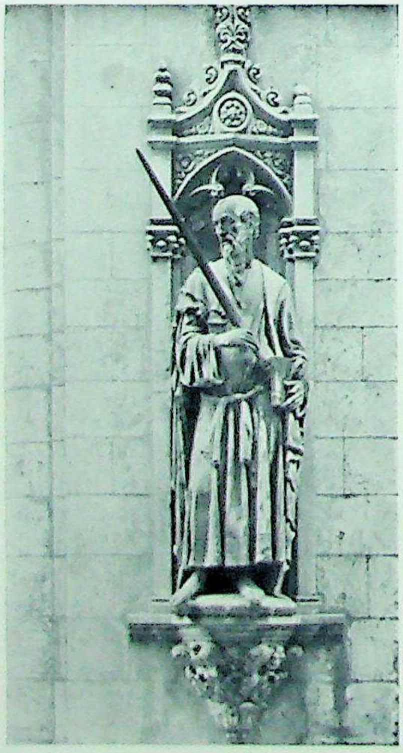


Fig. 96. Vecchietta: ST. PAUL.
Loggia di S. Paolo, Siena.

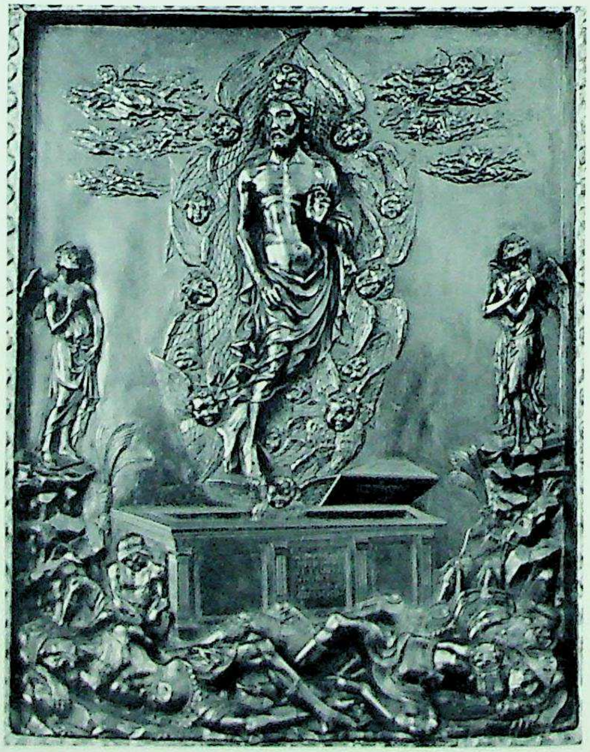


Fig. 97. Vecchietta: THE RESURRECTION.
Frick Collection, New York.

develops the same theme, though the pose of the riding figure, with head turned back and right arm warding off a blow, is so extreme that it can hardly be regarded as a meditated study for the monument. But Leonardo also worked out a variant of this scheme, in which the second figure is omitted, and the foreleg of the horse rests on a tree trunk. It is generally assumed that at this stage Leonardo was designing a colossal monument, but there is no conclusive proof that that was so, and these drawings might also be interpreted as studies for a monument on much the same scale as the Colleoni statue, which would have excelled all previous equestrian monuments not in size but in sheer technical audacity. Suddenly the whole conception implicit in these drawings was set aside. It can hardly have been Leonardo who discarded it, since years later when he designed another equestrian monument he returned directly to this scheme. Perhaps, as events in Milan moved towards their climax, Lodovico Sforza felt that it would be unsuitable to show the founder of a stable dynasty precariously poised astride a rearing horse. Moreover, there was a Lombard tradition of equestrian portraiture, and his mind may have gone back to the statue of Bernabò Visconti in S. Giovanni in Conca, which for more than a century had been the physical expression of the power of the Visconti Dukes. So the galloping horseman was abandoned and replaced by an image that was more dignified and orthodox. But the statue must still excel previous equestrian monuments, and the problem that confronted Leonardo was one no sculptor had broached before, the creation of an ideal horse of more than twice life-size. The figures here speak for themselves. The height of the Gattamelata including the rider is about ten feet, the height of the Colleoni is about thirteen, and the height of Leonardo's horse alone from head to hooves was twenty-two.

For the Colleoni monument at Venice and the Gattamelata at Padua the bronze horses at St. Mark's had the relevance of physical propinquity. Equally Milan was only a short distance from Pavia, and the determining factor in the new form of the Sforza monument was the Regisole. 'It is better to imitate the works of antiquity than modern works,' wrote Leonardo in his notebooks about this time, and imitate antiquity was what he did. For Leonardo, however, as for Donatello and Verrocchio before him, imitating antiquity was a figure of speech. The Regisole was a signpost on the road he travelled, not his goal, and like the arch-empiricist he was, he started measuring horses in the Duke's stables, and drawing them from life. We have a whole series of studies made for this second version of the Sforza monument, free drawings of standing horses, measured drawings of standing horses, free drawings of raised forelegs, measured drawings of fetlocks, and last and finest of all a drawing at Windsor that suggests something of the plastic character of the completed work. These drawings prove that there was nothing mannered or unnatural about the Sforza horse; it was a quattrocento solution of a quattrocento problem, and if it surpassed earlier horses this was by virtue of superior size, more elegant articulation and more coherent modelling.

In 1499 Lodovico il Moro was expelled from Milan, and Leonardo returned to Florence, where, in 1503, he received the commission for the fresco of the Battle of Anghiari. Here fighting horsemen were the kernel of the scene. The drawings for the horses in this fresco, fine as they are, lack the simplicity and the directness of the earlier studies, and employ the formal mannerisms that were developing in Leonardo's treatment of the human figure at this time. Work on the fresco continued till 1506, and then, leaving it incomplete, Leonardo returned to Milan.

In Lombardy the political scene had been transformed. After Lodovico il Moro's expulsion, Trivulzio, the Milanese commander of the French forces and an opponent of the Sforzas, was installed as Regent. By the end of January 1500 the city was once more in revolt, Trivulzio withdrew, and Lodovico il Moro re-entered the town, but before long his forces were routed, and Charles d'Amboise, as representative of Louis XII, took possession of Milan. It was Charles d'Amboise who was responsible for inviting Leonardo to return, and his main work in the seven years he spent there was the monument of the leader of the French party in Milan, Gian Giacomo Trivulzio. Leonardo's artistic aspirations in his first Milanese period were bound up with the maintenance of the Sforza dynasty, whereas in his second Milanese period they were bound up with the opposition, that is with the French conquerors. He left Milan for the first time in 1499, after the expulsion of Lodovico il Moro, and for the second time in 1513 when the French suffered a temporary setback and abandoned the town. Leonardo fled from Milan prematurely, as it turned out, for if he had remained till the victorious campaign of Francis I in 1515, he would have had seven years more of peaceful work under French rule, and the Trivulzio monument might have been complete.

The Sforza monument was a simple equestrian statue, but the Trivulzio monument was a sepulchral monument incorporating an equestrian figure. What Trivulzio seems to have required was a free-standing tomb with a recumbent effigy under a Renaissance tabernacle, comparable to that which Lodovico il Moro had constructed twelve years before for Gian Galeazzo Visconti at Pavia (Fig. 93). But since the artist was Leonardo this was a Lombard tomb with a difference, and we know from specifications by Leonardo himself that the superstructure was to be supported by columns with bronze capitals, that the sarcophagus was to rest on harpies, that there were to be reliefs (presumably of battle scenes as on the Visconti monument), and that at the corners there were to be eight figures of captives crouching on the cornice or chained at the corners of the monument. We can get a clear impression of the project for this part of the monument from a drawing at Windsor (Fig. 92) on which three variants are shown. Trivulzio seems also to have had in mind another Lombard model, the fourteenth-century Scaliger tombs at Verona, where the tabernacles are surmounted by equestrian statues. The scheme of the Trivulzio tomb was from the first a strikingly unhappy one, and its single merit was that it enabled Leonardo once more to attack the problem of the equestrian monument.

The point from which he approached it was not, as we might expect, the concluding studies for the Sforza monument, but the sketches for the first phase of the Sforza commission, that is for the equestrian monument with a rearing horse. The base of the Sforza monument would naturally have been determined by the requirements of the horse, but the base of the Trivulzio monument was the roof of the tomb, which in turn was related to the sarcophagus, so that the tendency throughout the Trivulzio studies is to abandon the open pose projected for the Sforza statue, and to compress the whole design, with the horse's muzzle tightly reined in and the vanquished figure beneath the belly of the horse (Fig. 90). Events once more followed their wonted course, and the rearing horse was set aside, again in favour of a model based on the Regisole. A drawing at Windsor shows a classical riding figure, which may actually be the riding figure from the Regisole, on a horse that is also adapted from this monument. In this scheme one of the two rear legs was to be shown lifted off the ground, so that the horse rested on two legs. In practice this presented difficulties that were insoluble. At first Leonardo experimented with symbolical objects placed under the two raised legs; in one study these comprise a ewer and a tortoise, and in another a helmet. But the gain in the representation of movement through the two raised legs was neutralized by such expedients, and they were discarded in turn. There remained a further possibility, to combine features of both schemes, so that the horse was represented pulled back upon its haunches, about to charge, with head reined in and three feet firmly on the ground. This is the scheme that is worked out in what is probably the latest of the surviving drawings for the tomb.

Though they were not executed, the Sforza and Trivulzio monuments are works of exceptional importance, in which the future of the equestrian statue is foretold. In a very real sense the history of the equestrian monument in the Renaissance is the whole history of the equestrian monument.

Sienese Renaissance Sculpture

The factors which led to the emergence of Florentine Renaissance sculpture were not present in Siena. Two Sienese sculptors, Francesco di Valdambrino and Jacopo della Quercia, took part in the competition for the bronze door of the Baptistry in Florence, and two Florentine artists, Ghiberti and Donatello, were employed on the Sienese baptismal font, but these contacts were sterile and short-lived. When Quercia died in 1438, one of the projects on which he was engaged was the building of an open loggia, known as the Loggia di San Paolo. Its outer faces contained niches destined for marble figures, and in planning them he and the city authorities must have had Or San Michele in mind. But neither the late Gothic tabernacles which Quercia designed, nor the statues of SS. Ansanus (Fig. 94), Victor and Savinus with which three of them were filled after 1451 by his pupil Antonio Federighi, have much in common with those on Or San Michele. In the interior of the loggia, however, are two marble seats, one carved in 1462 by a pupil of Donatello, Urbano da Cortona, and the other in 1464 by Federighi, and in the second of these, for the first time in Siena, a consistent effort is made to employ classical imagery, and to imitate Roman foliated carving. Federighi's slow assimilation of antiquity may be followed through two holy-water basins at the entrance to the Duomo and a baptismal font carved for the Cappella di S. Giovanni after 1482 (Fig. 95), where scenes from Genesis and from mythology are depicted in a hybrid style based in part on Quercia and in part on the antique.

Two of the tabernacles on the Loggia di San Paolo were filled with figures of SS. Peter and Paul (Fig. 96) by Lorenzo Vecchietta. In the company of Federighi's mannered statues, these Saints impress us by their moral earnestness. Trained as a painter, Vecchietta, in the fourteen-forties and fifties, produced two powerful fresco cycles in the sacristy of Santa Maria della Scala and in the Baptistry. Beside these admirably realized works, his earliest recorded sculpture, a wooden figure of the Risen Christ carved for the Duomo in 1442, seems tentative and inarticulate. And inarticulate his sculptures almost certainly would have remained, had it not been for the fortunate contingency of Donatello's presence in Siena. In October 1457 there arrived in Siena a bronze statue of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 12), which must have been commissioned from Donatello some years previously, and a week before it was delivered the Balia was informed that Donatello wished to settle in the city 'per lo tempo della vita sua', and to undertake work for the Cathedral. A committee of three persons was appointed to decide how the great sculptor could be most usefully employed, and through the autumn and early winter of 1457 he seems to have worked on a project for the decoration of the chapel of the Madonna delle Grazie. In December, however, this work was superseded by a commission for bronze doors for the Cathedral. Through 1458 and 1459 Donatello (who had been allotted the same studio in which Quercia had carved the Fonte Gaia) continued work, planning the framework of the doors and making wax and bronze models for the reliefs. At the same time he designed, and in part executed, a circular relief of the Virgin and Child over the Porta del Perdono of the Cathedral (Fig. 30), and entertained a plan for a marble statue of S. Bernardino. The last reference to Donatello in Siena occurs in March 1461. When he left the city, the project for the Cathedral doors was in abeyance, the plan for the statue of S. Bernardino had been abandoned, and the bronze St. John the Baptist was still disassembled in a room under the Cathedral. But though the tangible results of his years in Siena were scanty, they brought about a fundamental change in the outlook of Vecchietta, and through Vecchietta in that of his pupil, Francesco di Giorgio.

The figures contributed by Federighi to the Loggia di San Paolo stem from the late work of Quercia; in the St. Victor the head is shown in profile, as it is in Quercia's prophets on the baptismal font, while the St. Ansanus is swathed in the full drapery with rounded folds that is employed by Quercia on the

Trenta altar and in the Bologna tympanum. Vecchietta's SS. Peter and Paul, on the other hand, have their source in the Campanile statues of Donatello. Still more important for Vecchietta was Donatello's work in bronze. In the sixties, not long after Donatello left Siena, he cast two bronze sepulchral effigies planned in the spirit of the Coscia effigy of Donatello, and at the same time he experimented with the making of bronze reliefs. In the earliest of these, a Flagellation in London, the figures of Christ and the two executioners depend from Donatello, while the spatial scheme, with a shallow receding pavement and a strip of decoration round three sides of the relief, is of a type familiar from the paintings of Matteo di Giovanni. Similarly the Christ rising from the tomb in a relief of the Resurrection of 1472 (Fig. 97) in the Frick Collection in New York is a compulsive image, which is not unworthy of the Passion scenes in San Lorenzo. Yet even in this relief Vecchietta remains resolutely Sienese, setting no store by perspective or consistency of scale, and devising an irrational composition which has more in common with the Gothic predella panels of Giovanni di Paolo than with the reliefs of Donatello.

Ten years after Donatello's death, and fifteen years after his last visit to Siena, his shadow once more falls across Vecchietta's work, in a life-size statue of the Risen Christ completed in 1476 for Santa Maria della Scala (Plate 95). The Christ must have been inspired in the first instance by the bronze Baptist of Donatello, but its design also implies a knowledge of other works. The arms are not set against the body, like those of the Baptist, but are extended so that a diagonal is formed between the left elbow and right hand, a device used in the bronze David in Florence (Plate 30). Moreover, the right hand is extended in a pathetic gesture which again has a precedent in Donatello in the SS. Daniel and Giustina at Padua (Plates 21, 23). What Vecchietta achieves, however, is more than a mere synthesis of second-hand motifs, for the imaginative processes which underlie the statue run parallel to those of Donatello, and the image is instilled with an intensity of feeling of which no other sculptor of the time was capable.

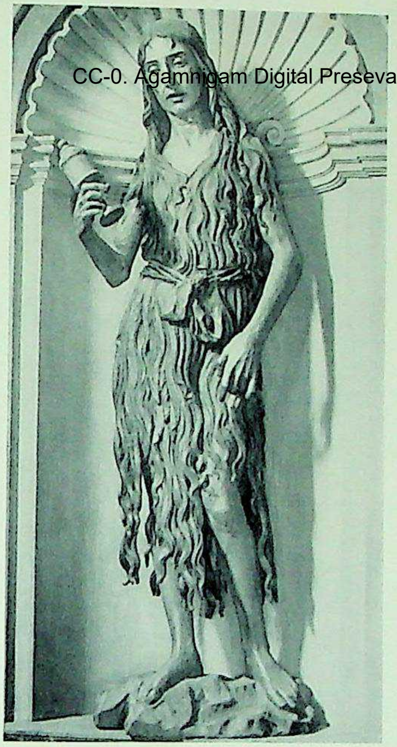
Not only did Donatello's sculptures in bronze and marble exercise an influence in Siena, but his wood sculptures too. In Florence the asperities of the wooden Magdalen in the Baptistry (Fig. 13) were smoothed out by Desiderio in a statue of the Magdalen in Santa Trinità (Fig. 98). In Siena, on the other hand, its spirit lingered on, in the wood sculptures carved by Vecchietta for Narni in 1475, in a statue of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 99) carved by Francesco di Giorgio for the Compagnia di S. Giovanni Battista della Morte in 1464, and in the extraordinary figure of S. Bernardino by Francesco di Giorgio's associate, Neroccio de' Landi, at Borgo a Mozzano. The greatest of these wood-carvings, a statue of St. Catherine of Siena commissioned from Neroccio in 1470 for the oratory of the Saint (Fig. 100), once more pays tribute to the all-pervasive influence of Donatello in drapery which reproduces the broken planes of modelled sculpture. An inventory made of Neroccio's studio in 1500 lists a gesso Virgin and Child by Donatello, and in Siena Donatello's reliefs must have enjoyed considerable popularity both at first hand and through derivatives like those of the so-called Piccolomini Master (who carved a number of reliefs based on a composition by Donatello) and of Urbano da Cortona (who turned out in Siena a number of stucco reliefs of the Holy Family with which Donatello was at one time credited). On the marble sculptures of Neroccio, however, the personality of Donatello left no mark at all, and their style oscillates between the poles of Mino da Fiesole (in the Piccolomini monument in the Duomo at Siena) and of Matteo Civitali (in a documented statue of St. Catherine of Alexandria, also in the Cathedral).

Francesco di Giorgio, with whom Neroccio shared a studio for upwards of ten years, was a less restricted artist. A painter, architect and military engineer, he was employed for long periods outside Siena, and his bronze reliefs have been ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci, Bertoldo and Antonio Pollajuolo. Minor works apart, they are three in number, a Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Carmini in Venice, a Flagellation at Perugia, and a relief of Lycurgus and the Maenads, of which the bronze original is lost but which is recorded in two stucco casts. The first of these reliefs was made about 1476 for the Oratorio di Santa Croce at Urbino, and the third seems also to have been executed during the sculptor's long residence at the Montefeltro court. Midway between the two stands the Perugia Flagellation (Plate 96), where the sophisticated architectural forms used in the background look forward to the Lycurgus and the Maenads and the expressive iconography looks back to the Lamentation over the Dead Christ. At first sight the change from the relief style of Vecchietta appears very marked. In Vecchietta's Flagellation the scene is set on a shallow strip of pavement before a neutral ground. In Francesco di Giorgio's, on the other hand, it takes place on a platform in the middle distance behind a foreground filled with figures. Technically, Francesco di Giorgio is by far the more accomplished artist. Where Vecchietta's figures are uniform in emphasis, Francesco's vary from barely indicated profiles in the lowest possible relief to fully modelled statuettes. Yet different as is their form, Francesco di Giorgio's and Vecchietta's reliefs are emotionally linked, and the iconography of the Perugia Flagellation, with the Virgin in the foreground pointing towards the suffering Christ and St. John with eyes averted from the scene, unmistakably belongs with that of Vecchietta's Risen Christ.

The ingredients Francesco added to the relief style of Vecchietta were first a logical representational technique, second a grasp of movement, and third a sense of atmosphere. These qualities he carried on into the two bronze angels on the high altar of Siena Cathedral (Plate 97, Fig. 101), which he completed in 1497. Here, too, he followed where Vecchietta led, and the nervous drapery of the angels is closely reminiscent of the loin-cloth of the Risen Christ. But where the Risen Christ is set firmly on the ground, the two angels seem to have settled only a moment earlier on the plinths on which they rest. All sense of weight is dispelled by their deceptive buoyancy. Though the heads of the two angels are Verrocchiesque, their wind-blown drapery advances beyond Verrocchio. Five years before they were begun, Francesco di Giorgio had been in touch in Milan with Leonardo, and it may well be that just as Donatello found in Vecchietta a sculptor more responsive to the implications of his late style than any member of his studio in Florence, so Leonardo discovered in Vecchietta's pupil an intermediary through whom some facets of his own conception of the art of sculpture could be communicated.

The Renaissance in Rome and Naples

Whereas the principal Roman pictorial commissions of the fifteenth century were awarded to masters from Florence and Umbria and the Romagna, the equivalent sculptural commissions went to artists who had adopted Rome as their main scene of activity. The first and greatest of the sculptors who were employed there, Donatello, was, however, an exception to this rule. Donatello left three works in Rome, the bronze tomb-slab of Pope Martin V (d. 1431) in St. John Lateran (Fig. 36), the marble tomb-slab of Giovanni Crivelli (d. 1432)



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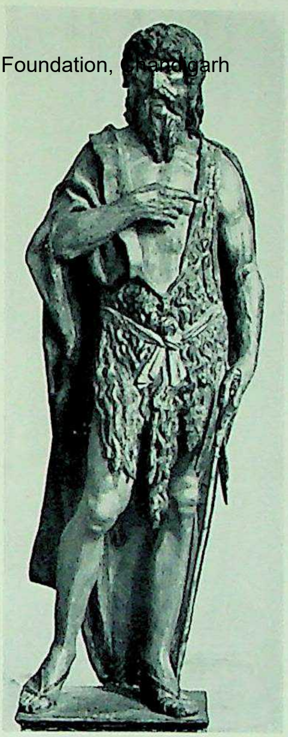

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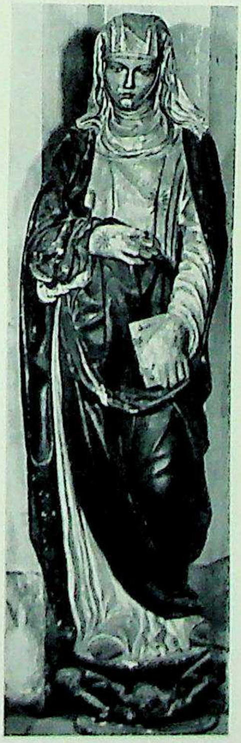
Fig. 98. Desiderio da Settignano: ST. MARY MAGDALEN. S. Trinità, Florence.
Fig. 99. Francesco di Giorgio: ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. Pinacoteca, Siena.



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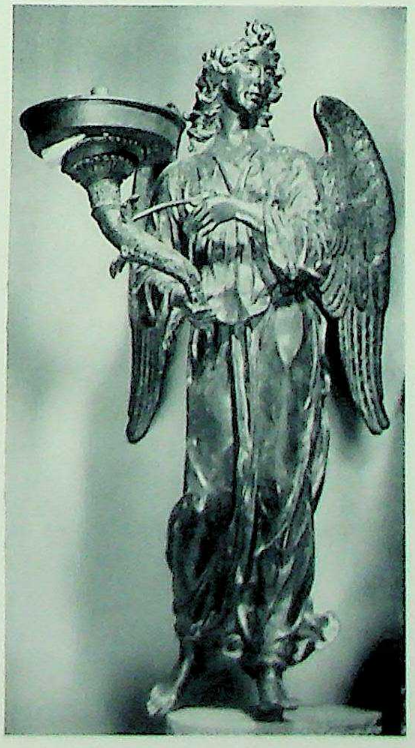

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Fig. 100. Neroccio: ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA. S. Caterina, Siena.
Fig. 101. Francesco di Giorgio: ANGEL. Duomo, Siena.

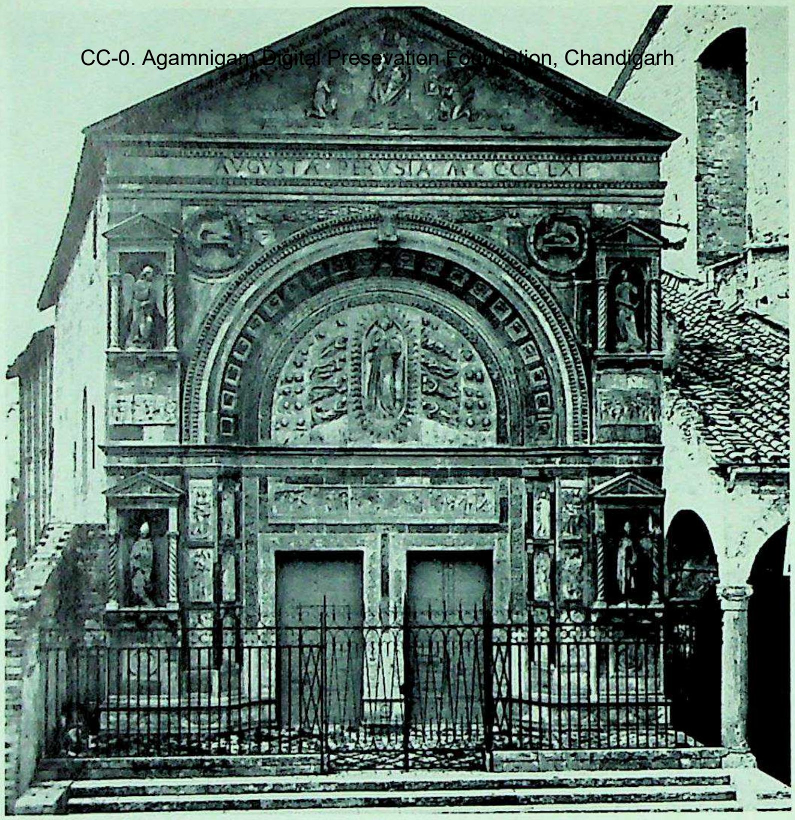
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Fig. 102. Agostino di Duccio: THE FAÇADE OF S. BERNARDINO. Perugia.

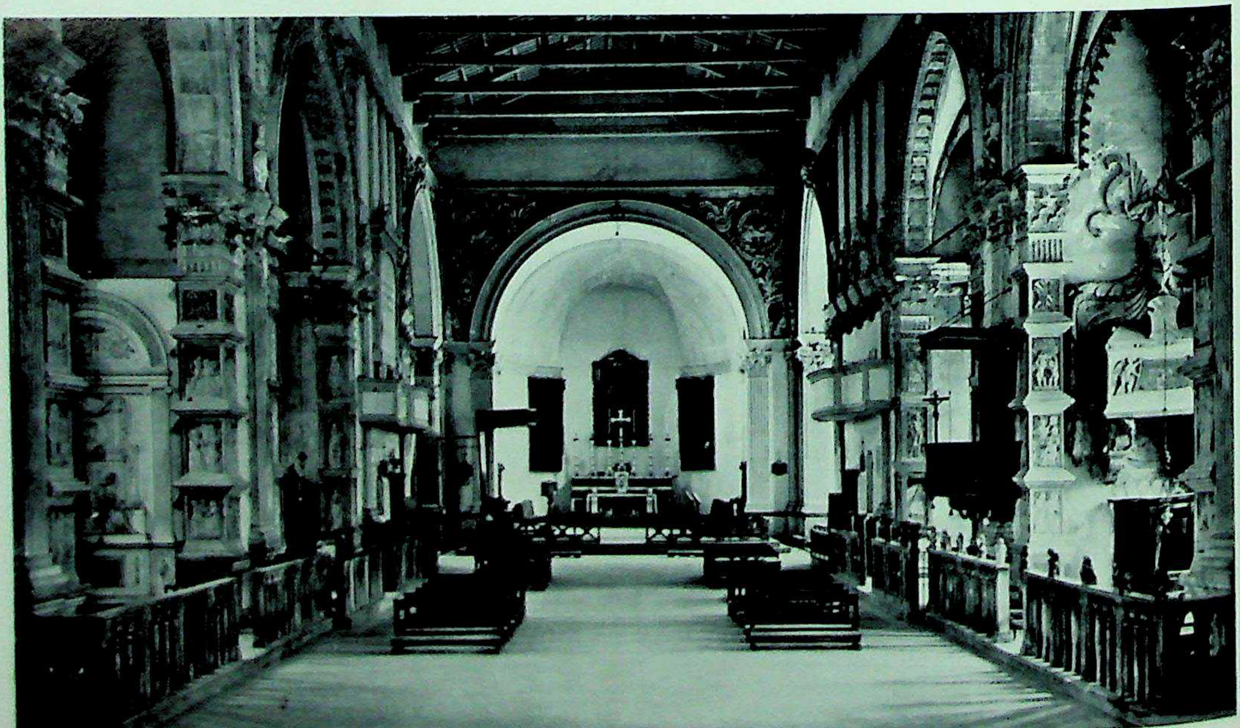

Fig. 103. THE INTERIOR OF THE TEMPIO MALATESTIANO. Rimini.

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in S. Maria in Aracoeli, and the tabernacle now in St. Peter's (Fig. 38). Logically the tabernacle and the tomb-slabs should have inspired a host of inferior illusionistic works, but in practice they were never imitated.

Roman neglect of Donatello seems to have arisen from a positive repugnance to illusionistic art. In the intellectual climate of the papal court the sculpture of the Florentine Renaissance was an alien phenomenon. Sculptors and their patrons were in continuous contact with the Roman past, and were imbued with a narrow, academic attitude to the antique. In place of a living interest in its spirit, they pursued an arid study of its form. The bronze doors of St. Peter's (Fig. 115) were inspired by the classical doors of the Pantheon and Sant' Adriano, and were filled with classical detail; the Virtues of Isaia da Pisa's Chiaves monument (Fig. 108) were based on classical reliefs; and the narrative reliefs of the Confessional of Sixtus IV (Fig. 111) contained figures imitated from the Trajan Column. To Porcellio, when he likened Isaia da Pisa to Phidias and Praxiteles, and to the writer of a funerary epitaph which compared Andrea Bregno with Polyclitus, it seemed that in Rome in the fifteenth century the great masters of antiquity had been reborn.

The first work in which a Roman style is evident is the bronze door cast by Filarete for St. Peter's between 1433 and 1445. A Florentine by birth, Filarete seems to have been a member of Ghiberti's studio while work was in progress on the first bronze door, but in the bronze door of St. Peter's there is a little that is Florentine and nothing that is Ghibertesque. Each of its wings consists of three rectangular reliefs of equal width and varying height. At the top are the Salvator Mundi and the Virgin, beneath are SS. Peter and Paul (Plate 108), and at the bottom are scenes with the martyrdoms of the two Saints. The attempt of Pope Eugenius IV to reunite the Eastern and the Western Churches is commemorated on horizontal strips between the main reliefs. Filarete was an obtuse artist, and neither in design nor execution can his door compare with the Porta del Paradiso of Ghiberti or with Donatello's doors in the Old Sacristy of S. Lorenzo (Fig. 33), which were made in the same term of years. In a revealing passage in his *Trattato d'Architettura* he expresses disapproval of Donatello's doors. 'If you have to make apostles,' he writes, 'do not make them look like fencers, as Donatello did in S. Lorenzo in Florence, that is in the Sacristy in the two doors of bronze.' Filarete practised what he preached, and the apostles on his own door are represented in static poses, with rigid drapery which must have been suggested by Early Christian ivories. Not only are the main figures depicted in a hieratic style derived from late antique reliefs, but the acanthus borders of the wings are crammed with figures from mythology, while classical architectural motifs lend a suspicion of coherence to the dishevelled narrative reliefs. As we see it now, it is difficult to understand the sculptor's boastful references to his own door, but in the fifteenth century, when the gilding described by Flavio Biondo was still fresh and the enamelled decoration was complete, it was a living reminder to visitors to the basilica that the imperial capital and the centre of the Christian world were one.

The style adopted for the bronze door was carried over into marble sculpture in a figure of St. Mark over the entrance to San Marco, which has been inconclusively ascribed to Filarete, and in the Chiaves monument in St. John Lateran (Fig. 108), which seems to have been commissioned from Filarete in 1447, and of which the surviving parts were carried out by Isaia da Pisa after Filarete had fled from Rome. The most striking example of its use occurs in a relief of the Virgin and Child with Angels between SS. Peter and Paul (Plate 109), which was carved about 1440 for the Chapel of S. Biagio in St. Peter's, and is now in the Grotte Vaticane. In this the main figures are carved in great depth and are clothed in classicizing drapery. Both in the Apostles and in the Pope and donor at the Virgin's feet the sculptor deliberately eschews all realistic emphasis. Isaia da Pisa lived on till 1464, and in the reign of Pius II his hand appears again in the disassembled Tabernacle of St. Andrew (1462-3) in the Grotte Vaticane, where he collaborated with a younger artist, Paolo Romano, who for a time enjoyed great popularity. A third sculptor active in Rome in the fourteen-sixties was the Neapolitan, Mino del Reame, who about 1463 completed a work of considerable importance, the ciborium of Cardinal d'Estouteville in Santa Maria Maggiore. The four faces of the upper part of the ciborium were filled with oblong narrative reliefs which are now preserved in the choir of the church. Mino del Reame's preconceptions, like those of Isaia da Pisa before him, were classical, and one of the carvings, the Adoration of the Magi, contains a group of horses which must depend from a classical relief. But Mino—and in this too he resembled Isaia da Pisa—was seduced by the pattern-making aspect of Roman art rather than by its naturalism. Just as Filarete's doors are a negation of Donatello's doors in S. Lorenzo, so Mino's Assumption (Plate 111), with its doll-like Virgin in a narrow mandorla supported by ten

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angels with vacant faces and splayed skirts, is a negation of the Assumption carved by Donatello for the Brancacci monument (Plate 8).

Mino's namesake, Mino da Fiesole, after working in Rome for a short time in 1454, returned there in 1463 as one of the sculptors charged with the Benediction Pulpit of Pius II. As with so many papal commissions, work on the Benediction Pulpit was undertaken against time, and it was entrusted to a group of sculptors which included Isaia da Pisa and Paolo Romano. In the seventies Mino worked in Rome once more. His most important work there, the tomb of Paul II, was carried out in conjunction with a Dalmatian sculptor, Giovanni Dalmata. The monument has been dismembered, but from an engraving (Fig. 116) it is known that it had the form of a triumphal arch. Probably designed by Dalmata, not Mino da Fiesole, it contained an unprecedented quantity of figure sculpture, a lunette of the Last Judgment by Mino, a relief of God the Father and Angels by Dalmata, a large relief of the Resurrection by Dalmata behind the effigy (also by Dalmata), a number of reliefs of angels executed by both sculptors, statuettes of four apostles at the sides (two by Mino and two by Dalmata), figures of Faith and Charity by Mino and Hope by Dalmata, reliefs of the Creation of Eve by Dalmata (Plate 110) and the Fall by Mino, and a frieze of putti and garlands carved in part by one and in part by the other artist. This haphazard system of collaboration would have been defensible if the styles of the two sculptors had been congruent, but the carvings undertaken by Mino for the tomb are delicate and stereotyped, while those of Dalmata evince, beneath their swollen forms, a crude feeling for plasticity.

In the sarcophagus of the Riario monument in the Santi Apostoli (Plate 112, Fig. 112) Mino is found working alongside a more distinguished artist, Andrea Bregno. Bregno's earliest works betray his Lombard origin, but in Rome his style rapidly became more classical, his designs grew tighter and more compact, and he acquired a machine-like precision of technique which in decorative carving stood him in good stead. An abnormally prolific artist, he filled the Roman churches with altars and wall monuments, and we need look no further than the exquisitely carved reliefs of lilies on the Borgia altar in S. Maria del Popolo (1473) or the foliated panels on the tabernacle in the Madonna della Quercia outside Viterbo (1490) to understand his popularity. The demand for works from Bregno's studio spread even to Siena, where the Piccolomini altar in the Cathedral (1481-5) included a reproduction of the Borgia altar-piece; and his style was eventually carried to North Italy through the agency of a more lively and more richly gifted artist, Gian Cristoforo Romano, who moved from Rome to Ferrara, executed the Visconti monument in the Certosa at Pavia, and later joined the sculptors employed by Isabella d'Este at Mantua.

Two leading Roman sculptors, Isaia da Pisa and Paolo Romano, also worked at Naples on the most ambitious sculptural complex in Southern Italy, the triumphal arch at the entrance to the Castelnuovo (Fig. 114). The history of this project goes back to 1443, when Alphonso of Aragon, who had won control of Naples a year earlier, made a ceremonial entry into his capital, and a wooden triumphal arch was erected in the Piazza del Mercato. Later a plan was mooted for a marble triumphal arch near the Cathedral, and in 1452, when the towers flanking the entrance to the fortress of the Castelnuovo were completed, this scheme was once again revived, this time in the form not of a free-standing arch, but of a gigantic doorway giving access to the castle. The building of the arch continued till Alphonso's death in 1458, was resumed by his son Ferrante in 1465, and was completed in 1466.

Between 1447 and 1454 the artistic scene in Naples was dominated by the medallist and painter Pisanello, and there exists a drawing (Fig. 113) ascribed to Pisanello which contains an early project for the triumphal arch. In this drawing (which reflects the preconceptions of the Catalan architect Sagrera) the entrance is represented as a Gothic doorway flanked by twisted columns. Above it is a central feature not unlike that ultimately executed, and above this again are Gothic niches filled with statues, with a row of Gothic finials or windows at the extreme top. To a ruler with Alphonso's humanistic tastes this scheme must have appeared thoroughly unsatisfactory, and the arch that he eventually sanctioned belonged, in design as well as in detail, to the Renaissance. Its lowest order is based on the Arch of the Sergii at Pola; above this is a relief showing the triumph of Alphonso; and above this again is a second arch, which was originally designed to house a figure of the king in majesty or an equestrian statue. Higher still are four niches with statues of the Virtues, and at the top St. Michael (at one time accompanied by SS. George and Anthony the Abbot) presides over a relief carved with two river gods. Inside the arch are two reliefs showing the King and his court departing for and returning from a victorious exploit (Plate 107).

The first artist mentioned in connection with the arch is Pietro da Milano,

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who was summoned to Naples from Ragusa in 1452. He arrived there a year later, and was rapidly followed by Francesco Laurana, from Zara, and by Paolo Romano. In 1455 Isaia da Pisa began work in Naples, and so did a pupil of Donatello, Andrea dell'Aquila. Two years later there appears the name of another Donatello pupil, Antonio di Chellino, with that of a Genoese sculptor, Domenico Gaggini. Through the second period of construction Pietro da Milano seems to have been in sole control. Sculpturally the arch is an unhappy union of unrelated styles, a meeting place for sculptors formed in Rome and Florence and Lombardy. When, for example, we look at the two reliefs of Alphonso and his court beside the entrance, we find that in one of them, on the left, the space construction is Donatellesque, while in the other, on the right, the spatial scheme has been designed by a sculptor who was unfamiliar with Donatello's work. Equally in the four statues of the Virtues one, the Justice, is strongly classical, while the figure of Temperance to its right is preponderantly Gothic. Above this again the classicistic River Gods lead the eye upwards to a Lombard figure of St. Michael at the top. Architecturally, on the other hand, the structure is conceived, throughout its entire height, as a rational whole, and the clarity of the intention which underlies it largely redresses the defects of the heterogeneous carvings with which it is clothed.

Nothing about the triumphal arch is certain. The documents, however, leave little doubt that the merits of the scheme are due to Pietro da Milano, who seems from the first to have been responsible for the design. None-the-less by the first quarter of the sixteenth century the name of Pietro da Milano had become dissociated from the arch, which was then credited to Francesco Laurana, and because Laurana, alone of the sculptors mentioned in connection with the work, was a major artist in his own right, analysis of the sculptures has been largely directed to identifying his share in the execution of the arch. Probably Laurana was responsible for one of the scenes beside the entrance, part of the large relief, the figure of Justice and a number of subsidiary carvings, but since these sculptures are much weathered and their attribution to Laurana is conjectural, an impression of his style is best formed from other works. Laurana was born near Zara, probably about 1430, and seems to have been trained in a Venetian studio operating in Dalmatia, possibly that of a disciple of Bartolommeo Buon, Giorgio da Sebenico. Nothing is known of his work before 1454, when he arrived in Naples to work on the triumphal arch. Between 1461 and

1466 he was employed as a medallist at the court of René of Anjou; thereafter he moved to Sicily, where in 1468 he received the commission for the Mastrantonio Chapel in S. Francesco at Palermo; in the early seventies he was once more in Naples; between 1477 and 1483 he was again in France, where he completed the tabernacle of Saint Lazare for the Cathedral at Marseilles, and a relief of Christ carrying the Cross at Avignon; between 1483 and 1498 he may have worked in Naples and Sicily once more; and in 1501-2 he died in France.

Laurana found his most congenial vehicle in the portrait bust (Plate 105), and a whole series of busts of women by his hand are known. Though the busts he carved in Naples belong to two different periods, separated by as much as fifteen years, the conception of the portrait implicit in them is unchanged, and the formal principles which guide them are no more than slightly modified. The picture they present is one of an extremely subtle but relatively unambitious artist. Like the busts, a number of Madonna statues and statuettes which Laurana carved in Sicily and Naples (Plate 104) owe much of their appeal to absence of overt expressiveness. In such works the problems of depicting space and movement did not arise. In the reliefs in the Mastrantonio Chapel in San Francesco at Palermo movement is again conspicuous by its absence, but Laurana could not evade the obligation to define the spatial content of his scenes. By the standard of Central Italian sculptors, the means by which he did so were rudimentary, and though the surface of the panel of SS. Jerome and Gregory (Plate 106) reveals the same sensibility of facture as the portraits, the conclusion is inescapable that Laurana's intellectual resources were barely adequate for the work he undertook. The subject of Christ carrying the Cross, which he carved in high relief at Avignon, set a premium on movement, and this once more was a challenge which he could not meet. Moreover, in France Laurana's work veered in the direction of late Gothic as is evident in the grotesque executioners, the pathetic Christ and the Riemenschneider figure of St. John. Only in the Marys on the extreme right of the scene are we reminded that the sculptor is the same artist who at Naples had executed the great portrait busts.

Agostino di Duccio and the Tempio Malatestiano

During the fifteenth century a number of Florentine sculptors made their careers outside Tuscany. Mino da Fiesole won greater popularity in Rome than in his native town; Domenico Rosselli and the sculptor known as the Master of the Marble Madonnas carried a simplified version of the style of Antonio Rossellino to the Marches and Romagna; and Francesco di Simone, a pupil of Desiderio, worked in Bologna and Forlì. The most prominent of these exiles was Agostino di Duccio. Agostino was born in 1418. During his boyhood his father died, his family found itself in financial straits, and in 1433 he enlisted as a mercenary soldier and left Florence. His name does not recur there until 1446, and his earliest surviving works (Fig. 104), four narrative scenes from a dismembered altar in Modena Cathedral (1442), confirm that he received his training outside Florence. In these the figures are bunched together at the front of each relief, and are not disposed in space, and the drapery, instead of conforming to the action in which the figures are portrayed, assumes a late-Gothic rhythm of its own. Our only record of Agostino's presence in Florence in the fourteen-forties relates to his departure from the town in 1446, when, accused of theft, he fled to Venice. Unsuccessful efforts have been made to identify the works he carved there, and it has been suggested that he collaborated with the principal Venetian sculptor of the time, Bartolommeo Buon. Whether or not this was so, his experience of Venetian sculpture left its mark on the sculptures he executed after 1449, when he moved from Venice to Rimini. In 1454 he was still at work in the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini, and he seems to have remained there till the summer of 1457 when he moved once more, this time to Perugia, whither he was drawn by a commission for the façade of the oratory of San Bernardino. Between 1457 and 1462 there are repeated documentary references to the progress of this building, and for this reason it provides a sounder basis than the Tempio Malatestiano for the study of Agostino's style.

The central feature (Fig. 102), with its high arch, medallions in the spandrels and classical inscription running along the architrave, depends from the central feature of Alberti's Tempio Malatestiano. But the doorway is depressed to make way for a strip of sculptured decoration, and the arch is filled with a carving of the Saint in glory between flying angels which may well have been inspired by Venetian tympanum reliefs. The sculptured decoration above the doorway includes three narrative reliefs (Fig. 105). When we compare these with the Modena reliefs of eighteen years before, our first impression must be how constant are the sculptor's mannerisms, how uniform his world peopled by agitated marionettes. At Perugia, however, the tendency towards a prevailing linear rhythm noted in the Modena reliefs is developed to a point at which the forms are organized in a predominantly linear sense. The implications of this change are apparent in the reliefs of Virtues beside the doorway (Plate 99) and in the music-making angels of the tympanum relief, whose idiom derives from Rimini, where it was first employed in the sculptures of the Tempio Malatestiano.

The history of this romantic building (Fig. 103) opens in 1447, when the Bishop of Rimini laid the foundation stone in the church of San Francesco of a chapel dedicated by the Lord of Rimini, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, to his patron saint, St. Sigismund. In 1448 marble was being stripped from Ravenna for use in the new chapel, and in 1452 it was dedicated. In this year another chapel, containing the monument of Sigismondo Malatesta's mistress Isotta degli Atti, was also in course of reconstruction but was still incomplete. The chapel of St. Sigismund is the first, and the chapel of Isotta the second on the right side of the church. At some date still undetermined, perhaps the jubilee year of 1450, what had begun as the construction of one chapel was merged in a more far-reaching scheme, whereby the whole exterior of the church was to be cased in a Renaissance shell designed by the architect Alberti and the whole interior was to be replanned. In addition therefore to the chapels of St. Sigismund and of Isotta, provision was now made for a third monumental chapel on the same side of the church and for three corresponding chapels on the left. In 1454 there is an allusion to work in the first chapel on the left, and in 1455 we hear of the purchase of red marble from Verona, possibly for use in the third chapel on the right. There is no reference to the second and third chapels on the left, but the reconstruction of these was probably completed by 1460, since figures from the latter chapel were imitated by Agostino di Duccio at Perugia. Work in the Tempio must therefore have been finished in about ten years.

How short was this time bracket can be seen when we pass through the imposing façade. San Francesco was a Gothic church, and in the interior, though not on the outside, its Gothic features were retained. It was not reconstructed; it was transformed. The Gothic arches were cased in marble, the spandrels were

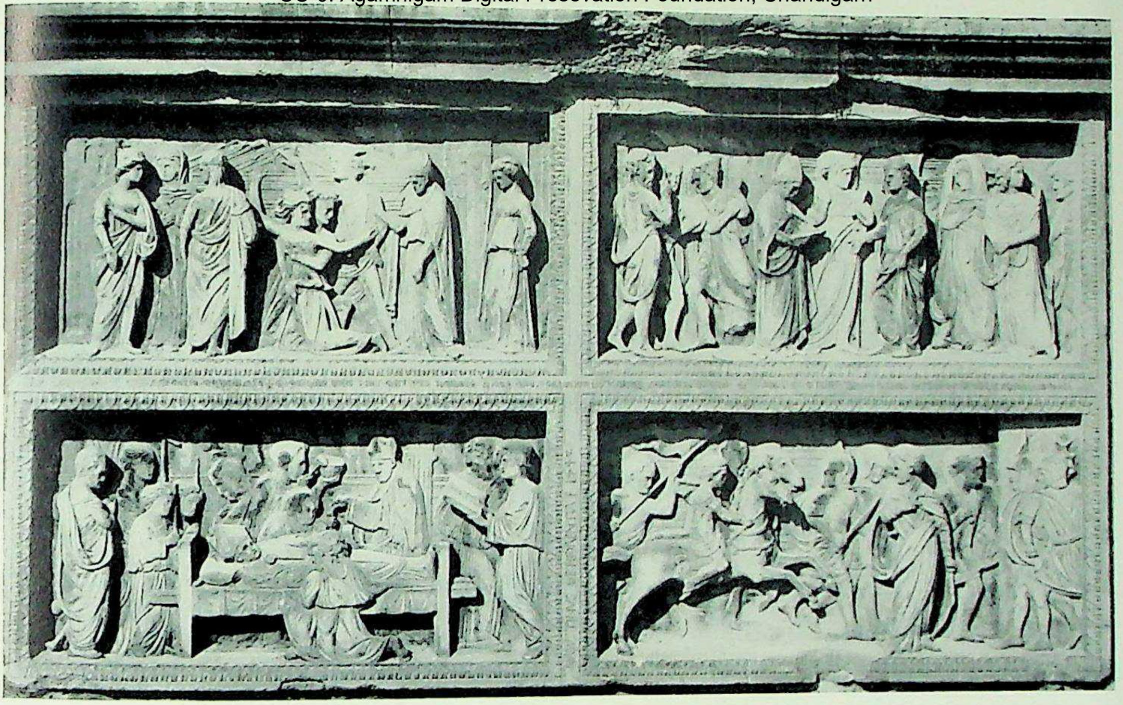


Fig. 104. Agostino di Duccio: SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF S. GEMIGNANO. Duomo, Modena.

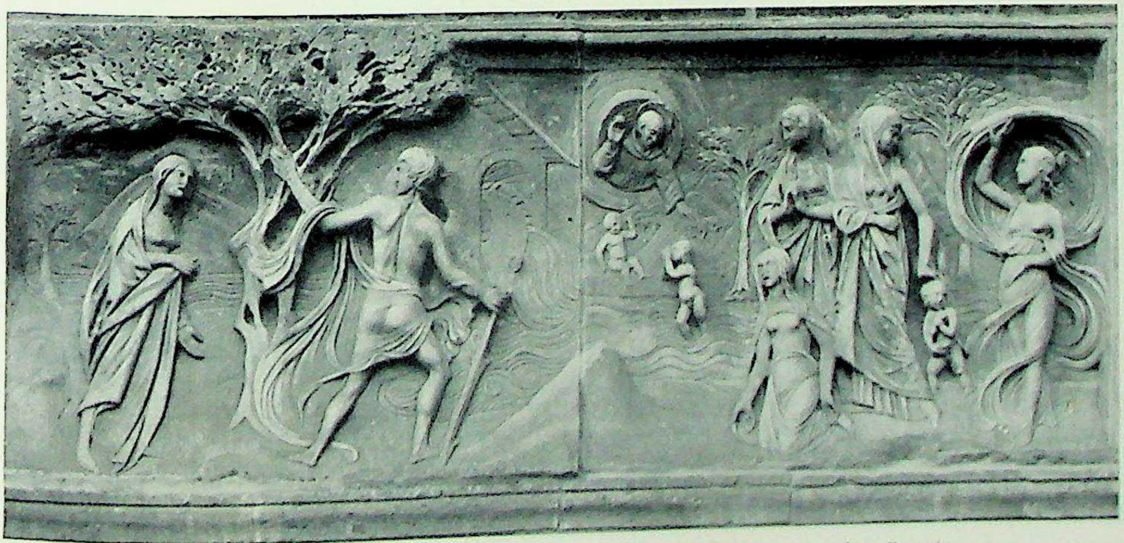


Fig. 105. Agostino di Duccio: MIRACLE OF S. BERNARDINO. S. Bernardino, Perugia.

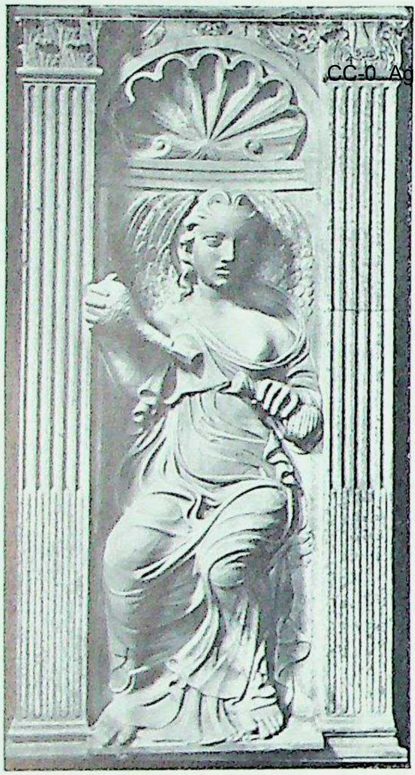


Fig. 106. Agostino di Duccio: TEMPERANCE. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini.

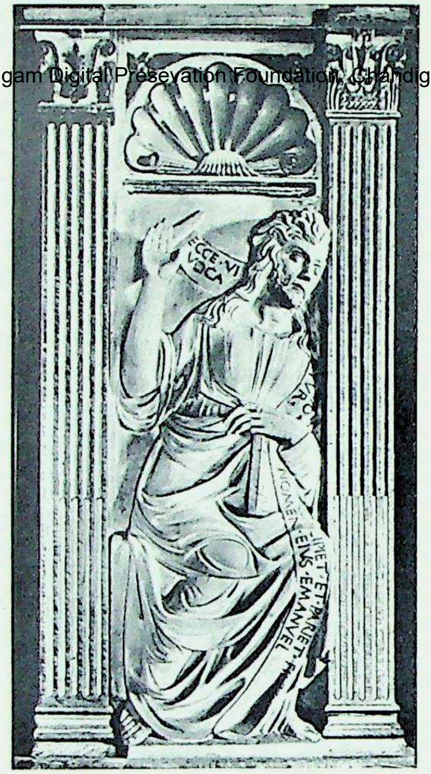


Fig. 107. Agostino di Duccio: SIBYL. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini.

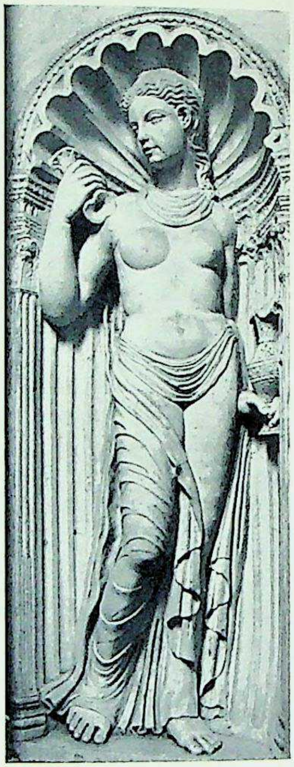
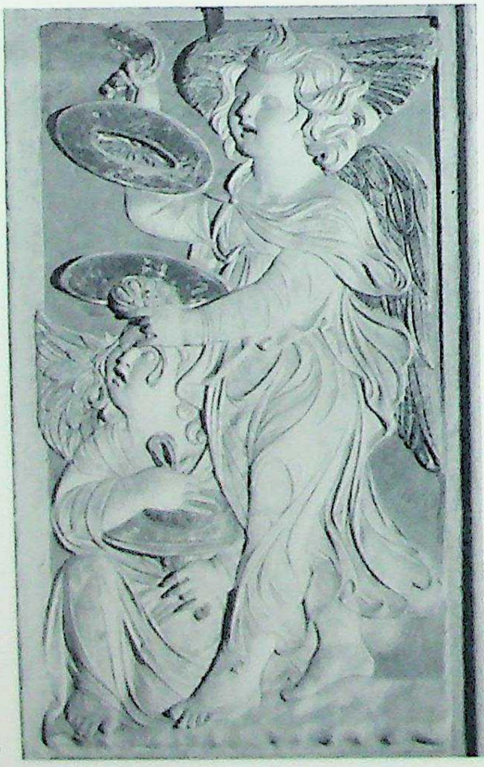


Fig. 108. Isaia da Pisa: TEMPERANCE. St. John Lateran, Rome.



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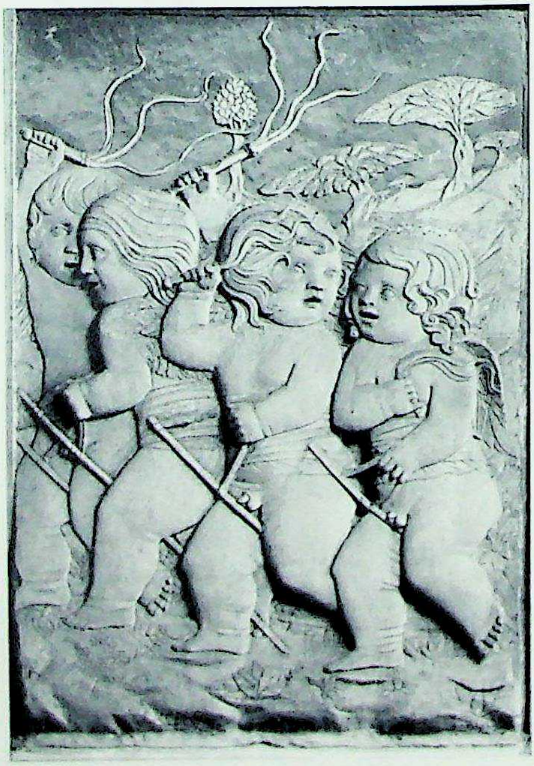

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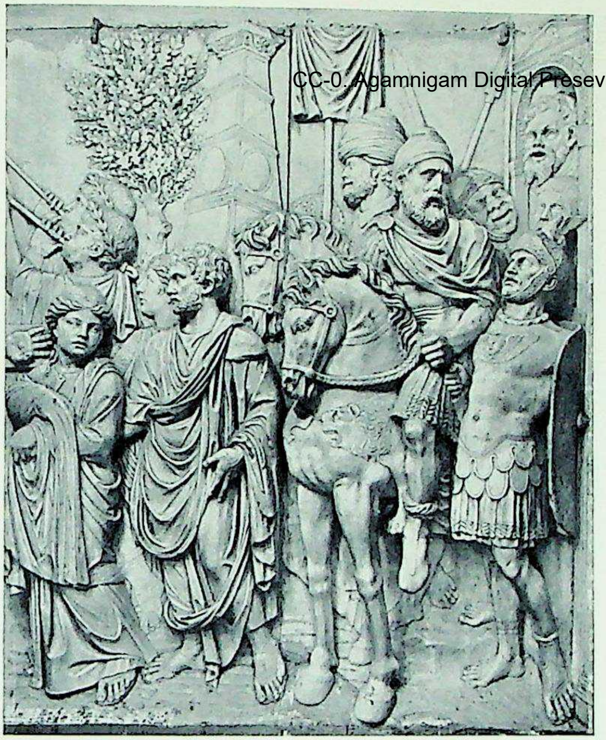
Fig. 109. Matteo de' Pasti (?): MUSIC-MAKING ANGELS. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini.
Fig. 110. Agostino di Duccio: PLAYING CHILDREN. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini.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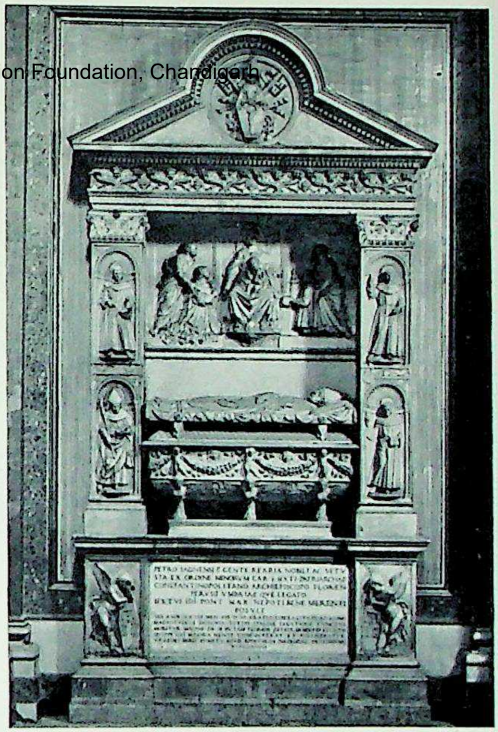
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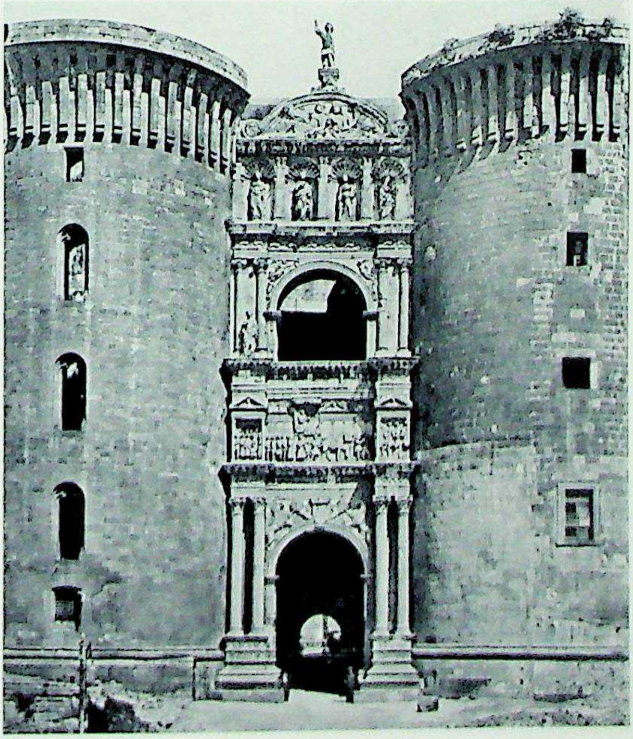
Fig. 111. Roman, *c.* 1480: THE CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER (detail). Grotte Vaticane, Rome.
Fig. 112. Andrea Bregno and Giovanni Dalmata: THE TOMB OF CARDINAL PIETRO RIARIO. SS. Apostoli, Rome.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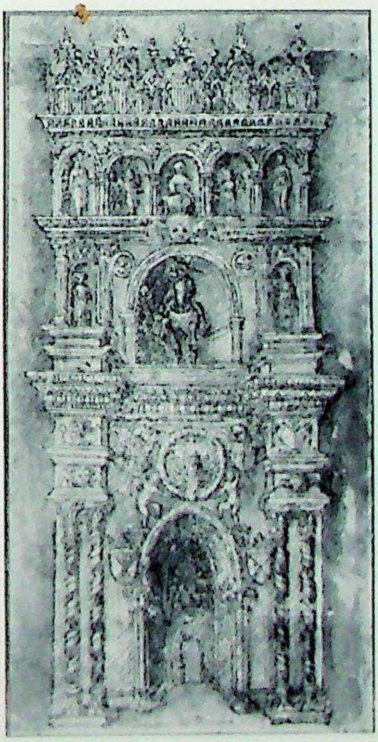
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Fig. 113. THE GATEWAY OF THE CASTELNUOVO. Naples.
Fig. 114. DRAWING FOR THE GATEWAY OF THE CASTELNUOVO. Boymans Museum, Rotterdam.

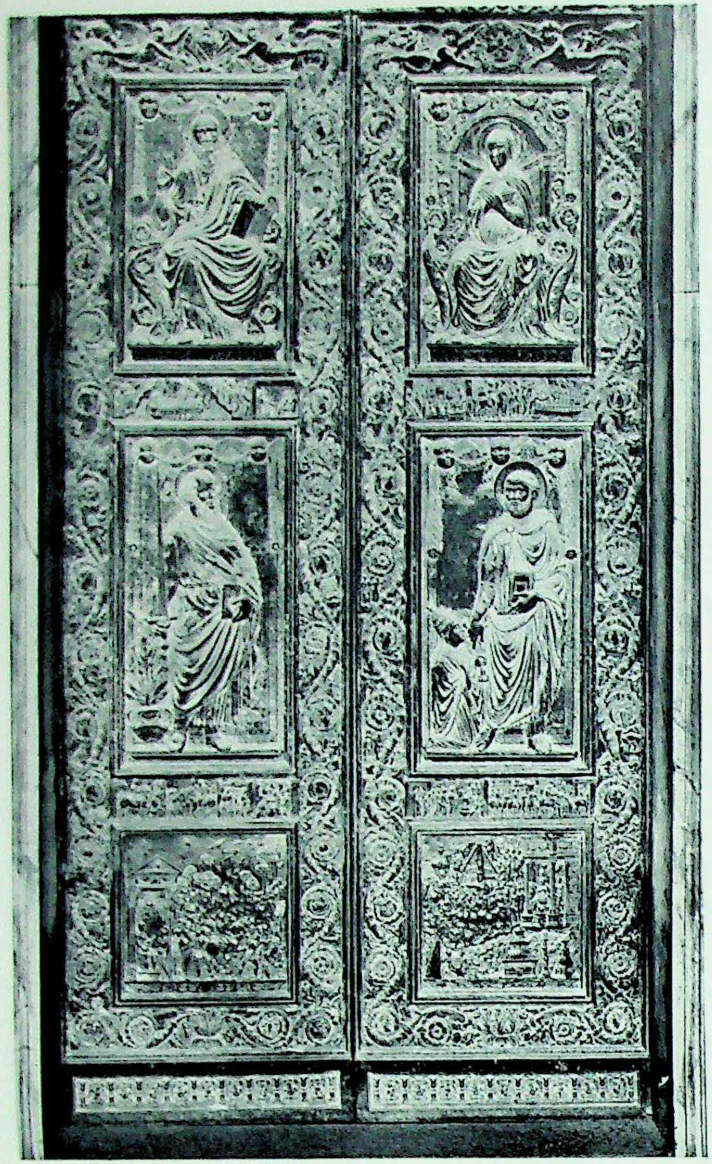

Fig. 115. Filarete: BRONZE DOOR. St. Peter's, Rome.

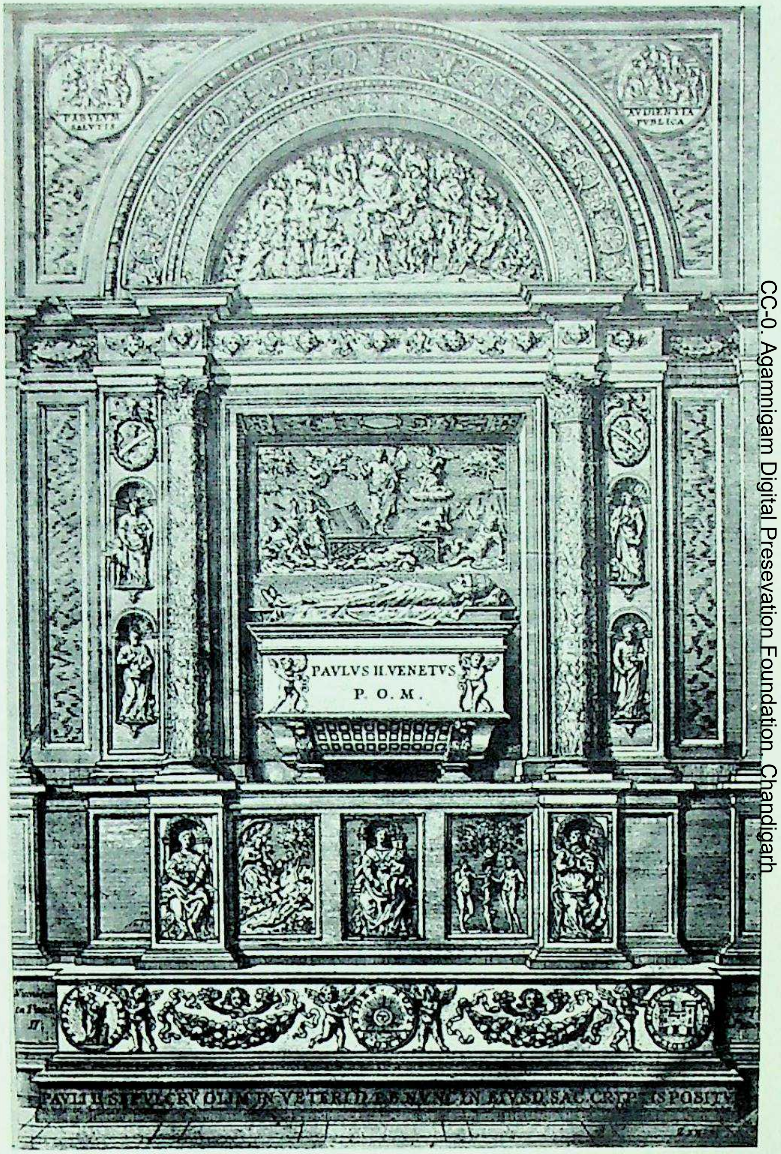
AVDIENTIA PVBLICA
PAVLVS II VENETVS
P. O. M.

Fig. 116. Giovanni Dalmata and Mino da Fiesole. THE MONUMENT OF POPE PAUL II. St. Peter's, Rome (formerly).

filled with sculptured ornament, the wall surfaces were broken with pilasters, and the piers supporting the arches were covered with sculptured decoration on three sides. The piers in each of the two bottom chapels contain twelve figures or reliefs, and the piers in each of the four upper chapels contain eighteen. Disregarding the monuments and wall decorations, the figures on the balustrades, the spandrel carvings, the supports beneath the piers, we thus have to reckon with no less than ninety-six reliefs.

In documentary terms we know extremely little about the artists who were employed in the church. The medallist Matteo de' Pasti is first mentioned at Rimini in 1449, and remained in close association with the Malatesta court until his death in 1468. All of the evidence seems to indicate Matteo de' Pasti as the artist in whom Sigismondo Malatesta reposed most confidence. In the same year the name of Agostino di Duccio appears in a Riminese document for the first time, and in 1451 Piero della Francesca painted in the Tempio his fresco of Sigismondo Malatesta before St. Sigismund. The architect Alberti became involved in the project about 1450, designing the outer shell and the triumphal façade, and also perhaps intervening in the internal reconstruction of the church. The names of Matteo de' Pasti as architect and Agostino di Duccio as sculptor are recorded inside the Tempio, and on the strength of these inscriptions all of the sculptures, with the provisional exception of those in the first chapel on the right, have been ascribed to Agostino. Given the magnitude of the commission, it is inherently unlikely that a single sculptor and his assistants would have been allowed to work their slow way through the church, and the first conclusion on which we are forced back by study of the carvings is that they cannot have been planned or executed by one artist.

Admittedly in reproduction they show a certain uniformity which might suggest the opposite. To understand their idiom we must know something of the culture from which the Tempio Malatestiano sprang. Pope Pius II, in the *Commentarii*, censures Sigismondo Malatesta with the words: 'He has built a church at Rimini in honour of St. Francis, but he has filled it with antique images, so that it seems a temple for the worship not of Christ, but of the pagan gods.' The imagery of the Tempio, with its planetary reliefs based on Macrobius, its representations of the Muses drawn from Apollonius Rhodius, and its exaltation of the divinity of Sigismondo Malatesta in the twin figures of the sun-god Apollo and St. Sigismund, is indeed a manifesto of studied paganism.

As we might expect, the mainspring of the style of the reliefs is the sculpture of antiquity. But whereas Florentine Renaissance sculpture depends from Roman prototypes, the sculpture of the Tempio seems to have been orientated upon Greece. This finds expression in the conscious re-creation of a Neo-Attic style. Precisely because it is a re-creation, and not merely an accretion of antique motifs, the sources from which it depends are more than usually elusive. Probably the sculptor of the Chapel of the Planets (Plate 102) was acquainted with Neo-Attic carvings like the reliefs of Maenads in Rome and Madrid, and used these as the source of his flowing calligraphic style. Possibly too the author of the Chapel of the Liberal Arts (Plate 103) was familiar with reproductions of columnar sarcophagi of the type of the Mourning Women sarcophagus from Sidon, and adapted their use of interval and their relief style for decorative purposes. To our eyes the idiom of these carvings may seem unclassical, but contemporaries saw them in a different light, and the humanist Valturio, speaking in the *De Re Militari* of the Tempio and its decorations, affirms that of all the sights of Rimini 'none is more worth inspection, none is more antique'. This Neo-Attic style was not decided on at once. It was first introduced in the Chapel of Isotta, the second chapel on the right of the church, in which work can scarcely have been begun before 1451. A year earlier Alberti had arrived at Rimini, and it may well be to him that we owe the decision to impose a classical relief style on the Tempio, as a counterpart to the classical architectural forms of the outside.

Once it is recognized that a uniform idiom was imposed on the sculptures of the Tempio, the idiosyncrasies of the artists employed there become more easily decipherable. In the Chapel of St. Sigismund the deeply carved figures of the Virtues (Fig. 106) are seated in niches between pilasters. The treatment of the drapery recalls that of the Virtues on Isaia da Pisa's Chiaves monument in St. John Lateran (Fig. 108), and may also have its source in Filarete, who visited Rimini about 1448 after abandoning work on the Chiaves tomb. In the postures, however, there is a residue of Venetian Gothic style. For reasons of symmetry it was essential that there should be some formal correspondence between this chapel and the first chapel on the left-hand side, the Chapel of the Sibyls, which was under way at the end of 1454, and the niches used in the Chapel of St. Sigismund were therefore repeated on the opposite side of the church, but with a difference, for where the niches of the Chapel of St.

Sigismund are concave, these are flat, and the figures (Fig. 107) are for the most part posed on a single plane and do not protrude from the surface of the wall. It may be inferred that in the Chapel of the Sibyls an attempt was made to modify the relief style of the Chapel of St. Sigismund in the light of the low reliefs introduced in the Chapel of Isotta. When allowance is made for this change of plan, it becomes clear that the bulk of the reliefs in the Chapels of St. Sigismund and of the Sibyls represent two phases in the evolution of one artist.

With the Chapel of Isotta we enter a different world. The reliefs of music-making children (Fig. 109) are controlled by an exquisitely subtle sense for the placing of the image in its frame. Animated figures are shown in motion, and instead of the abrupt transitions between one plane and the next which we find in the Chapel of St. Sigismund, there is a living interplay of line and form. The Chapel of the Infant Games, the second chapel on the left-hand side, was presumably designed to correspond with the Chapel of Isotta, since its piers are decorated with three tiers of playing children (Fig. 110). But these children lack the surface modelling of the children in the chapel opposite, their movement and their fluent line. The contours are incised at right angles to the plane of the relief, and in many cases the heads are represented as perfect circles and other forms are reduced to their nearest geometrical equivalents. When we compare the technical peculiarities of these reliefs with those of the Chapel of the Sibyls, we can only conclude that both were executed by one and the same artist.

Fortunately the far superior sculptor of the Chapel of Isotta was responsible for the decoration of at least one further chapel, the Chapel of the Planets, the third on the right side of the church and the greatest single achievement in the Tempio Malatestiano. On a formal plane the carvings in this chapel provide some of the most felicitous and appealing schemes in the whole of Italian relief sculpture. The firm flesh of the Aquarius (Plate 102) is treated with the same rotundity and the same smooth transitions as the music-making putti in the Chapel of Isotta, and is seen in part through the transparent water and in part through striated drapery. One of the most attractive carvings is the Venus (Plate 101), riding across a sea whose waves seem to have been set by some celestial coiffeur. Especially notable are the landscapes, which proceed from the International Gothic landscapes found in the first half of the fifteenth century throughout North Italy. The last of the chapels to be completed appears to have been the third chapel on the left hand side, the Chapel of the Liberal Arts. Its carvings (Plate 103) are closely related to the Planet reliefs, but tend towards visual patterns of a rather different kind. Instead of a design which fills the whole area of the relief, they contain figures drawn in upon themselves and isolated on their flat grounds. The linear emphasis is less pronounced than in the chapel opposite, and in the handling of the drapery the third dimension is more strongly felt. Despite these differences, the balance of probability is that the Chapel of the Planets and the Chapel of the Liberal Arts are by one artist.

We have then in the Tempio Malatestiano (excluding studio hands responsible for the less exposed reliefs on the insides of the piers) two major sculptors. One of these was responsible for the carvings in the Chapel of Isotta (but not for her monument), as well as for those in the Chapels of the Planets and the Liberal Arts. The other was accountable for the carvings in the three Chapels of St. Sigismund, the Sibyls and the Infant Games (including the great angels drawing curtains which seem to have been added as a happy afterthought to the Chapel of St. Sigismund), and for the Arca degli Antenati (Fig. 73), the Arca of Isotta, a scene from the legend of St. Sigismund in the Museo Civico in Milan which was originally part of the altar in the Chapel of St. Sigismund, a vast quantity of decorative carving and the figures of Saints Sigismund and Michael which preside over the first and second of the chapels on the right of the church.

Agostino di Duccio was the second of these artists. We know this, because his name is mentioned in connection with the Chapel of the Sibyls and the Arca degli Antenati, the tomb of Sigismondo Malatesta's ancestors, and because this group of carvings, and this alone, conforms in style to his authenticated works. A number of the carvings by Agostino at Perugia (Plate 99) depend from reliefs at Rimini. One of the angels, for example, recalls specifically, and all recall generically, the angels drawing curtains on the walls of the Chapel of St. Sigismund, and whether they are examined from the standpoint of style or of technique it is clear that in this case the comparable carvings at Perugia and Rimini are by one artist. On the other hand, one of the single figures at Perugia reproduces the pose of the figure of Grammar in the Chapel of the Liberal Arts, and here there is a marked disparity between the carvings, the much superior figure at Rimini resting easily within its frame while the flattened, schematic

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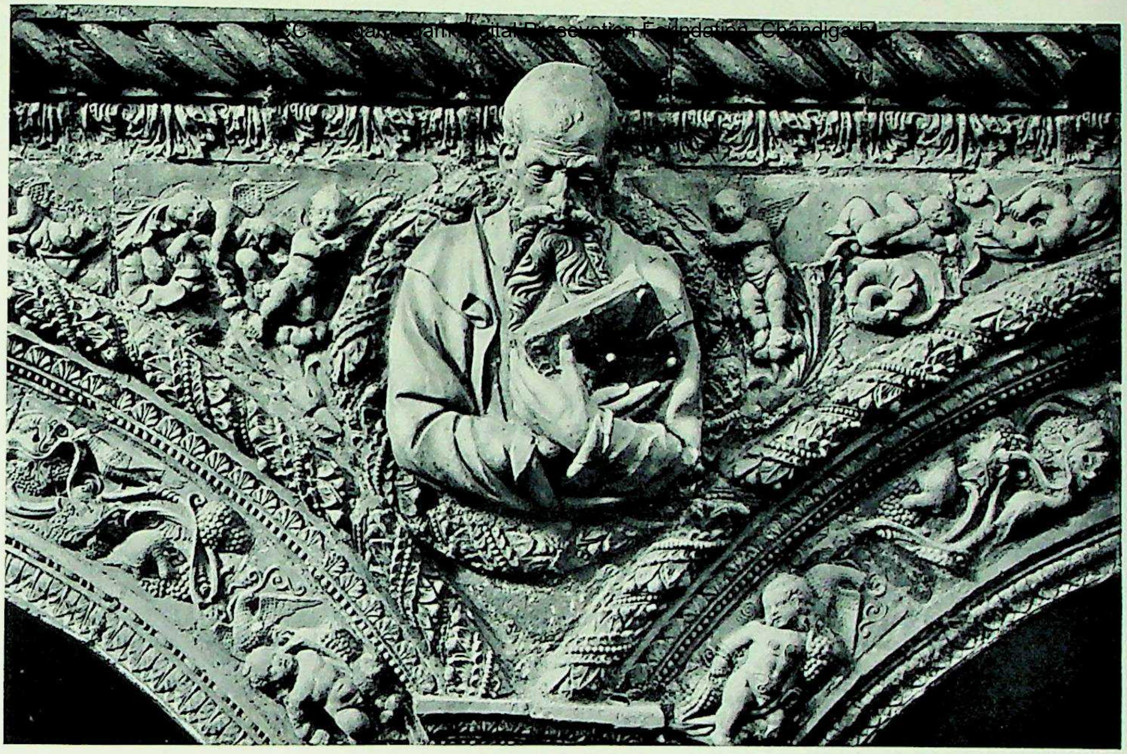

Fig. 117. Amadeo (?): SPANDREL DECORATION OF THE SMALL CLOISTER. Certosa, Pavia.

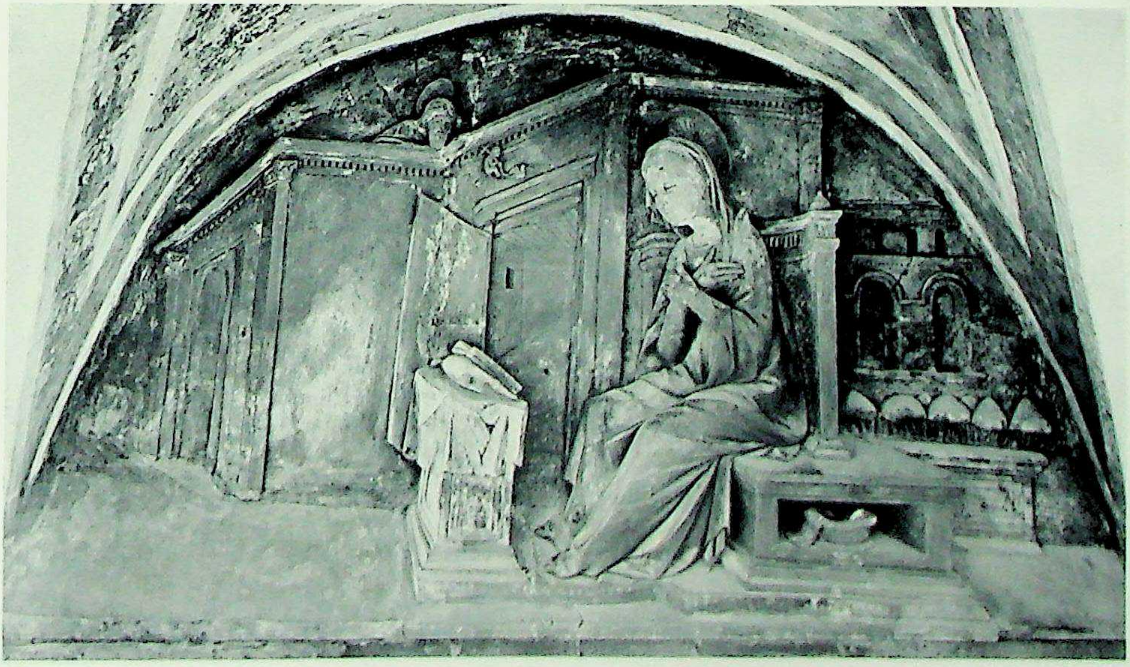

Fig. 118. Amadeo (?): THE VIRGIN ANNUNCIATE. Certosa, Pavia.

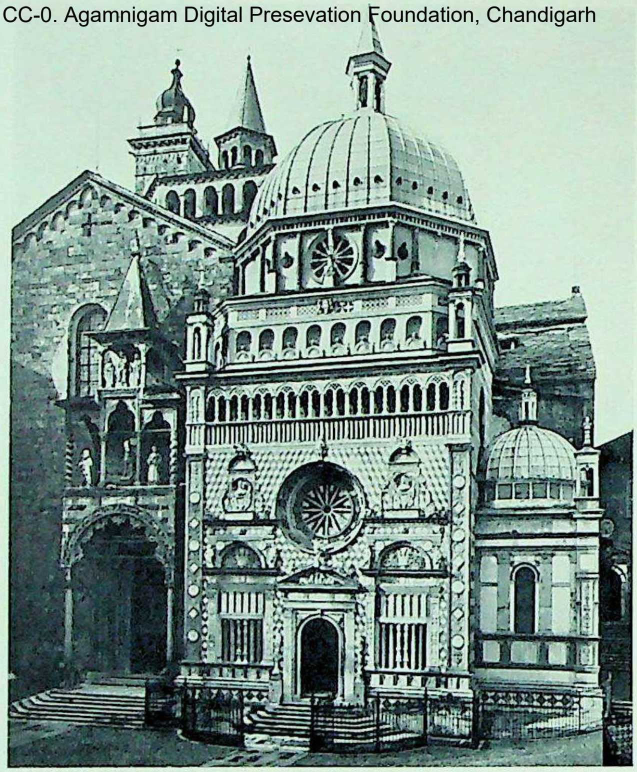

Fig. 119. Amadeo: THE FAÇADE OF THE COLLEONI CHAPEL. Bergamo.

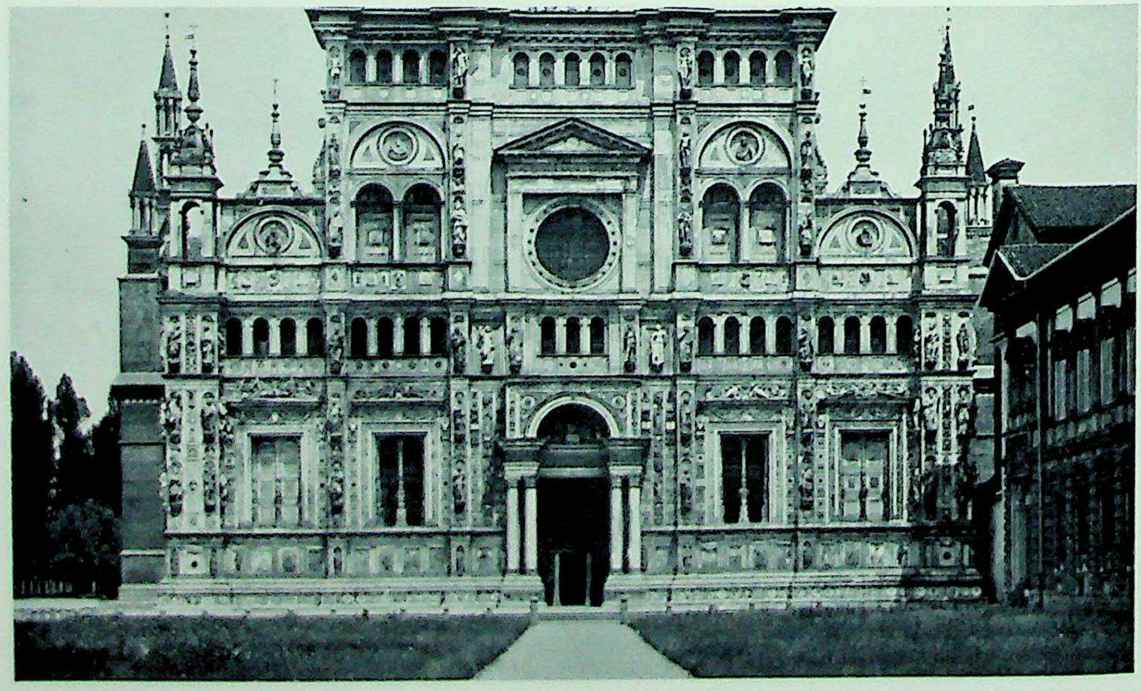

Fig. 120. THE FAÇADE OF THE CERTOSA. Pavia.

figure at Perugia is ill-adjusted to the area it occupies. Who then was the first of the sculptors in the Tempio Malatestiano? Very probably he was Matteo de' Pasti, whose name appears along with Agostino di Duccio's inside the church. Matteo de' Pasti's few surviving medals do not provide a basis on which to demonstrate the authorship of the reliefs, though the difference between his signed medals and the Rimini reliefs is certainly no greater than that between the signed medals of Laurana and Laurana's marble sculptures. Laurana was a great marble sculptor and an inferior medallist, while Matteo de' Pasti (if the reliefs be his) excelled both as medallist and sculptor. Vasari ascribed the reliefs in the Tempio Malatestiano to Luca della Robbia, and traditionally they have been looked upon as Florentine, but they are the products in part of a Roman, in part of a North Italian visual culture, and historically their relevance is to sculpture in North Italy. In Florence they had no progeny, whereas in Venice the Liberal Arts at Rimini were transformed into the Corneille-like figures of Tullio Lombardo's reliefs, the antependium of the altar of St. Sigismund was introduced into St. Mark's, and the sarcophagus of the Arca degli Antenati was reproduced in Pietro Lombardo's Mocenigo monument.

Niccolò dell'Arca and the Renaissance in Emilia

In the fifteenth century, in the field of sculpture, Ferrara and Bologna were centres of secondary importance. The father of Ferrarese Renaissance sculpture was a Florentine, Niccolò Baroncelli, who was employed by Lionello d'Este initially on a bronze equestrian monument to his predecessor, Niccolò III, and subsequently (1450) on a life-size bronze group of the Crucified Christ with the Virgin and SS. John, George (Fig. 129) and Maurelius for the Cathedral. According to Vasari, Baroncelli was a pupil of Brunelleschi, but the style of the Ferrara figures stems from Donatello, whose bronze Crucifix at Padua was already cast. In the Christ and the Virgin and St. John, however, Baroncelli failed to penetrate the surface of Donatello's work. At his death in 1453 the SS. George and Maurelius were still unfinished, and they were completed in 1466 by his pupil Domenico di Paris. A year after these mannered figures were set in place Domenico di Paris undertook the stucco decoration of the anticamera of the Palazzo Schifanoia, adjacent to the hall which was subsequently filled with Cossa's frescoes. This decoration (Fig. 130) has as its main feature seated figures of the Virtues between music-making putti, couched in an artificial style which recalls that of Tura's panels from Belfiore. Unluckily Domenico di Paris was an artist on a smaller scale than Tura, and his work, for all its charm, is lacking in profundity and in incisiveness. Something of its spirit is preserved in the doll-like Virgin and Child modelled in terracotta in 1482 for the tomb of Pope Alexander V in San Francesco at Bologna by the Mantuan medallist Sperandio (Fig. 132).

Niccolò dell'Arca, a sculptor of South Italian origin who was active at Bologna after 1463, is a more imposing artist. Niccolò derived his name from Nicola Pisano's Arca of St. Dominic in San Domenico Maggiore (Vol. I, Fig. 48), for which, between 1469 and 1473, he carved a lid decorated with small marble statuettes. When he undertook this task, he must have been familiar with the work of Desiderio da Settignano, and the swags and putti in the centre of the lid offer a graceful tribute to the Marsuppini monument and the Altar of the Sacrament. The statuettes (Fig. 131), however, have no parallel in Florence, and remind us now of the statuettes of Quercia on the Vari-Bentivoglio monument in San Giacomo Maggiore, and now of the Catalan sculptor, Sagrera, whose works Niccolò must have known in Naples. In the large Madonna di Piazza on which he worked in 1478, we find the same synthesis of conflicting elements, a classical frame, drapery forms evolved from Quercia's, and a Child that seems to reveal knowledge of the Madonnas of Verrocchio.

Niccolò dell'Arca's masterpiece is a terracotta group of the Lamentation over the dead Christ in Santa Maria della Vita at Bologna (Plate 121, Fig. 127). Consisting of a recumbent figure of the Dead Christ, and statues of the Virgin, St. John, Nicodemus and three lamenting women, this dramatic work is the only substantial equivalent in sculpture for the paintings of Tura and Cossa at Ferrara. The relation between them cannot be established with any confidence. If the Lamentation dates (as there at one time seemed reason to suppose) from 1463, it would precede Tura's organ shutters at Ferrara, as well as the predella of Cossa's Griffoni altar-piece and Ercole de' Roberti's fresco of the Crucifixion in San Pietro at Bologna. If, on the other hand, it dates (as has also been suggested) from after 1485, it must be looked upon as a transcription into sculpture of a style current in painting fifteen years before.

A measure of the intensity of Niccolò dell'Arca's Lamentation is provided by the work of his Modenese contemporary Mazzoni, who specialized in painted terracotta groups (Plate 120, Fig. 128). To contemporaries Niccolò appeared 'phantasticus et barbarus', whereas Mazzoni, working in a more placid style, enjoyed great popularity. The outcome of his tireless industry are life-size *tableaux vivants* in his native region, and in centres as far apart as Padua (from Sant' Antonio in Castello in Venice), Naples (in the church of Monteoliveto), and Fécamp. They bear the same relation to Niccolò dell'Arca's Lamentation that the paintings of Costa bear to Ercole de' Roberti's, and their stolid language was equally acceptable. None the less, they have real sculptural quality, and the conventional pietism of the gestures is often redeemed by genre motifs and naturalistic detail. The tradition of terracotta sculpture initiated by Niccolò dell'Arca and Mazzoni was continued by Vincenzo Onofri in a group in San Petronio, and in the full tide of the sixteenth century was developed by two younger artists, Alfonso Lombardi in a Death of the Virgin in Santa Maria della Vita at Bologna (1519-22) and Antonio Begarelli in a Deposition in San Francesco at Modena (1531).

The Lombard Renaissance

Lombard art followed a different creative procedure from that of Florence, and obeyed a different aesthetic law. The contrast is best established by passing directly to a typical Lombard Renaissance monument, the memorial chapel built by the condottiere Colleoni in his native town of Bergamo (Fig. 119). Unlike Verrocchio's monument in Venice, which owed its existence to a clause in Colleoni's will, the Chapel was built in Colleoni's life-time to house his tomb. It was his intention that the monument in Venice should be set up in a position of great prominence outside St. Mark's, and the same thought was given to the placing of the Chapel. At Colleoni's instance the sacristy of Santa Maria Maggiore was demolished to provide a site visible through the whole length of the Piazza Vecchia of Bergamo. The Colleoni Chapel is a Renaissance adjunct to a Gothic church. If, however, we approach it expecting a North Italian equivalent for the Pazzi Chapel, we shall be disappointed, for it has nothing in common with this work. Its flat façade is framed by tall pilasters decorated with reliefs of saints and emperor heads, and is broken by an elaborate central doorway with a deeply recessed window over it, by two lateral windows, and by niches filled with busts. Such parts of the wall surface as are free of sculpture are encrusted with marble inlay in the form of cubes. Across the façade runs an open gallery, and over this again is a row of decorative niches which support a cupola. Another smaller cupola crowns the protruding tribune of the chapel. Here then is a building which contravenes in every way the canons of Florentine Renaissance taste. Its effect is made not by beauty of proportion or harmony of form, but through the richness of its decoration and the brilliance of its polychromy. The circular window in the centre is enriched with consoles of red marble, each of the lateral windows contains six columns, two black, two red, two white, beneath them are white marble reliefs separated by black consoles, and above them runs a frieze of white marble pilasters on a black ground. On the façade of the Colleoni Chapel the carving is not an addition to a self-consistent architectural unit, but the mainstay of the whole design. The sculptor and the architect were one and the same artist. His name was Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, he was born at Pavia, and when he began work at Bergamo he was aged twenty-five.

When we examine the carvings in detail, we find that they, too, are strikingly un-Florentine. In the pilasters beside the doorway the foliage writhes and swirls like the border of an illuminated manuscript. The scenes from Genesis beneath the windows are vivid and grotesque, and the angels above the doorway are posed with enchanting simplicity and naturalness. In the six statuettes of Virtues (Plate 114)—two above each of the lateral windows and two beside the entrance—the motifs depend from the antique, though they appear to have been passed through a filter of Gothic mannerism. In the lowest register, beside the doorway, are two rectangular supports of which the outer faces are carved with putti. A Florentine analogy for these reliefs occurs in the Prato pulpit of Donatello, but we have only to compare Amadeo's reliefs with a panel from the pulpit to see how weak are the foundations, how lax the discipline from which they spring. Of the handling it is difficult to speak, since the carvings are weathered, and some of the Genesis scenes are practically effaced. Inside the chapel, however, on the tribune arch, are two more pilasters, carved not in marble but in the more accommodating medium of Istrian stone, where we can follow every movement of Amadeo's chisel as he builds up a design of crisp vine leaves and curling tendrils which has more in common with Southwell and Amiens than with Luca della Robbia and Bernardo Rossellino. At the base of these pilasters are two more groups of putti (Plate 115), solemn children who would be perfectly at home on the Sebaldus shrine at Nuremberg, treading the grapes with heavy feet and spinning the disc above them like a gigantic top. The monument of Colleoni, on the wall opposite the entrance, offers another illustration of Amadeo's singularity, in four lamenting lions placed, like dogs chained in their kennels, under the supports. In these and in the child-like angels of the Nativity relief, we are closer to the centre of Amadeo's art than in the classicizing statuettes of Virtues in the lower section of the tomb or in the antique heroes seated under the sarcophagus.

To the left of the entrance, facing the tribune arch, is an addition to the chapel, the tomb of Colleoni's daughter, Medea (Fig. 122), which has occupied its present place only since 1842. Planned on a smaller scale, it rests on consoles, and is closed by pilasters at the sides and knotted curtains at the top. The epitaph is set above the effigy, and is rendered as though on parchment with one corner turned up. The front of the sarcophagus is carved with heraldic devices and a Pietà, and over the epitaph is a Madonna of Humility accompanied by a kneeling figure of St. Catherine of Alexandria with her wheel and a seated figure of St. Catherine of Siena. The three figures bring to mind the early paintings of Amadeo's contemporary Foppa, and form a sacred conversation from which only the painted meadow has been left out. The effigy (Plate 113) is unusually small, and its scale is still further reduced by the presence of three large cherub heads under the sarcophagus. By comparison with the effigies on Florentine tombs of the same type, this is typically Northern in handling and sentiment. In the head, indeed, with its elongated ears and large protuberant eyes, there is more than a suspicion of Petrus Christus and Jan van Eyck.

To trace the genesis of Amadeo's style we must return to the late fourteenth century when, under Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Lombardy became the most important cultural centre in North Italy. From the time of its foundation in 1387 Milan Cathedral attracted to the city a host of International Gothic sculptors, some of them Frenchmen and Germans and some local artists who worked in the same ornate, pictorial style (Vol. I, Plate 62). Of this tradition Amadeo was the beneficiary. When, for example, he designed the Lamentation over the dead Christ on the Colleoni tomb, his model was a relief carved in 1393 by Hans von Fernach over the door of the south sacristy of the Cathedral. The immediate precedents for Amadeo's style are to be sought, however, not in Milan but at the Certosa at Pavia. Founded by Gian Galeazzo Visconti in 1396, the Certosa was from the first conceived on a substantial scale, with one large and one smaller cloister and an imposing church. The terracotta decoration of the two cloisters was carried out during the fourteen-sixties by a group of artists of whom the most prominent was Cristoforo Mantegazza. Some of the sculptors whose names appear in connection with the cloister decoration are shadowy figures, but there is a group of marble sculptures at Pavia that can be associated with Cristoforo Mantegazza and his brother Antonio, and on the basis of these Cristoforo's share in the terracotta sculpture of the cloisters can be elucidated. The Veronese sculptor Antonio Rizzo was also engaged on work for the Certosa at this time, and may have been responsible for modelling certain statuettes in the large cloister, while in the small cloister there appear two further artists, one of whom is generally identified with the young Amadeo (Fig. 117). The exact extent of Amadeo's intervention in the cloister decoration may never be established, but it is certain that he worked initially as a modeller in terracotta, and this is reflected in his sculptural style.

The artists entrusted with the decoration of the arcades were also responsible for other works. The most important of these is a terracotta Annunciation over the lavabo in the small cloister, which is divided between two lunettes, one with the Angel Gabriel and the other with the Virgin Annunciate (Fig. 118). The Virgin sits in the foreground before a lectern, on a low seat with a sewing-basket pushed under it. Behind, unrelated to the main figure, is a receding building in incorrect perspective spread out like a four-fold screen, with a diminutive God the Father peering over the top. The Annunciation is documented as a work of 1466, and was gilded by Amadeo's brother, and since the name of Amadeo first appears in the Certosa records in this year, there is a presumption that he was responsible for the relief. Its style certainly conforms in a convincing fashion to that of a signed marble sculpture which must have been carved soon after this time. This is a doorway leading from the small cloister into the church (Fig. 121) with a lunette above it showing St. John the Baptist and St. Bruno presenting four Carthusians at the Virgin's throne. The rather heavy handling of the lunette suggests that at this time Amadeo's experience of marble sculpture was limited, and this impression is reinforced both by the pilasters beside the entrance, which reproduce in marble the terracotta putti round the cloister arcades, and by the strips of decorative carving at the sides, which incorporate angels with instruments of the Passion and a little Pietà at the top. The whole doorway was originally pigmented, and still reveals traces of blue, green, red and purple paint. Not only is the sentiment of the lunette and the pilasters Gothic, but they are carved in a traditional technique which leaves no doubt that Amadeo received his earliest training as a marble sculptor locally in Lombardy. The right-hand pilaster is superior to the left, but both are inferior to the carvings at Bergamo, and though there is no warrant for the view that Amadeo was trained in Florence, it is likely that between the cessation of work on the doorway at Pavia and the commencement of the Colleoni Chapel he became acquainted with Tuscan marble sculptures.

The most prominent of the artists with whom Amadeo was in contact at Pavia were Foppa, Antonio Rizzo and Cristoforo Mantegazza. The part played by Rizzo in the terracotta decoration of the cloisters is conjectural—the documents tell us only that in 1465-6 he furnished Verona marble columns for the large cloister—but Rizzo's influence is perhaps to some extent accountable for the classicizing Virtues on the Bergamo façade. In the same way a cycle of biblical reliefs (now on the façade of the Certosa), which was carved by Cristoforo Mantegazza concurrently with the last stages of work on the cloisters at Pavia, is reflected in Amadeo's Genesis reliefs at Bergamo. Through the seventies Amadeo and Cristoforo and Antonio Mantegazza were once more working side by side. In 1473 the façade of the church of the Certosa (Fig. 120) was entrusted to the brothers Mantegazza, and a year later Amadeo was allotted a half-share in this responsibility. In examining the façade it must be borne in mind that the upper part (the section above and including the first gallery) dates from the middle of the sixteenth century, and that as late as 1497 a more modest upper storey was projected, under which the work of Amadeo and the Mantegazzas up to and including the window register would have fallen harmoniously into place. The lowest register of the façade is decorated with a frieze of marble roundels, representing emperors and rulers of antiquity. Above this is a strip of upright rectangular reliefs interspersed with statuettes, the former executed by Amadeo and his studio, and the latter, along with some reliefs of single figures, by the Mantegazzas. As at Bergamo so at Pavia, the external reliefs of Amadeo have suffered from the effects of weathering, and an impression of his mature relief style is best formed not at the Certosa, but at Cremona, from a beautiful relief carved in the early eighties of S. Imerio giving

Alms (Plate 116) which employs the same spatial devices as the scenes from the life of Christ at the Certosa, but where the figures are invested with a greater wealth of realistic detail. In the centre of the scene is a Renaissance tabernacle protruding from a ruined Renaissance colonnade, whose main function, as in an International Gothic painting, is to isolate the figure of the Saint, on which the orthogonals converge. In the foreground figures the impact of the Mantegazzas is still clearly evident.

The essential difference between the styles of Amadeo and the Mantegazzas becomes apparent in an altar-piece of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, which was carved by Antonio Mantegazza, probably in the late eighties, for the Capitolo dei Fratelli at the Certosa (Plate 117, Fig. 123). In this the foreground figures are restricted to two planes, and the body of Christ forms a flat pattern with the upper arm parallel to the base. The concept of space in this scene is more primitive than Amadeo's, and at the back we see a number of isolated scenes—the Crucifixion, the soldiers casting lots, the opening of the sepulchre—each of which is supplied with its own background irrespective of its place in the relief. Like his brother, Antonio Mantegazza approached his subject-matter in a state of fevered exaltation that makes the reliefs of Amadeo look staid and classical. One of the Marys presses her emaciated face against Christ's head, the St. John lifts His disproportionately long left arm, and the Magdalen stretches her talons round His legs. Yet in the original this is less apparent than in photograph, since the distant scenes are carved with remarkable delicacy and fastidiousness, and the widespread use of gilding in the figures reduces their expressive force.

Cristoforo Mantegazza died before 1482, and Antonio Mantegazza in 1495, and when work began in 1492 on the window register of the façade, this was undertaken by Amadeo, who designed four windows, two of them blind. In the documents relating to these windows the names of a number of young sculptors appear for the first time, and their handiwork can be detected in the heavy, languorous sentiment and deliquescent forms of the figure carvings on the central supports. Among the artists who intervened in them was Benedetto Briosco, who in 1501 designed the portal of the church, a simple entrance with pairs of classical columns in striking contrast to Amadeo's ornate façade. Beside the entrance are reliefs by Briosco showing events in the history of the Certosa. Where Amadeo's scenes from the life of Christ on the façade achieve a strange,

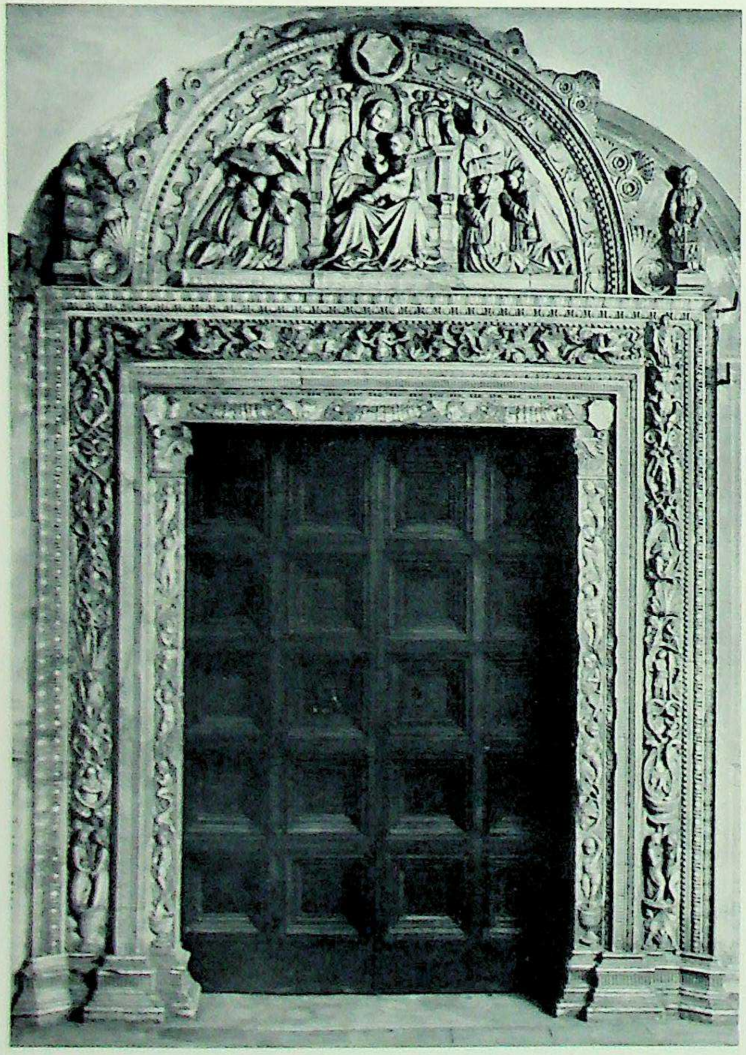

Fig. 121. Amadeo: DOORWAY OF THE SMALL CLOISTER. Certosa, Pavia.

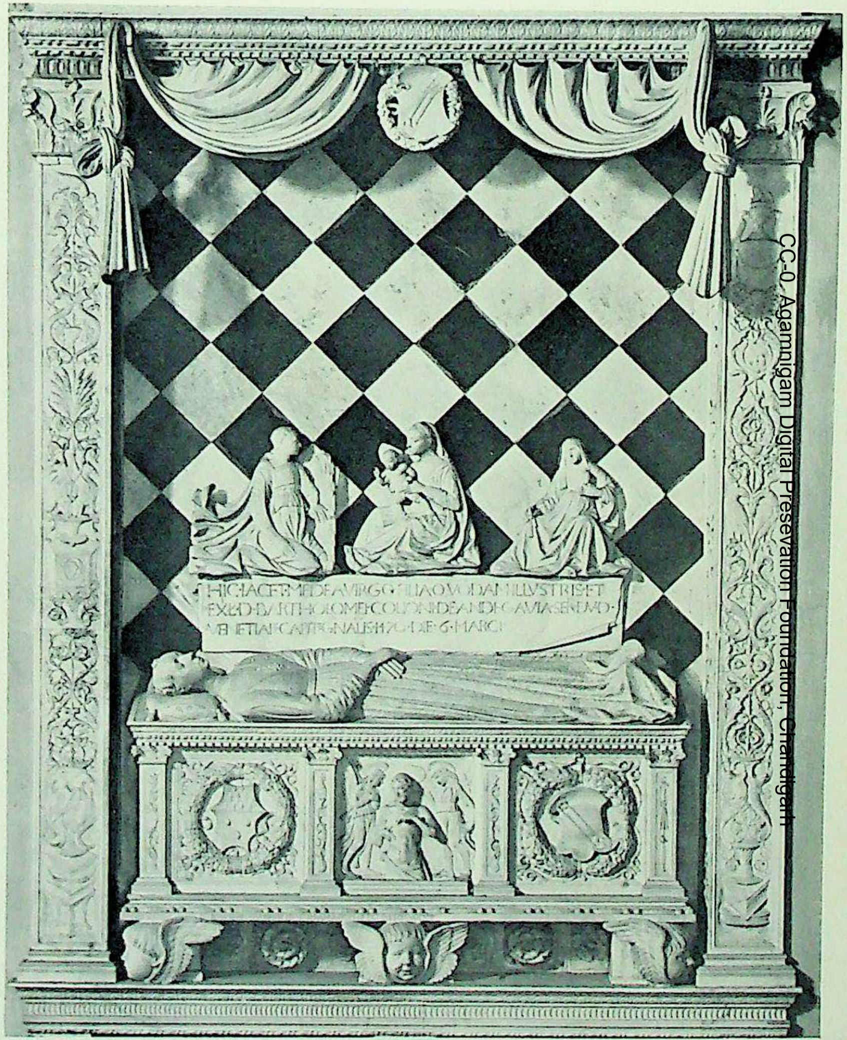

Fig. 122. Amadeo: MONUMENT OF MEDEA COLLEONI. Colleoni Chapel, Bergamo.

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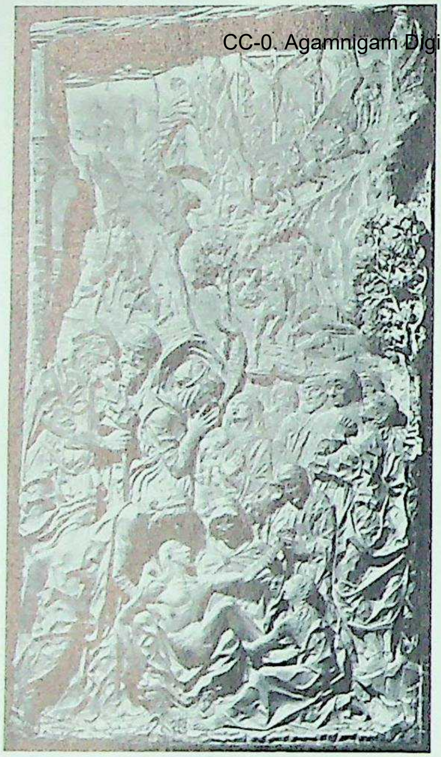

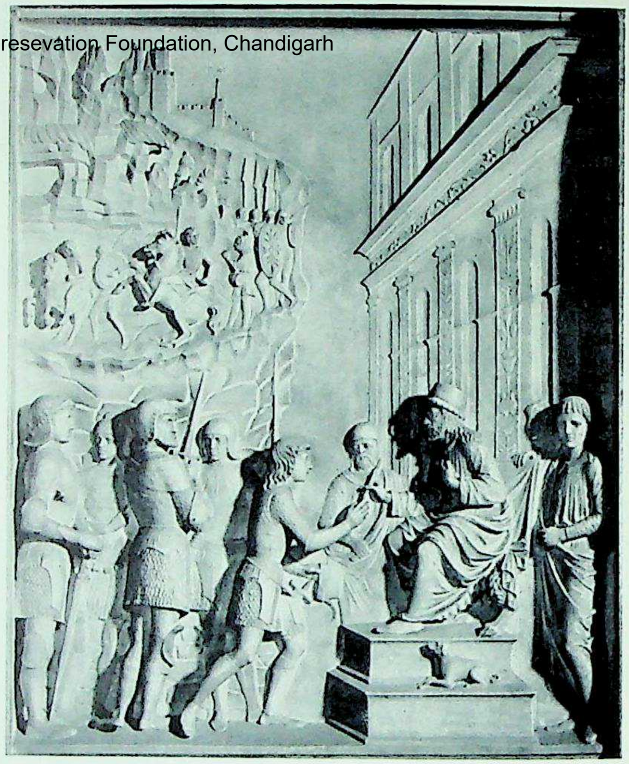

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Fig. 123. Antonio Mantegazza: LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. Certosa, Pavia.
Fig. 124. Gian Cristoforo Romano: SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF GIAN GALEAZZO VISCONTI. Certosa, Pavia.

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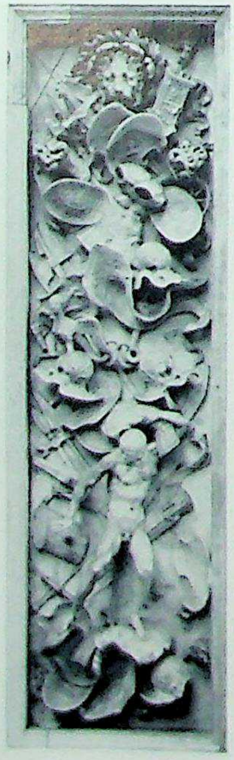

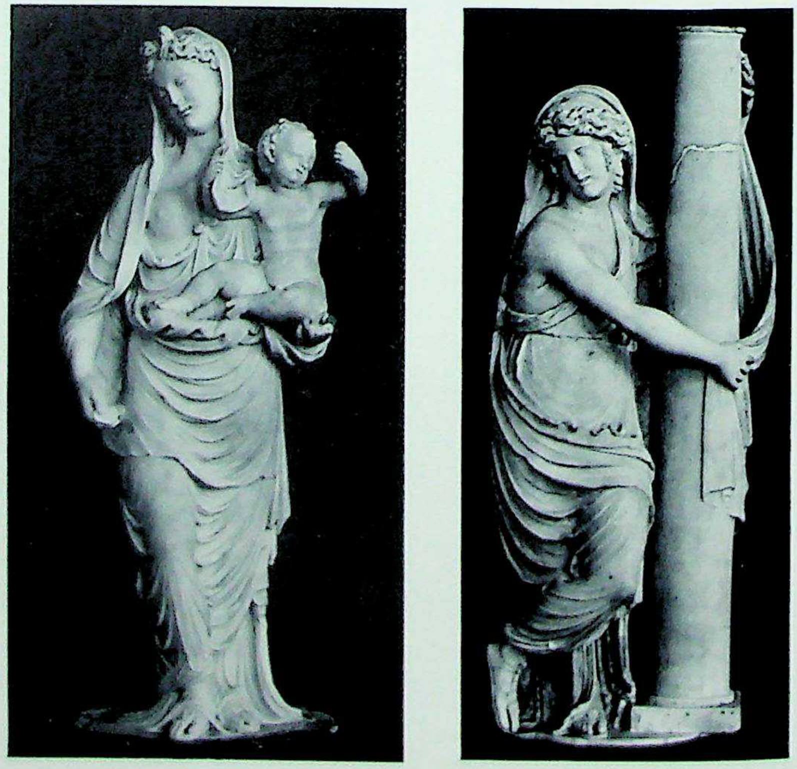

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Fig. 125. Bambaia: CARVED PILASTER. Museo Civico, Turin.
Fig. 126. Bambaia: CHARITY and FORTITUDE. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

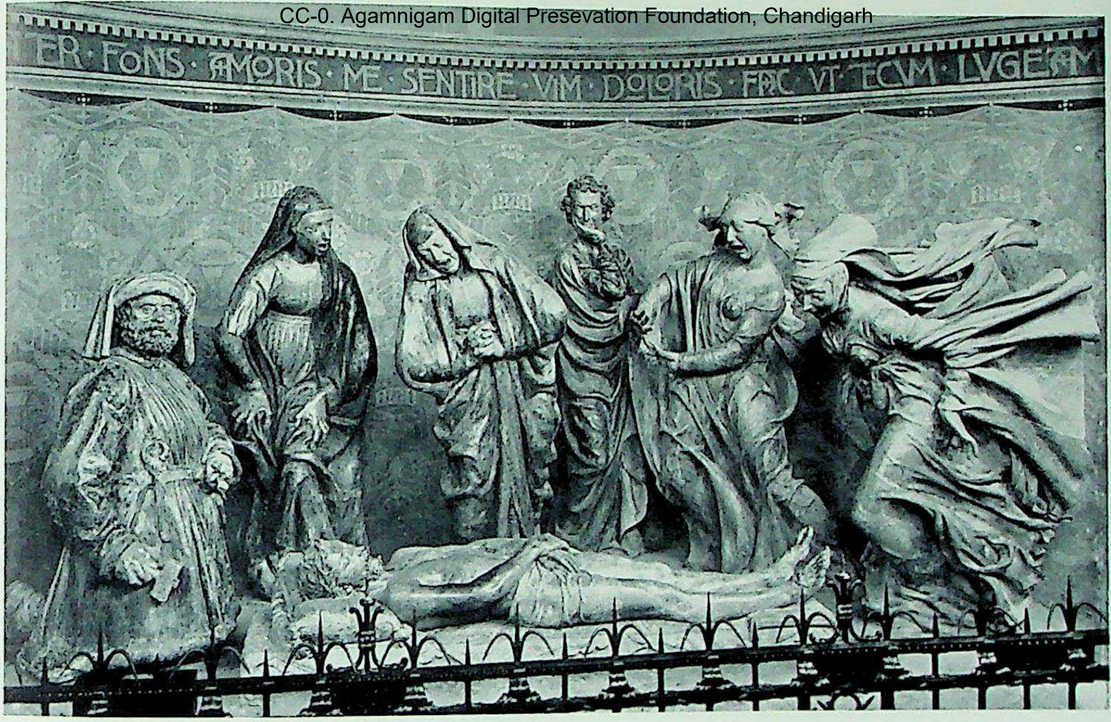
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Fig. 127. Niccolò dell'Arca: LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. S. Maria della Vita, Bologna.

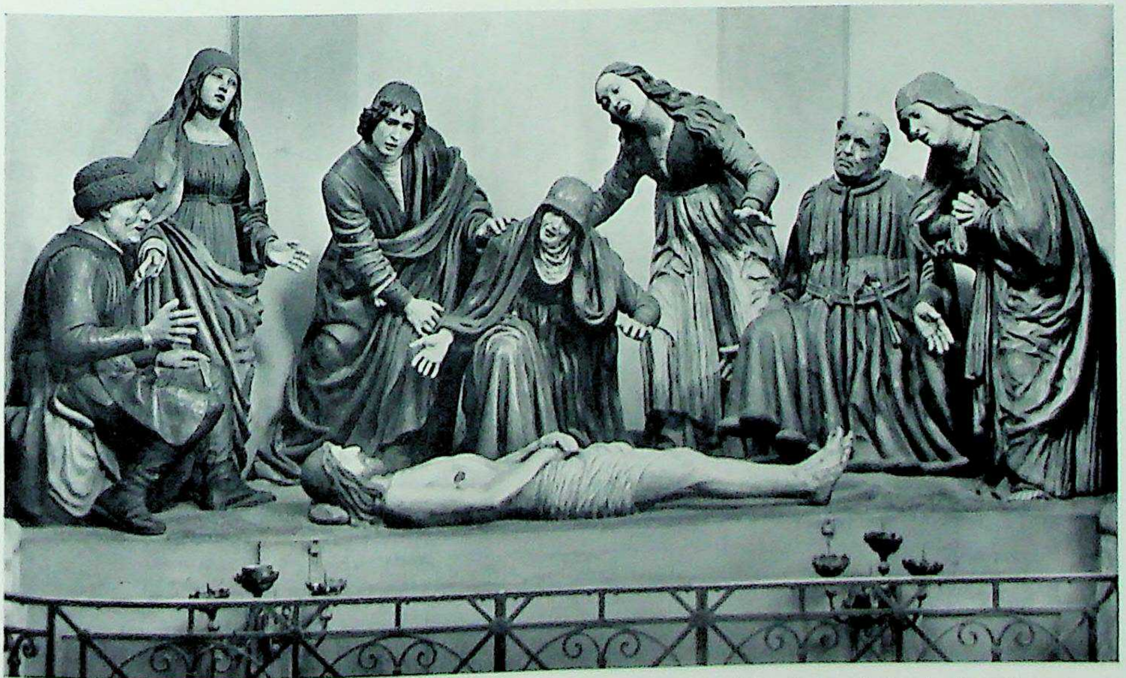
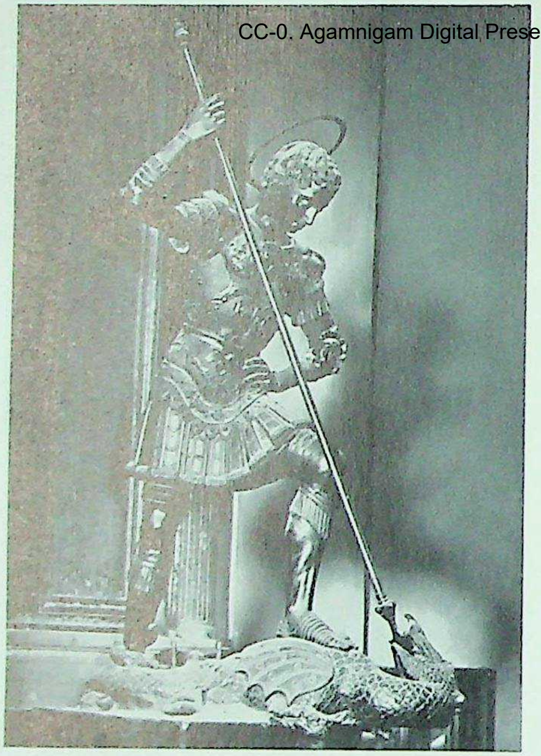


Fig. 128. Guido Mazzoni: LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples.



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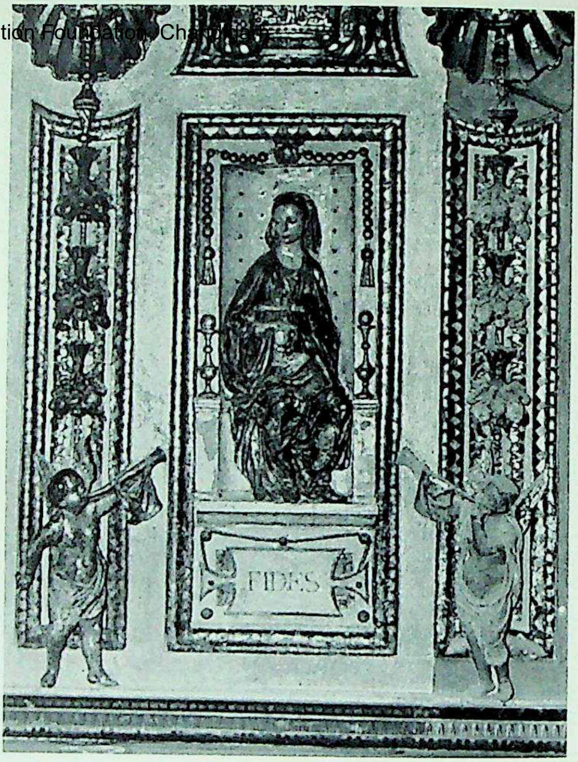

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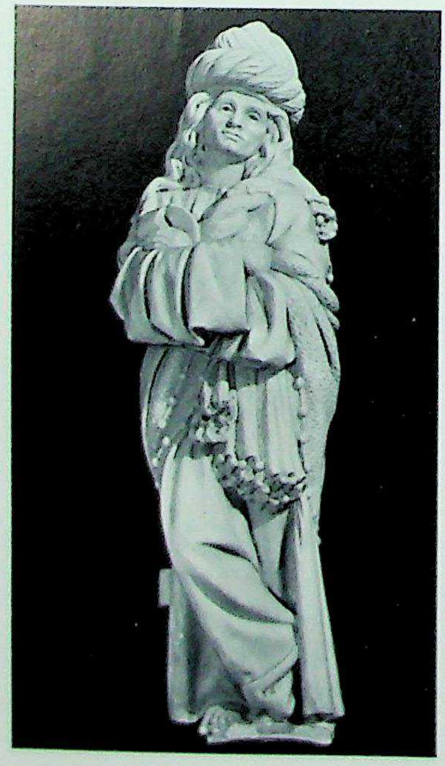
Fig. 129. Niccolò Baroncelli and Domenico di Paris: ST. GEORGE. Duomo, Ferrara.
Fig. 130. Domenico di Paris: DECORATION OF THE ANTECAMERA. Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.



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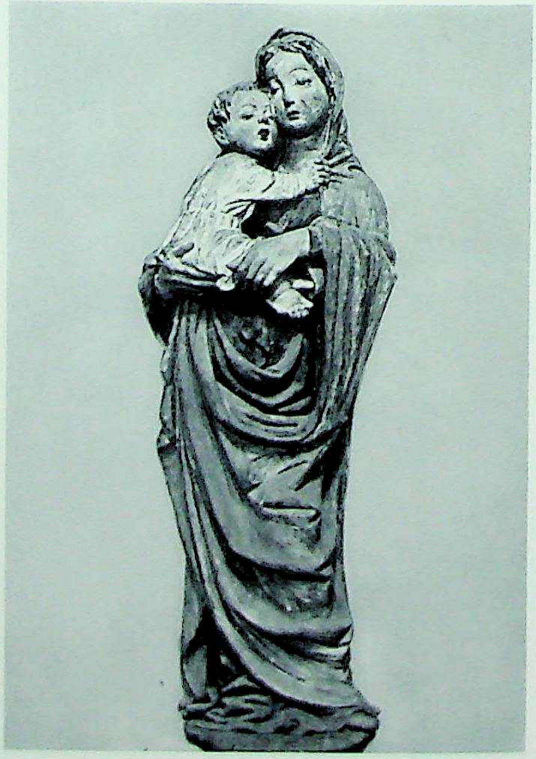

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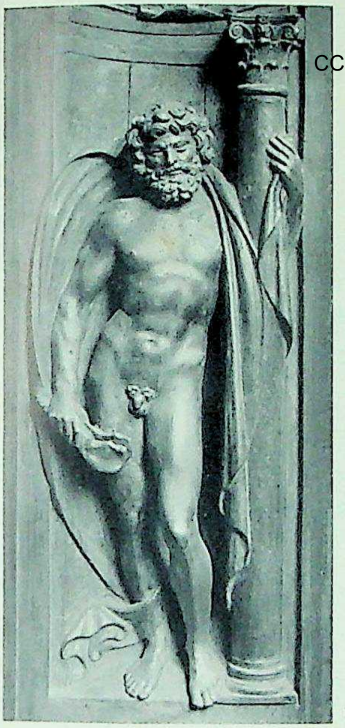
Fig. 131. Niccolò dell'Arca: PROPHET. S. Domenico Maggiore, Bologna.
Fig. 132. Sperandio: VIRGIN AND CHILD (detail of monument of Pope Alexander V). S. Francesco, Bologna.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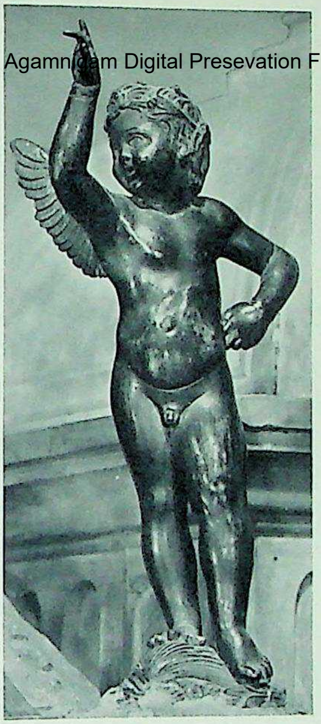
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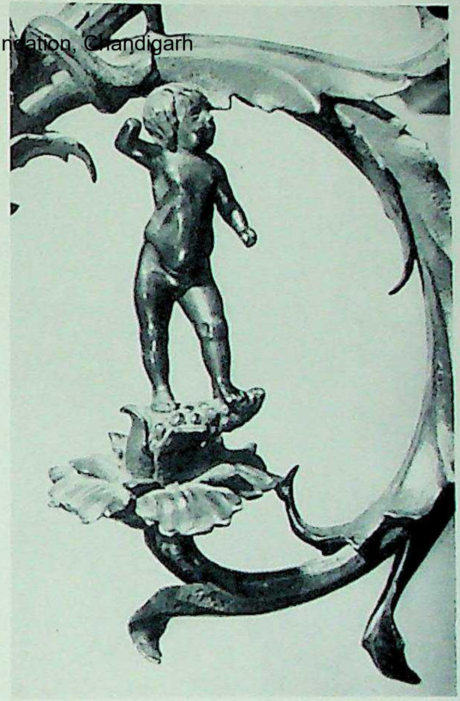
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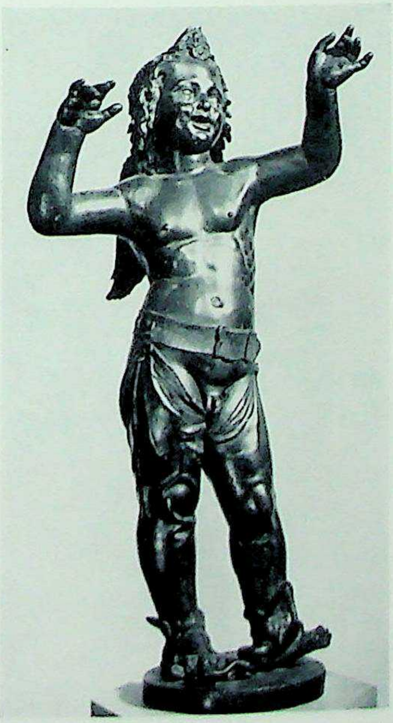
Fig. 133. Ghiberti: SAMSON (detail of Porta del Paradiso). Baptistry, Florence.
Fig. 134. Donatello: PUTTO (detail of Baptismal Font). Baptistry, Siena.
Fig. 135. Maso di Bartolommeo: DETAIL OF BRONZE GRILLE. Duomo, Prato.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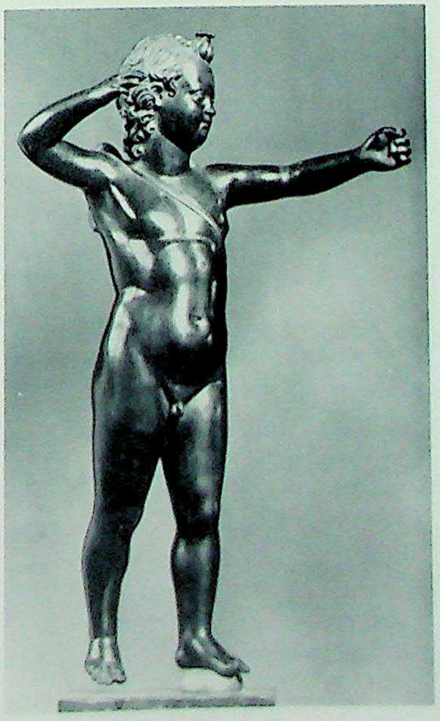
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Fig. 136. Donatello: AMOR-ATYS. Museo Nazionale, Florence.
Fig. 137. Antico: CUPID. Museo Nazionale, Florence.

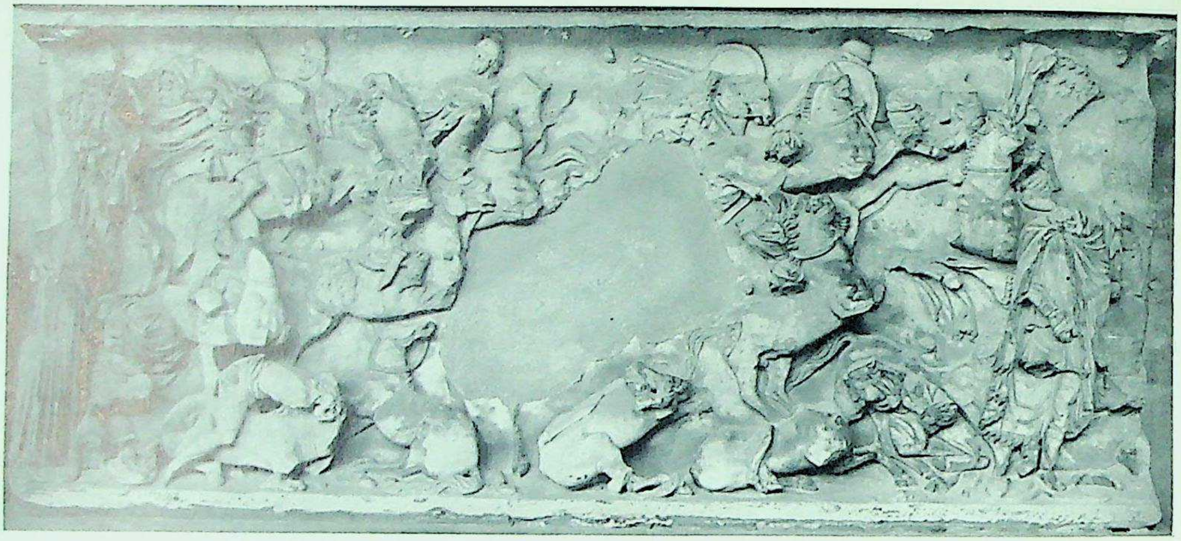


Fig. 138. Roman, 2nd century A.D.: BATTLE SARCOPHAGUS. Camposanto, Pisa.

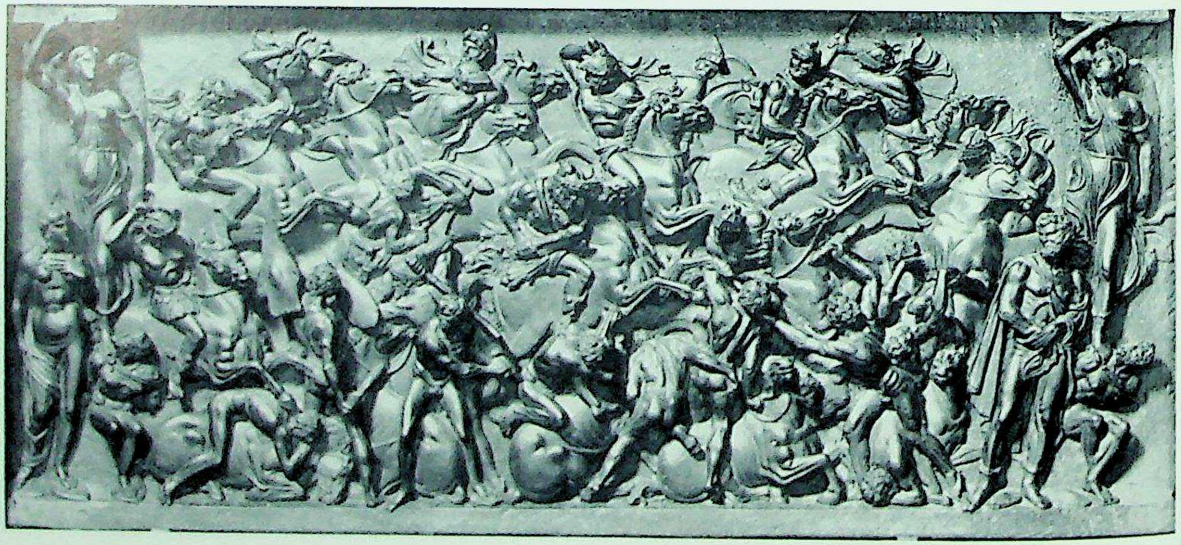


Fig. 139. Bertoldo: BATTLE RELIEF. Museo Nazionale, Florence.

visionary intensity, Briosco's reliefs are staid, prosaic and precise. There is evidence that Amadeo was also infected by this change in taste, for in the Arca of S. Lanfranco in the church of San Lanfranco outside Pavia, he achieved some of his most harmonious carvings and one of his most classical designs. The Passion scenes on the Colleoni monument at Bergamo and the scenes from the life of S. Lanfranco form the terms of Amadeo's growth from an inexperienced provincial marble sculptor into a Northern Benedetto da Majano.

When Antonio Mantegazza died, he was succeeded as Ducal Sculptor by a Lombard artist who had made his name in Venice, Cristoforo Solari. Two years later, in 1497, Solari was charged with the monument of Lodovico il Moro and Beatrice d'Este in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan. The tomb was dismantled in 1564, and the only pieces of it that survive are the two effigies (Plate 118) now in the Certosa at Pavia. Solari (who is otherwise known mainly through some flaccid statues carved for Milan Cathedral) was a sculptural Boltraffio, who combined a stolid grasp of form with a lively interest in detail. Alone of his Milanese contemporaries, he was more fully at ease on a large than a small scale, and the drapery of the two figures possesses the buoyant, compulsive rhythm that springs from a masterful technique. Solari's besetting sin (as the deeply incised eyelashes of Beatrice d'Este would alone indicate) was lack of reticence, but the heads of the two effigies suggest that in another setting he might have grown into a portrait sculptor of all but the first rank.

In so far as the change in sculptural style in the last decade of the fifteenth century can be ascribed to any single cause, this was the presence at Pavia of Gian Cristoforo Romano, a Roman pupil of Andrea Bregno. Before he arrived in Lombardy, Gian Cristoforo Romano had perfected a courtly neo-classical style of carving which made systematic use of decorative motifs from imperial art. At the Certosa he was employed during the 1490's on the shrine of its founder, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, inside the church (Fig. 93). The Visconti monument is a covered structure, the upper part of which contains narrative reliefs of scenes from Gian Galeazzo Visconti's victorious career. On the front of the tomb are two smoothly executed carvings showing Gian Galeazzo invested by his father with the military command (Fig. 124) and the election of Gian Galeazzo as Duke, and at one end is a large battle scene which, to eyes used to the façade reliefs of Amadeo and the Mantegazza, must have seemed remarkable both for its lifelikeness and for its technical accomplishment. Gian

Cristoforo Romano's style exercised its spell both on Amadeo, in the reliefs on the Arca of S. Lanfranco, and Benedetto Briosco, in the reliefs beside the entrance to the church. But the main tribute to his work was the tomb carved by a pupil of Briosco, Agostino Busti, known as Bambaia, to commemorate the nephew of Louis XII of France, Gaston de Foix. Gaston de Foix's brief and romantic career opened in 1511, when he assumed control of Milan jointly with Trivulzio. No sooner was their regime established than it was threatened by the forces of the Holy League. The main feature of the campaign which followed was a rapid offensive operation carried out by Gaston de Foix in North Italy and the Romagna, which culminated in his death in the Battle of Ravenna at Easter 1512, at the age of twenty-three. After the battle, Gaston de Foix's body was taken back by the French troops to Milan, and placed in the Cathedral, but later in the year when the Sforza forces recaptured the town, it was removed 'with great indignity and like a dog', and exhibited to the French troops who were still besieged in the Castello. Ultimately it came to rest in the Dominican convent of Santa Marta. When Francis I entered Milan in 1515 after the victory of Marignano one of his first thoughts was to provide for the young hero's monument. We learn from a letter of 1517 from the Prioress of Santa Marta that Lautrec, the regent of Milan, forbade the removal of Gaston de Foix's body from the chapel in which it rested until the tomb was finished, and in 1520 the Fabbrica of the Duomo of Milan gave permission to seven artists to work on the tomb. When Lautrec was expelled from Milan in 1522, however, the body of Gaston de Foix was once more seized and thrown into the moat of the Castello, and work on the memorial was broken off. For more than a century the pieces remained stacked in the church of Santa Marta, but after 1629 they were dispersed, and it is no longer possible to determine the exact constituents of the tomb. Of the sculptures which were indubitably destined for it, the most remarkable is the effigy itself (Plate 119) which is now in the Museo Civico in Milan. Gaston de Foix is likened by Brantôme to 'verdant grass or pleasant flower cut in the month of May, and not in July when the heat has made it dry and wan', and this simile comes vividly to mind as we look at the cleanly modelled head resting with closed eyes and laurel wreath on the elaborately carved cushions of the bier.

Bambaia was also responsible for a cycle of narrative reliefs illustrating events from the campaign of 1511-12 intended for the monument. The point of departure for these carvings is the battle relief on Gian Cristoforo Romano's Visconti monument, and the reliefs were probably designed to be built into a covered structure like the Visconti tomb. All of the seven surviving scenes are enclosed in foliated borders, and were originally separated from each other by carved pilasters (Fig. 125). With their corselets and shields, their drums and pikes, their helmets and pennants, their cannon and brands, their lithe athletic figures bearing the spoils of war, these pilasters are some of the most notable carvings from the tomb. Also included in the monument, perhaps on the parapet above, were figures of the Virtues, three of which are now in London. In one of them, depicting Fortitude (Fig. 126), the pose is adapted from the Leda of Leonardo, and in another, representing Charity, the heads of the woman and child are turned in opposite directions, and the child's arms and legs (like those of the Christ in the Mantegazza Lamentation) are disposed on lines parallel with the base. Swathed in tinfoil drapery copied from Hadrianic models, these Virtues combine the sophisticated classicism of the early sixteenth century with the pattern-making that was endemic in Lombard art.

The Bronze Statuette

Of the classical art forms that were revived during the fifteenth century the most intimate is the bronze statuette. We know (and the fifteenth century knew too) that in Rome bronze statuettes were prized by connoisseurs. One of the most celebrated was a statuette of Hercules owned by Novius Vindex, which is praised by Martial and Statius. Invited to dine by Novius Vindex, Statius fell 'deeply in love' with the bronze Hercules, 'such dignity had the work, such majesty despite its narrow limits. A god was he . . . small to the eye, a giant to the mind. To think that so tiny a body should create the illusion of so great a frame. What precision of touch, what daring imagination the cunning master had, to model a table ornament, yet to conceive such mighty forms.' The statuette, writes Statius, must have presided over Alexander's banquets, must have been admired by Hannibal and adorned the feasts of Sulla, before it entered Novius Vindex's house. It was against the background of such literary allusions that the making of bronze statuettes was once again resumed.

Classical statuettes were collected in the fifteenth century on a substantial scale, and both Ghiberti (Fig. 133) and Donatello must have been familiar with them, though neither has left us an independent free-standing statuette. In the case of Ghiberti it is very doubtful if any independent statuette was made, since he was primarily a relief artist. Our first evidence of Donatello's interest in the statuette is found in the St. Louis of Toulouse, where the crozier is decorated with six little putti, each standing forward from its niche. A few years later these grew into the putti on the tabernacle of the Siena font (Fig. 134), and they in turn developed into a work on a scale midway between the statue and statuette, the Amor-Atys in the Bargello (Fig. 136). But if he produced bronze statuettes, these have not survived, and there is not one single small bronze that can be ascribed to Donatello or his studio. None the less he was the originator of the statuette, in the first place because he developed and diffused the practice of bronze casting, and in the second because he established the type compositions from which the earliest statuettes depend.

Donatello practised as a bronze sculptor in Padua, Florence and Siena. At Padua his high altar provides a background for the mass of small bronzes that were turned out in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In Florence he inspired Maso di Bartolomeo, the artist who presided over the bronze grille of the Cappella della Cintola at Prato, where we find, entangled in the scrolls and fronds, small figures (Fig. 135), adapted from classical originals, which in all but function are statuettes. Finally, in Siena, Donatello left one imitator of the first rank, the bronze sculptor Vecchietta. When Vecchietta designed his great bronze tabernacle on the high altar of the Cathedral, he filled it with statuettes, and he also made independent figures of the kind, among them a female torchbearer standing on a shell in Washington and a statuette of St. John the Baptist in the Louvre. There are, moreover, statuettes that have a compositional connection with Donatello. Before he left for Padua in 1443, Donatello had cast the bronze David which is now in the Bargello (Plate 30), and since the hero David had a special significance, this figure was adapted as a statuette (Fig. 145). But the type of Donatello's figure seems not to have conformed to the popular view of how David should be shown, so the statuette repeated Donatello's pose, but not his iconography, and the naked sixteen-year-old youth of the larger statue was changed into a boy of eight or nine shown fully clad. In this new form the figure was often reproduced.

The rise of the bronze statuette in Florence was bound up with the Medici, and was promoted by two sculptors who can be looked upon as Medicean artists. The first of them was Antonio Pollajuolo. The only bronze statuette which has never been denied to Pollajuolo is a little group of Hercules and Antaeus in the Bargello (Plate 90), which was owned in 1495 by Giuliano de' Medici. Though the two figures in this group may have been inspired by classical reliefs, it is constructed in a way peculiar to the fifteenth century. Donatello's Judith (Plate 31, Figs. 9, 10, 11) is planned as a four-sided figure, and stands on a square cushion on a triangular base. In the Hercules and Antaeus the base is also triangular, but the intervening rectangle is done away with, and the group is planned with three faces, not four. In one respect it advances beyond Donatello, in that it also comprises three subsidiary views from the angles of the base; on one the heads of the two figures are aligned, on the second are aligned the left elbow of Antaeus and the left knee of Hercules, and over the third there projects Antaeus's left leg. We know one, and only one, other statuette by Antonio Pollajuolo. It represents Hercules with the head of the Nemean lion, and was formerly in Berlin; and in this again the pose is dictated by the triangular base.

By contrast the compositional methods used by Bertoldo, Pollajuolo's contemporary, are strictly classical. A pupil of Donatello and the master of Michelangelo, Bertoldo has a key place in the story of Florentine sculpture. Nothing is known of his activity before the fourteen-sixties, when he was employed on Donatello's unfinished pulpits in S. Lorenzo, casting and perhaps also designing the relief of the Entombment and parts of the frieze. In the last years of his life—he died in 1491—he was in charge of Lorenzo de' Medici's collection of antiquities at San Marco, and it was for the Medici that he made the most important of his surviving works, a battle relief in the Bargello (Plates 92, 93, Fig. 139). The relief is based on a sarcophagus at Pisa (Fig. 138), and is sometimes spoken of as though it were an academic reproduction of the scene on the sarcophagus. But this is not the case, for in the bronze the loose forms of the marble sculpture have been tightened and compressed, and the visual rhythm differs fundamentally from the rhythm of Bertoldo's prototype. Moreover, in the fifteenth century the sarcophagus was in the same state in which it is today; the figures at the sides, that is to say, had been decapitated, other figures were damaged or missing, and in the centre there was a hole where no figures were preserved at all. Reconstruction and not copying, therefore, was the order of the day. In the centre of the composition Bertoldo introduced a riding warrior, more prominent than the rest, attacking two nude figures with a club; and when we isolate this group there can be very little doubt that it has a specific narrative significance. The right side of the sarcophagus is less badly preserved, but even here the interpretative artist in Bertoldo held sway over the copyist. Not only did he introduce a number of motifs of remarkable originality for which there is no warrant whatever in the marble (the horse with head turned frontally is an instance of this kind), but he completed the extreme right side in a way which gave it a different literary emphasis, introducing into the corner a crouching captive with arms bound and completing the standing man immediately beside him with a head turned reflectively towards the now naked woman on the left side of the scene. The psychology of this sentiment-laden relief recalls paintings like Piero di Cosimo's Death of Procris far more closely than it does Roman battle scenes.

This same interpretative gift Bertoldo brought to his bronze statuettes, above all to the figure of Apollo in the Bargello (Plate 91). So far as can be judged the Apollo is not based directly on a Roman model, but a classical original certainly underlies the Bellerophon at Vienna (Fig. 140), one of the most beautiful small bronzes that has ever been produced. In the Apollo statuette there is only one viewpoint from which the silhouette can be captured in its entirety, and the Bellerophon has this same relief-like character. But the relief system is one of great complexity, and in the ecstatic figure of the youth the impulse of Greek bronzes seems to have been reborn.

No autograph statuette survives by the greatest Florentine sculptor of the later quattrocento, Verrocchio, but a parallel for Bertoldo's bronzes is found at Mantua, where the scene is dominated by the bronze sculptor Antico. Antico was considerably younger than Bertoldo—he was born about 1460 and lived on till 1528—and was employed by Gianfrancesco and Lodovico Gonzaga and by Isabella d'Este. Under the inspiration of Mantegna he restored antiques, and in 1497 was despatched to Rome to model bronze reductions of marble statues. The making of bronze reductions was practised in antiquity—a group of early fourth-century Greek statuettes seems to have been copied from statues by Polyclitus—and in this sense Antico's work was a reincarnation of the antique. It was a reincarnation of the antique in another sense as well. Whereas Florentine bronze statuettes were left relatively in the rough, Antico's ideal was the refined surface of Hellenistic sculpture. An impression of his technical procedure can be formed from a statuette of Cupid shooting an Arrow in the Bargello (Fig. 137), where the surface is highly finished and the band across the chest and hair are gilt. But Antico, like Bertoldo, was an interpreter and not a copyist. One of the works he studied in Rome was the marble Venus Felix which is now in the Vatican Museum (Fig. 143), but when he came to copy it he omitted the Cupid which forms part of the group, reversed the drapery and changed the expression, producing a fastidious statuette on a base surrounded by gold coins (Plate 127). At the end of the fifteenth century one antique group in Rome was specially admired; it represented Hercules and Antaeus, and stood in the Cortile del Belvedere. As we see it in Florence today (Fig. 141), this statue seems ungainly and contrived, but for the Renaissance it offered the classical solution of one of the central problems by which sculptors were faced. In this spirit Antico studied it, but he introduced (Fig. 142) two changes into the design. First he accented the pyramidal stance of Hercules, and modified Antaeus's legs till they conformed with it; and second he showed the agonized head of Antaeus turned back in such a way that it formed both the emotional and visual climax of the group.

Antico was a court artist, subtle, temperate, refined. Nearby at Padua, in a freer intellectual climate, the small bronze assumed another, more immediately attractive form. Among the members of Donatello's workshop was a young Paduan artist called Bellano, who seems to have followed him to Florence, and like Bertoldo was engaged during the sixties on the pulpits in S. Lorenzo. In 1483 it was decided to decorate the outside of the choir of the Santo at Padua with a cycle of ten biblical reliefs. A specimen relief was submitted by Bertoldo, but was turned down, and the contract was awarded to Bellano, probably because he was Paduan by birth. Bertoldo was the more distinguished artist, but taste in north-eastern Italy was resistant to the intellectual discipline of Florence, and Bellano was the legatee of a long tradition of encyclopaedic naturalism. In the earliest of his Paduan reliefs, the scene of Samson destroying the Temple (Plate 122), space is represented intuitively and not with the aid of an aesthetic device. His aim was lifelikeness, and details like the extraordinary group of figures crushed by falling masonry at the top of this relief would have been unthinkable had the scene been compressed into an artificial mould. Bellano was in touch with one of the leaders of Paduan humanism, the philosopher

Leonicus, and the same literal-mindedness which in the Santo he brought to the Old Testament he carried through into classical mythology, in bronzes like the Atlas in Berlin, the Rape of Europa in the Bargello and the Mountain of Hell in London (Fig. 146), where the Pluto gazing out balefully at Hercules and the giant embedded in the rock above are treated with memorable pathos and humanity. This pathos and humanity Bellano passed on to his pupil Riccio, the great Italian master of the bronze statuette.

Riccio was a more accomplished sculptor than Bellano, with a superlative mastery over his medium and a personal attitude to the antique. His purpose was not merely to translate mythology into the language of contemporary life, but to interpret the life and the religious symbolism of his time in antique terms. The clearest index to his aspirations is the Della Torre monument in S. Fermo Maggiore at Verona (Fig. 151), which consists of a kind of altar raised on short classical columns and surrounded by a classical frieze. On top of the altar is the tomb-chest, resting in the centre on a support carved with a winged wreath and at the corners on four sphinxes cast in bronze. Round the tomb-chest were eight bronze reliefs (now in the Louvre), and on the lid there were six putti (which have disappeared), with bronze masks of the two men whom the tomb commemorated, Girolamo della Torre, a learned physician who died at Padua in 1506, and his son Marc Antonio, an anatomist and botanist who died in 1511. The most remarkable feature of the tomb is its six narrative reliefs, which represent the life and death of Girolamo Della Torre *sub specie antiquitatis*, first Della Torre teaching, then the illness of Della Torre, a sacrifice to Aesculapius on the sick man's behalf, the death of Della Torre, surrounded by his toga-clad disciples, the purification of Della Torre, conducted by a pagan priest before a reproduction of the actual tomb, Charon in the underworld, and finally Della Torre in a pagan Elysium in communion with the great minds of the past. The description of this programme is strange enough, but the reliefs are stranger still. In the second relief (Plate 124), for example, we see Della Torre seated naked on a couch, receiving succour from his friends. Apollo presides over the scene, and on the left Atropos severs the thread of Della Torre's life. Yet the language of the reliefs is so simple, so natural, so transparently sincere, that the imagery is acceptable on a Christian as well as on a pagan plane. In his masterpiece, the Paschal Candlestick at Padua (Fig. 152), Riccio applied the same narrative expedients to the life of Christ.

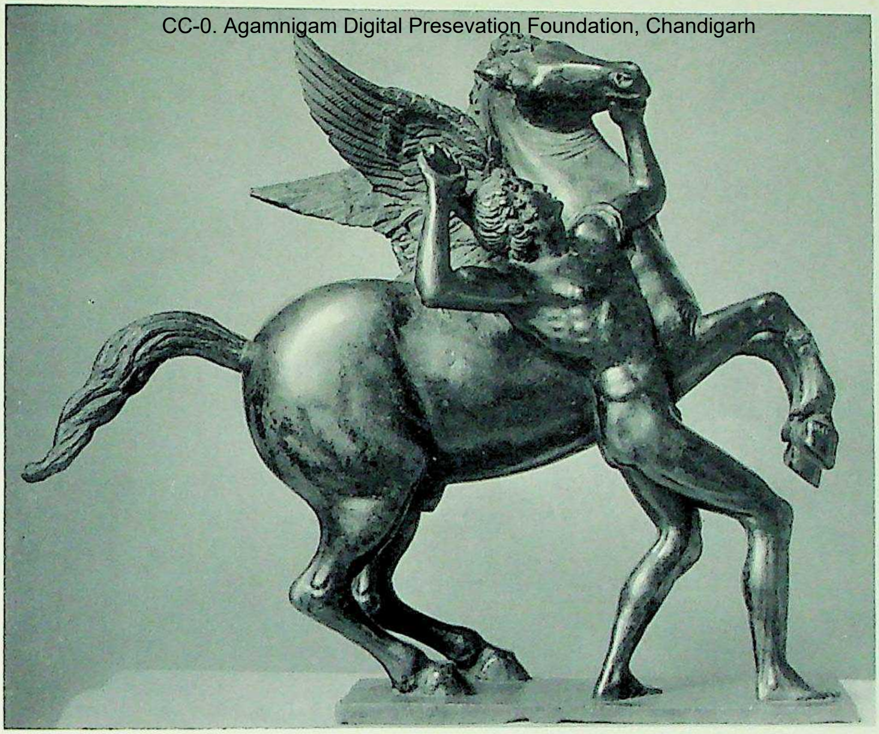
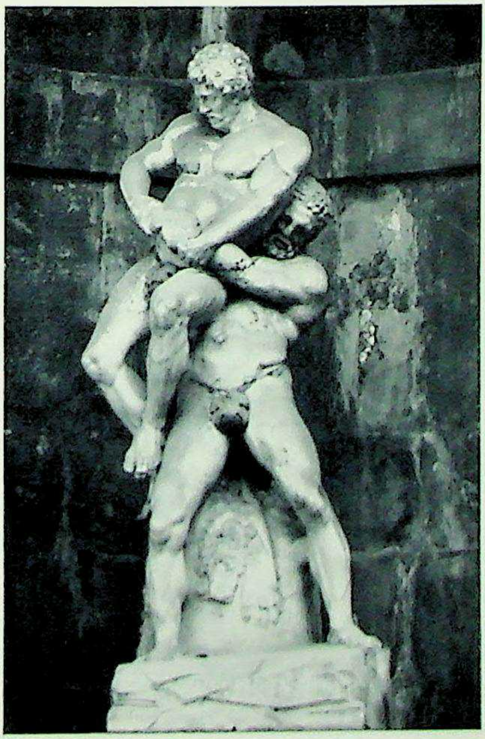


Fig. 140. Bertoldo: BELLEROPHON. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



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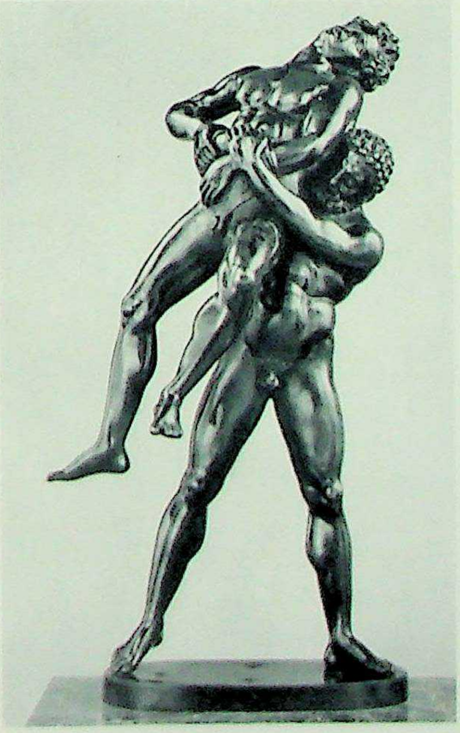

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Fig. 141. Roman, 1st century A.D. (restored): HERCULES AND ANTAEUS. Palazzo Pitti, Florence.
Fig. 142. Antico: HERCULES AND ANTAEUS. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

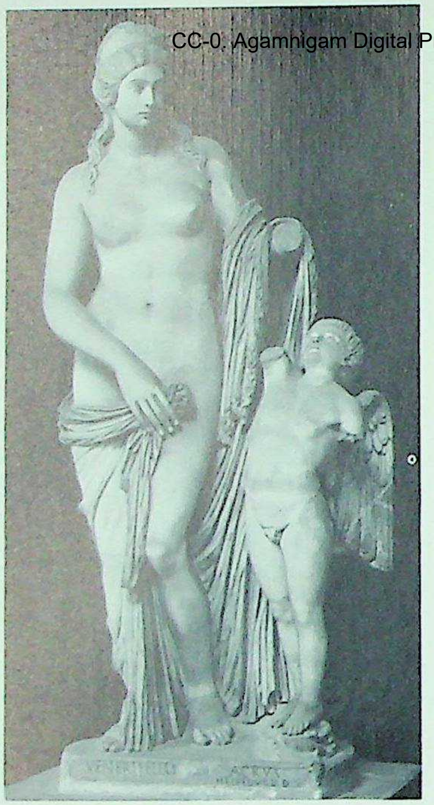


Fig. 143. Roman, 1st century A.D. VENUS FELIX.
Museo Vaticano, Rome.

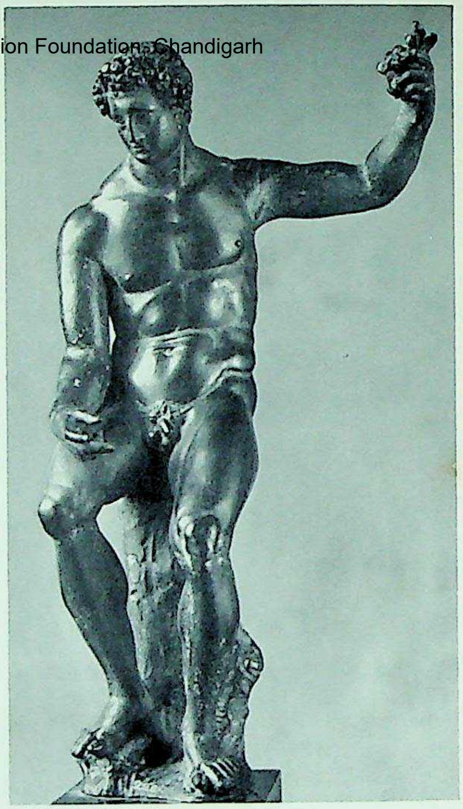


Fig. 144. Roman, 1st century A.D.: MALE NUDE.
Museo Archeologico, Florence.

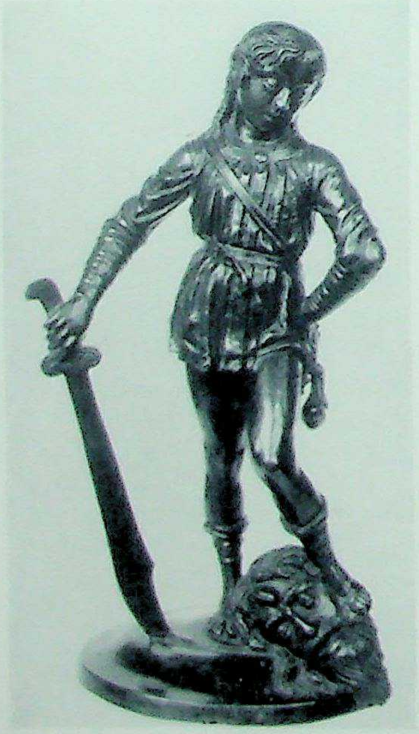


Fig. 145. Bellano: DAVID.
Philadelphia Museum of Art.

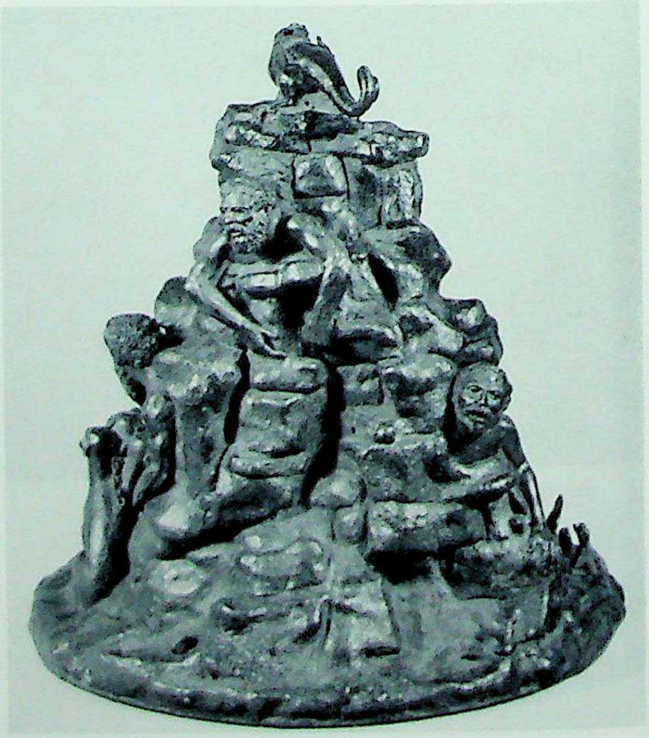


Fig. 146. Bellano: MOUNTAIN OF HELL.
Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

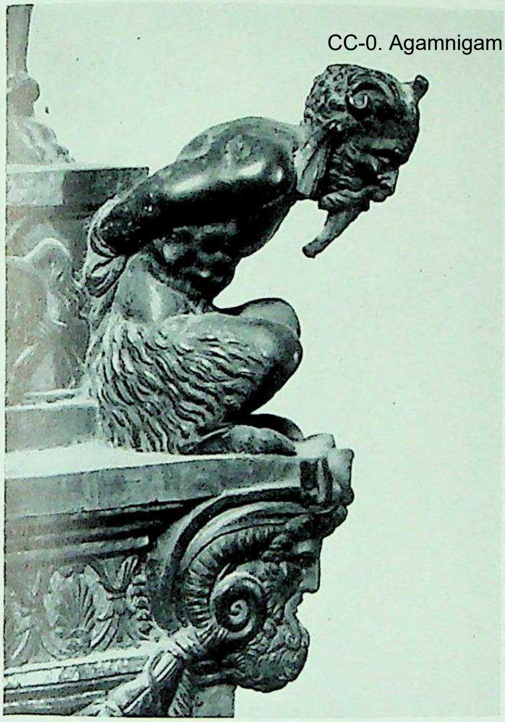


Fig. 147. Riccio: SATYR (detail of Paschal Candlestick). S. Antonio, Padua.

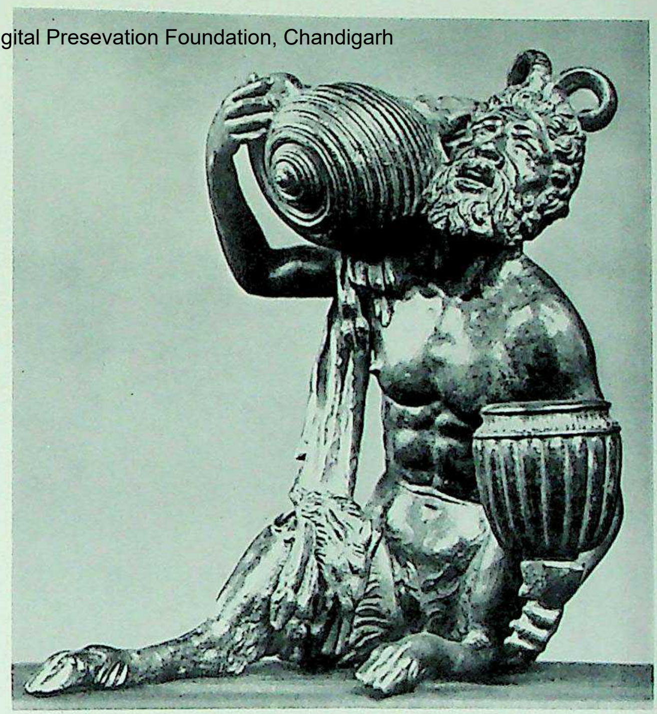


Fig. 148. Riccio: SATYR. Museo Nazionale, Florence.

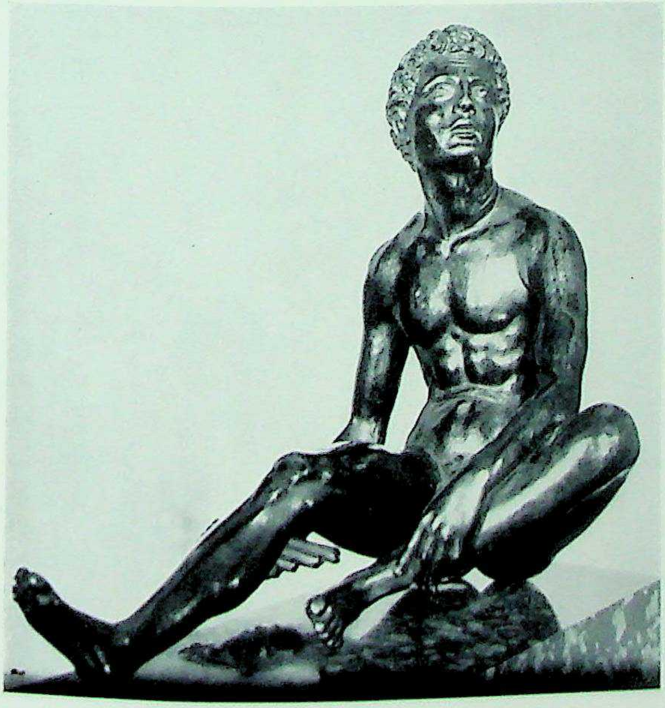


Fig. 149. Riccio: SEATED SHEPHERD. Louvre, Paris.

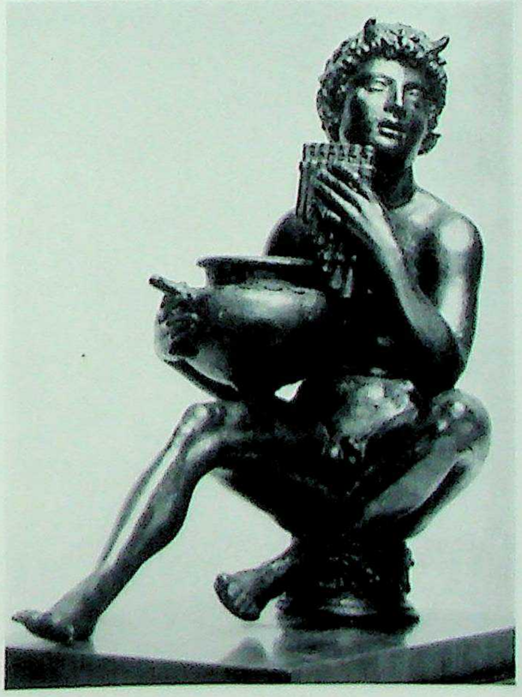


Fig. 150. Riccio: PAN. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

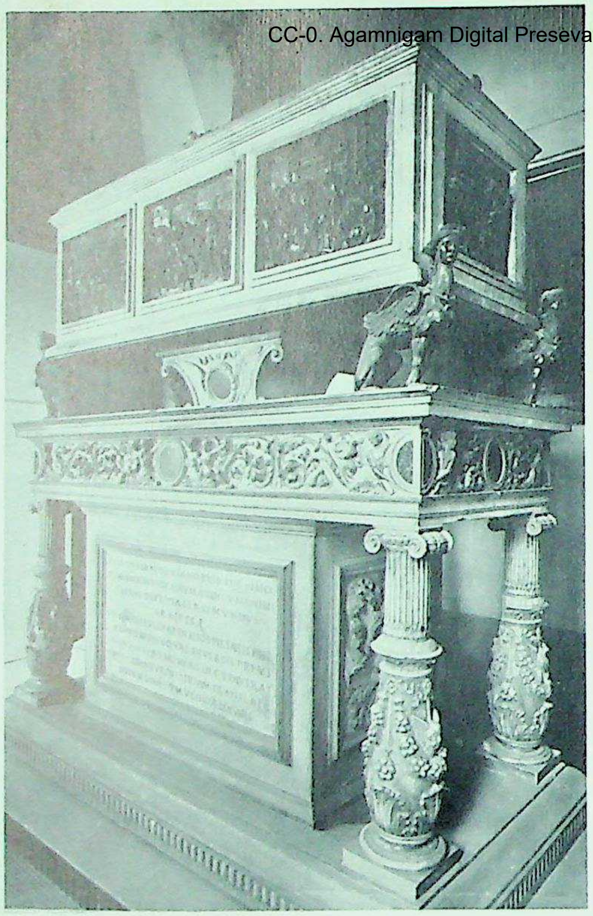


Fig. 151. Riccio: THE DELLA TORRE MONUMENT.
S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona.

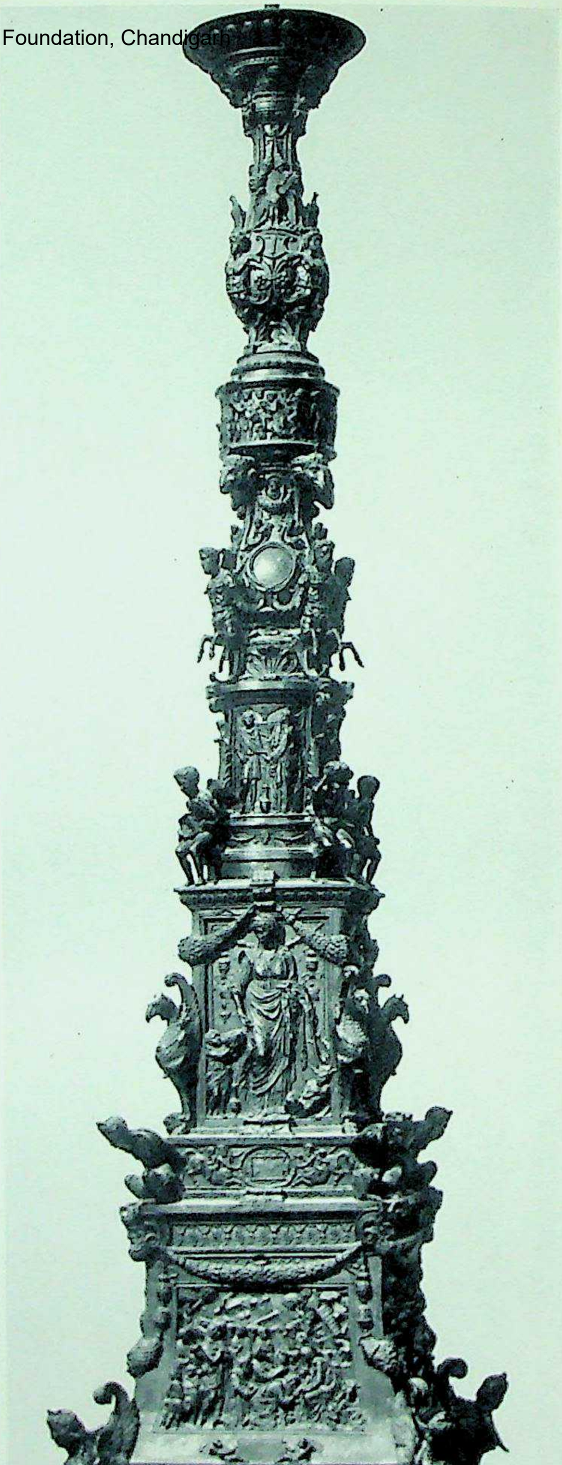


Fig. 152. Riccio: PASCHAL CANDLESTICK.
S. Antonio, Padua.

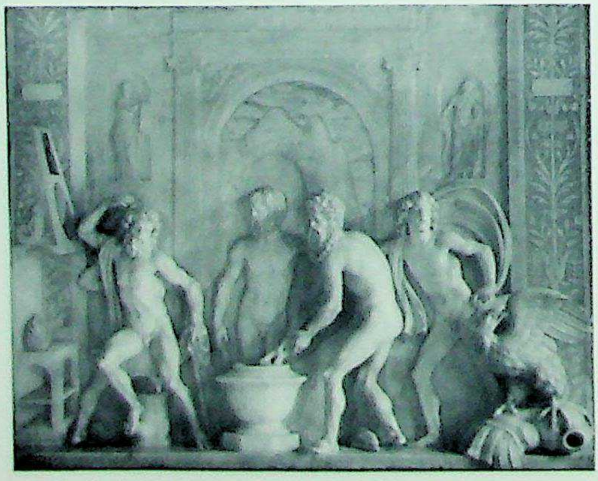


Fig. 153. Antonio Lombardo: MYTHOLOGICAL SCENE.
Hermitage, Leningrad.

One of the principal members of the humanist circle in Padua in which Girolamo della Torre moved was Giambattista de Leone. De Leone was a philosopher and scholar, and it was he who was responsible for devising the Paschal Candlestick. The candlestick is planned as a series of ascending elements. At the bottom corners are four sphinxes, flanking oblong allegorical reliefs of Astrology, Music, Cosmography and History. Above these are four trapezoidal scenes from the life of Christ, above these again are four bound satyrs, and above the satyrs are reliefs of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice. Higher still are four seated putti ranged round a cylinder with upright allegorical reliefs of Religion, Theology, Simplicitas and History. Above these again we reach four centaurs and four rams' heads and a drum decorated with a frieze of playing putti, and at the extreme top is a vase-shaped element with sphinxes, eagles and putto heads. Throughout the whole height of the candlestick religious and profane material alternates. The candlestick is a very large and an immensely complicated work, but there is not a single detail of the decoration, not a garland or mask or eagle head, which does not communicate a sense of the artist's essential individuality. The style is purely classicistic, not only in the superb reliefs of Virtues in the central register, but in the trapezoidal scenes as well. In the Adoration of the Magi the kings are dressed as classical philosophers, and the fourth side is occupied by a unique scene, the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb in the pagan manner to the Risen Christ. Perhaps the most revealing of the reliefs is the Christ in Limbo (Plate 125), where classical models were naturally of no avail, but which is treated with an instinctive classicism, so that Christ is shown redeeming some of the most beautiful nude figures in the whole of art.

The Paschal Candlestick occupied Riccio for eight years, and into it he poured all of his seemingly inexhaustible inventiveness. The reliefs on the candlestick were never reproduced, but from its decorative parts he developed a long series of bronze implements and statuettes. The sphinxes on the base grew into fire-dogs, and with the satyrs above (Fig. 147) Riccio peopled an entire imaginative world. Many Venetian collections of antiques included satyr representations in bronze or marble, and two reliefs of this kind survive in the Museo Civico at Padua. But never in antiquity did the satyr assume the character it had in the Paduan Renaissance, of a benign primitive being at the mercy of its own sensual appetites, reflecting, in its instinctive actions, the emotions of a more sophisticated form of life. As Riccio matured, his expressive range extended, and the satyr took on a pathos of its own. Two of his most remarkable statuettes of begging satyrs are in the Louvre, one seated with hooves crossed on the ground, with a shell in the right hand and a candelabrum in the left, and the other sitting on a tree trunk hopefully holding out an amphora. In other statuettes, like the seated satyr in the Bargello balancing a shell (Fig. 148), Riccio seems to express all the incoherent aspirations of some subhuman species towards a state that it cannot attain.

The satyr occupied an intermediate position in Riccio's world. Below it was the animal kingdom and above it was the human race. To both he dedicated countless statuettes, bronzes of sheep and goats and of the naked shepherds who tended them. Sometimes the two sides of this pastoral world unite, as in the imposing bronze in Florence (Plate 123) of a she-goat milked by a naked youth, which might well represent the shepherd Thyrsis who in the first idyll of Theocritus is invited to recount the death of Daphnis and is promised a goat for milking as his reward. Riccio's main source of inspiration must have been Roman bronzes (Fig. 144), and from them he evolved not only the Bargello Shepherd, but the Pan in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 150), a similarly posed bronze in the Louvre of a seated shepherd with head upturned holding his pipes in his right hand (Fig. 149), and the beautiful bronze of a shepherd seated on a rock at Baltimore.

All of these figures are shown in repose, but Riccio possessed a command of movement that in this field sets him in a class apart. The supreme example of this aspect of his work is a statuette of a warrior on horseback in London (Plate 126), which must represent some hero of Greek or Roman history. An equestrian monument in little, this group was often copied, and when we look at it the reason becomes plain, for it evokes more vividly than any other work of its dimensions the ethos of Renaissance art.

Venetian Renaissance Sculpture

The Renaissance arrived late in Venice, and till the middle of the fifteenth century Venetian artists remained faithful to the Gothic view of sculpture as a subsidiary, largely collaborative art. Yet once the victory of Renaissance style was won, it was Venice and not Florence that achieved in sculpture the truer recreation of antiquity.

Bartolommeo Buon, whose style dominates Venetian sculpture in the second quarter of the century, lived on till 1464, but already in the lower reaches of the Porta della Carta (Vol. I, Fig. 101) he is found collaborating with a more progressive artist, and when the interior of the entrance to the Ducal Palace, the so-called Arco Foscari, came to be constructed, much of its figure sculpture was entrusted to this second hand. The name of this sculptor was Antonio Bregno. Bregno was a survivor of the horde of Lombard artists who had arrived in Venice in the fourteen-twenties to work at the Ca d'Oro, and his figure style is a medley of Lombard elements, of mannerisms derived from Buon, and of features taken over from Florentine sculptors in Venice, notably Pietro di Niccolò Lamberti. All of these are present in the Foscari monument in the Frari (Plate 128, Fig. 156), where the scheme depends from that of Pietro di Niccolò Lamberti's Tommaso Mocenigo monument of a quarter of a century before (Vol. I, Fig. 43). The curtains that frame the effigy are held up by two Lombard warriors, the sarcophagus is carved with Buon-like reliefs of Virtues, and two pairs of Florentine putti are seated beneath the bier. In one respect, however, the monument looks forward to the future, in that the traditional elements are framed by classical pilasters, which introduce for the first time in Venice the Florentine conception of the tomb as a self-consistent architectural whole.

Twenty years later the tendency initiated in this tomb was carried further by a Veronese sculptor, Antonio Rizzo, in the Niccolò Tron monument (Fig. 154). From the first Rizzo's proclivities must have been more classical than Bregno's, and in his earliest independent work, the disassembled tomb of Orsato Giustiniani (d. 1464), the free-standing sarcophagus was decorated with wreathed emperor heads, and was surrounded by figures of the Virtues which had the same oblique relationship to the antique as the Virtues of Amadeo at Bergamo. In Venice the creation of a Renaissance architectural style preceded the creation of a Renaissance style in figure sculpture, and by 1476, when Rizzo began work on the Tron monument, Coducci's revolutionary church of San Michele in Isola was already an accomplished fact. 'Come hither,' writes the humanist Paolo Delfin of San Michele, 'that you may see something great and singular . . . a temple which not only evokes antiquity, but actually surpasses it.' In the

Tron monument the architectural conceptions of San Michele are applied to a traditional tomb type. Like Pietro di Niccolò Lamberti's Mocenigo monument, it contains as its central feature a sarcophagus set on the wall with a row of niches over it. The sarcophagus repeats the classical sarcophagus of the Giustiniani tomb, and round it rises a colossal structure closed at the sides by projecting supports and at the top by a semi-circular lunette. Beneath the sarcophagus is the epitaph, flanked by two reliefs, and under this, in the lowest register, are three large niches containing a statue of the Doge and figures of Prudence and Charity (Plate 129). The Virtues at the top, which were carved by Rizzo's assistants, look like Gothic figures which have been told to hold themselves erect, but in the Prudence and Charity the drapery is authentically classical, and depends from a statue of the type of the Hera in the Capitoline Museum. The heads, however, are portrayed with stylized features which are not Gothic but are not specifically antique. In type they have something in common with heads of Gentile Bellini like that of the Madonna in Berlin. The two artists were certainly associated, for in 1476 Gentile Bellini designed a pulpit for the Scuola di San Marco which was carved by Rizzo. If Vasari is to be trusted, Rizzo was also in touch with Antonello da Messina, whose altar-piece for San Cassiano was completed in the year in which the Tron monument was begun. Contacts with these painters, and with Giovanni Bellini, do something to explain the masterly statues of Adam and Eve (Plates 130, 131) which Rizzo carved for the Palazzo Ducale after 1483. Never from the unimaginative figure sculpture on the Tron tomb would we guess Rizzo to have been capable of planning these elegant, softly modelled figures, the Eve in a pose deriving from a Venus Pudica and the Adam gazing upwards with raised head and parted lips.

Nearby at Padua events were moving along other lines. Donatello had returned to Florence in 1453, but his style projected itself through the fifties and sixties of the century, above all through the agency of Mantegna, who was at work after 1449 in the Ovetari Chapel, and may already have been preparing pictorial transcriptions of Donatello's Madonna reliefs. Far earlier than in Venice the antique became a living force in Paduan art and thought, and it is in Padua that we first meet the creator of the Venetian Renaissance, Pietro Lombardo. Pietro Lombardo was born in Lombardy, probably about 1435, and is mentioned at Padua in 1464. There he acquired some celebrity. 'O Padua,' writes Colaccio in 1475, 'thou art resplendent for thy buildings and thy citizens, thou art resplendent also for the art of the famous sculptor Pietro Lombardo.' The most important of Pietro Lombardo's surviving works in Padua is the monument of Antonio Roselli in the Santo (Fig. 156). Roselli was a jurisconsult from Arezzo, and the tomb (which was completed in 1467) was planned in his own lifetime as a Florentine humanist monument. Its sources were the Bruni monument of Bernardo Rossellino, which had been in existence for about fifteen years, and Desiderio's more recent Marsuppini monument. In the Roselli monument, however, the achievement falls short of the intention in a number of respects. In the first place the tomb is set inside an immense architectural frame, devised under the inspiration of Bernardo Rossellino but in its effect totally un-Florentine, and in the second the figure sculpture, by the standard of Rossellino's and Desiderio's monuments, is rigid and inhibited.

The problem of the Roselli tomb was a problem *sui generis*, and after he transferred his studio to Venice Pietro Lombardo did not encounter it again. Yet in the first task that he completed there, the Malipiero monument in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 157), the same mind is palpably at work. Much in this monument is derivative—the motif of the curtain derives from the Tommaso Mocenigo and Foscari monuments, the eagle supports from Bernardo Rossellino and the winged shell from the Marsuppini tomb—yet what results is a homogeneous work of art. There is a world of difference between this compact design and the arid space-filling of Rizzo's Tron tomb.

For Pietro Lombardo the expedient of enriching a Venetian tomb type with Florentine motifs was no more than one phase in the development of an autonomous Renaissance style. In architecture he abandoned the predominantly Tuscan idiom of San Giobbe (begun 1471) for the neo-Byzantine forms of Santa Maria dei Miracoli (begun 1481), and in sculpture he felt his way forward from the eclectic Malipiero tomb to the masterly Pietro Mocenigo monument (Fig. 155). There is some evidence of rivalry between Pietro Lombardo and Antonio Rizzo, and since the Pietro Mocenigo and Tron tombs were apparently begun in the same year (1476), it is worth while to compare them. Both tombs are flanked by figures in niches. In Rizzo's there is a total lack of surface movement; the forms are closed, and never does a gesture break the containing silhouette. In Pietro Lombardo's, on the other hand, the effect is more animated and more various. Moreover, in the Tron monument the lateral sections protrude, whereas in the Mocenigo monument they are recessed in such a way as to give emphasis to the central arch containing the standing Doge and the sarcophagus. The form of the sarcophagus (Plate 134) was perhaps suggested by Agostino di Duccio's Arca degli Antenati at Rimini (Fig. 73), though two historical scenes, the Entry of the Venetians into Scutari and the Surrender of Famagusta, replace the allegories on the Rimini sarcophagus. The lamenting warriors under it are some of the most vivid figures on the tomb, and like the Risen Christ above (Plate 135) are conceived with great intensity. Significantly enough, the religious images—the Risen Christ, two saints and a relief of the Marys at the Sepulchre—are grouped together at the extreme top of the monument, while the reliefs on the base show military trophies and two of the labours of Hercules, and the niche figures one and all are classical.

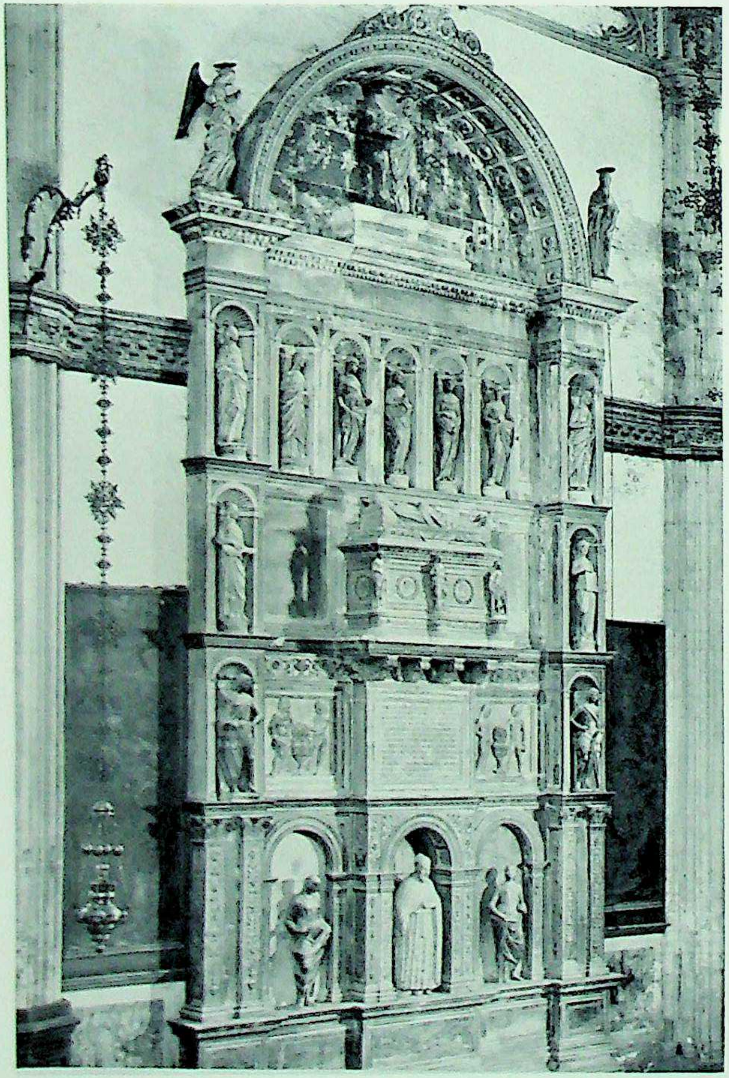
None the less throughout the Mocenigo tomb there is a dichotomy between the method of carving and the classical types that are employed; it is as though the sculptor were wearing garments from two different suits. In the work which succeeds it, the tomb of Mocenigo's short-lived predecessor, Niccolò Marcello (Fig. 160), this contrast is less evident, for the four Virtues at the sides seem to have been based on Roman originals of the type of the Pudicitia in the Capitoline Museum. Here the classical model is for the first time integrated in a consistent style, in figures which could never be mistaken for classical originals, but which evince a deep spiritual affinity with the antique.

In north-eastern Italy there was a long tradition of wall monuments proper, monuments, that is, which were supported on brackets and formed a sculptural oasis in the centre of a painted wall. A typical tomb of this kind is the Brenzoni monument in S. Fermo Maggiore at Verona (Vol. I, Fig. 44), where the sculpture was by Nanni di Bartolo and the fresco was by Pisanello. This was a Gothic conception, but it persisted on through the Renaissance, and was adopted by Pietro Lombardo after 1485 for the tomb of Giovanni Zanetti, Bishop of Treviso, in Treviso Cathedral (Fig. 159). The Zanetti tomb is in some respects the finest Venetian sepulchral monument. Its design is exceptionally fluent, and reveals the instinctive sense for rhythm and spacing that sprang from Pietro Lombardo's practice as an architect. Moreover, its technique is far superior to that of the earlier Lombardo tombs. The foliage and figures on the ornate sarcophagus are deeply cut; the eagle beneath is carved with great boldness and vitality; and the three figures above (Plate 136) are articulated with new confidence. The causes of this change must be sought in the Venetian workshop system. In the Buon studio in the first half of the fifteenth century the personality of Giovanni Buon is slowly superseded by Bartolommeo's; there is no break in style, yet at a certain point we are aware that the guiding impulse has undergone a change. It is this that occurs in the Zanetti tomb. With the Buon the descent is from father to son, and with the Lombardi from father to sons. The elder of Pietro's two sons, Tullio, must have played a far from negligible part in the Pietro Mocenigo monument, but only in the Zanetti monument do he, and his younger brother Antonio, make their presence felt in such a way as to modify the whole style of the tomb. Their intervention is still more marked in the work which immediately succeeds it, the Onigo monument in San Niccolò at Treviso, where Pietro Lombardo and his sons worked in association with a painter who is sometimes identified as the young Lorenzo Lotto.

In the Vendramin monument in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 162) the victory of the younger generation is complete, and the dominant personality is Tullio not Pietro Lombardo. The Vendramin monument is a manifesto of Venetian classicism. 'At the Servi,' writes Sanudo in 1493, 'the tomb of the Doge Andrea Vendramin is now being constructed, and will prove, I am certain, the most beautiful in this city on account of the worthy marbles it contains.' The monument Sanudo saw building is a summing-up of the experiments of Pietro Lombardo. Yet it is at the same time a work of great originality, inspired by the same instinctive classicism that directed the tombs designed in Rome a decade later by Andrea Sansovino. This classicism is carried through into the figure sculpture. By 1493 the collecting of antiques in Venice was wide-spread, and Marcantonio Michiel frequently refers to antique statues standing in Venetian palaces. Among the sculptures observed by Michiel in the house of Andrea Odoni was a 'marble figure of a woman entirely draped, headless and handless, . . . (which) used to be in the studio of Tullio Lombardo who reproduced it several times in his many works'. Almost all the figure sculptures on the Vendramin tomb testify to Tullio's avid pursuit of the antique, and none more so than the beautiful figure of Adam in New York (Plate 141), where Tullio seems to have combined a headless figure of the class of the Vatican Apollo with a head based on the Capitoline Antinous. Yet so strong was Tullio's feeling for the sensuous human form that his figure speaks the language not of eclecticism but of a romantic silver-age. In the supporting figures which now fill the niches that were originally occupied by Adam and Eve, the heads are treated in the same spirit as that of Adam, and when we look at the hard, boldly modelled features of the figure on the left (Plate 140), or the softer, more voluptuous head of the youth standing on the right, we are not immediately conscious that in both the treatment of the body depends from a statue of the type of the Mars in the Capitoline Museum.

A clue to the understanding of this classicistic style is provided by the *De Sculptura* of Pomponius Gauricus, which was written in Padua about 1503 under the spell of the sculptures of Riccio and Tullio Lombardo. In the last section of the treatise Pomponius Gauricus turns to individual sculptors. 'Shall I,' he asks, 'pass Tullio over without praise? Did I not fear the charge that my judgement of him was due to friendship rather than to his true worth, I would name him the greatest of all sculptors that any age has seen, and this praise would not be undeserved. Is not past genius, are not past miracles returned?' The sculptor, insists Pomponius Gauricus, must be a learned artist and a student of antiquity, must know 'why Mars was represented by the Romans in two forms as gradivus and quirinus', and must understand the classical representations of Venus and Jupiter. Such was the environment in which the beautiful carving of Bacchus and Ariadne at Vienna (Plate 139) was produced.

Many Venetian tombs include carvings in relief, and the history of the relief in Venice runs parallel to that of the sepulchral monument. A convenient point of departure is the year 1446, when Agostino di Duccio arrived in Venice, not because he had at this time any direct influence on Venetian style, but because through the fifties and sixties there came a slow backwash from the Tempio Malatestiano, which resulted in the first low reliefs produced in Venice. One of the earliest in date and one of the most palpably Riminese in style is the beautiful paliotto with angels carrying the instruments of the Passion (Plate 132), which was carved about 1470 for the church of San Trovaso. Another is an antependium in St. Mark's carved with a Conversion of St. Paul which depends from the antependium of the altar of St. Sigismund at Rimini. When Pietro Lombardo arrived in Venice, however, there was no established tradition of relief style, and initially his mind once more veered towards Florence. He was too independent an artist to content himself with a pastiche of Florentine motifs, yet the tondi of Evangelists in the spandrels at San Giobbe could hardly have been designed without knowledge of Donatello's Evangelists in the Old



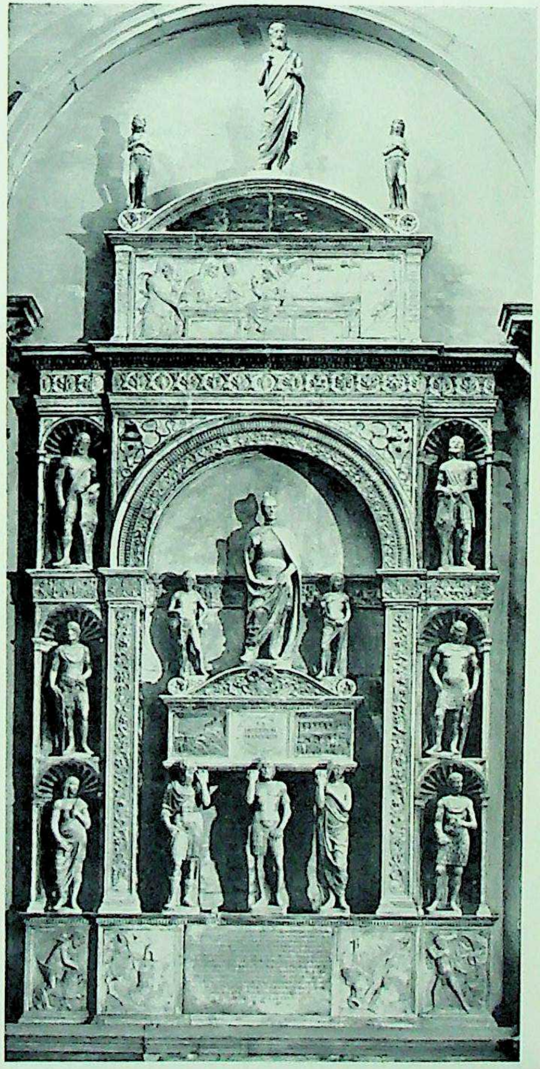


Fig. 154. Antonio Rizzo: THE TRON MONUMENT. S. Maria dei Frari, Venice.

Fig. 155. Pietro Lombardo: THE PIETRO MOCENIGO MONUMENT. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

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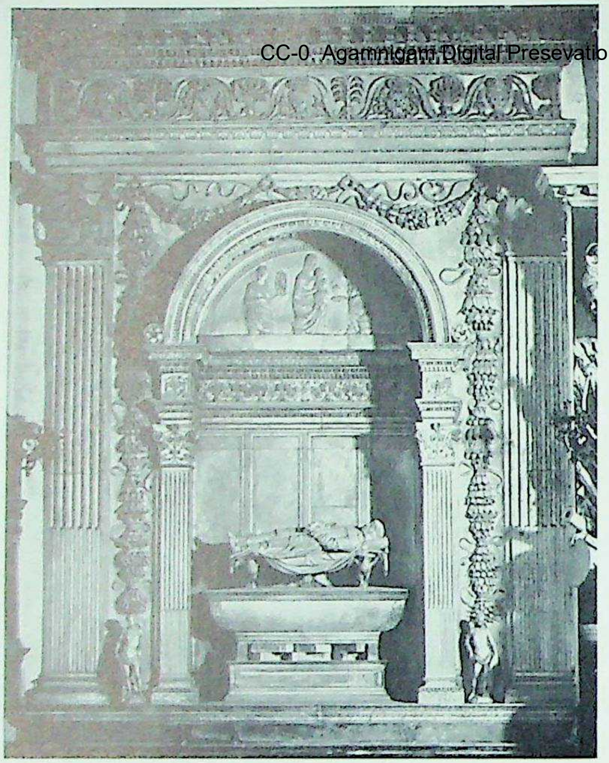

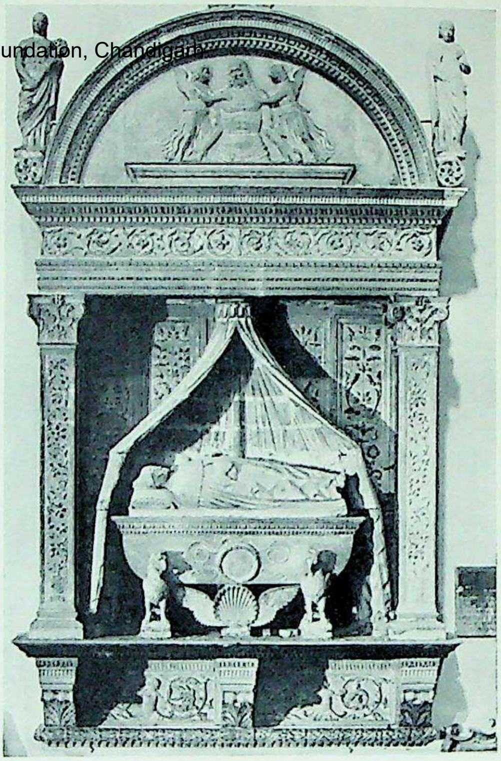

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Fig. 156. Pietro Lombardo: THE ROSELLI MONUMENT. S. Antonio, Padua.
Fig. 157. Pietro Lombardo: THE MALIPIERO MONUMENT. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

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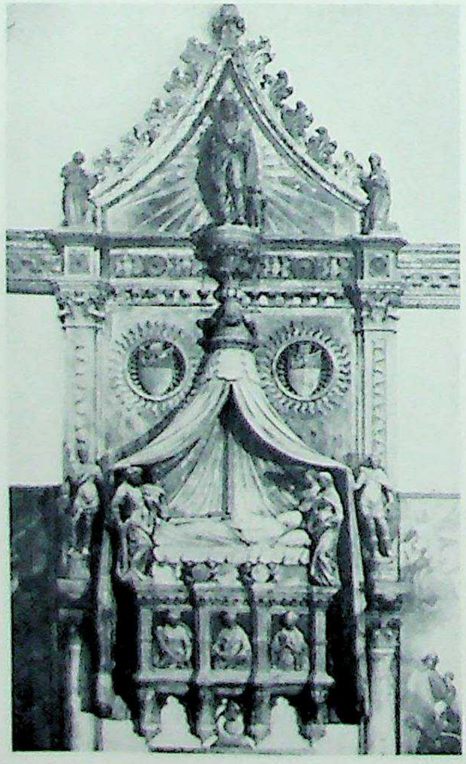

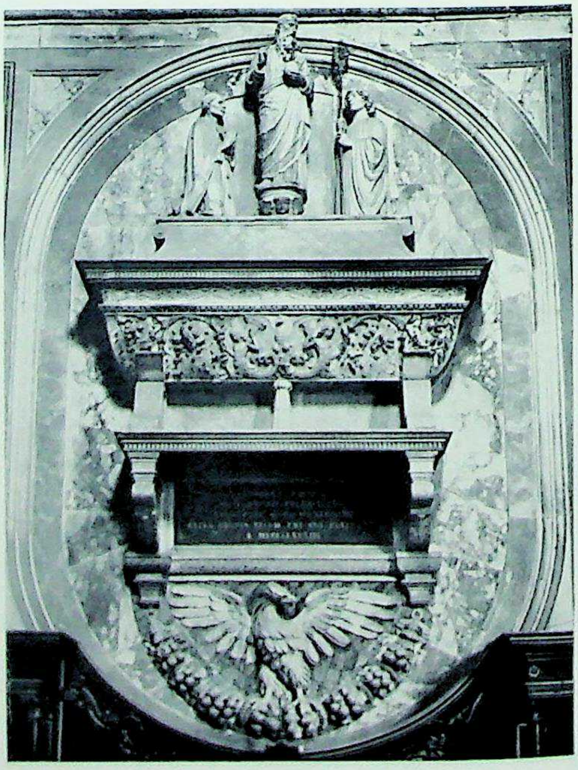

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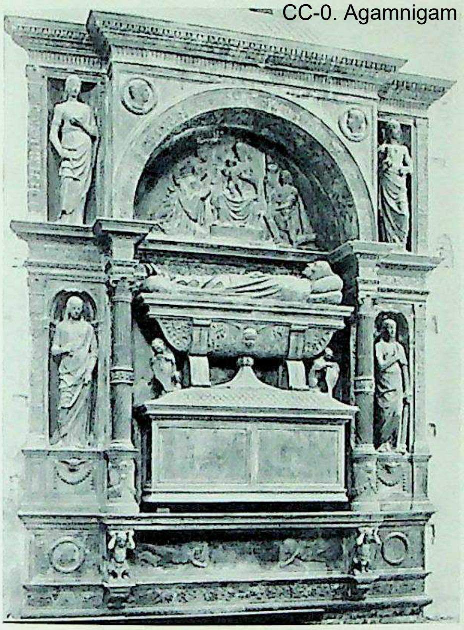
Fig. 158. Antonio Bregno: THE FOSCARI MONUMENT. S. Maria dei Frari, Venice.
Fig. 159. Pietro Lombardo: THE ZANETTI MONUMENT. Duomo, Treviso.



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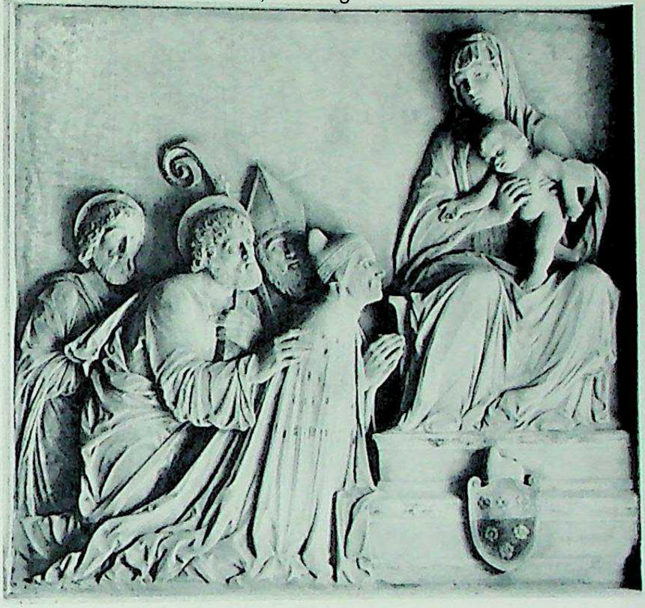

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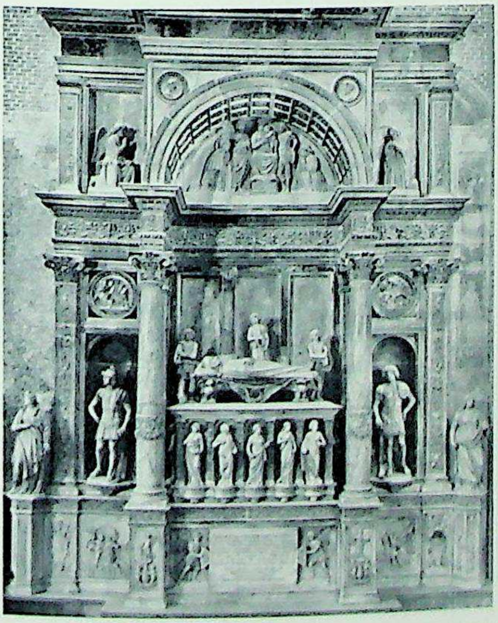
Fig. 160. Pietro Lombardo: THE MARCELLO MONUMENT. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.
Fig. 161. Pietro Lombardo (?): DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO BEFORE THE VIRGIN AND CHILD.
Palazzo Ducale, Venice.



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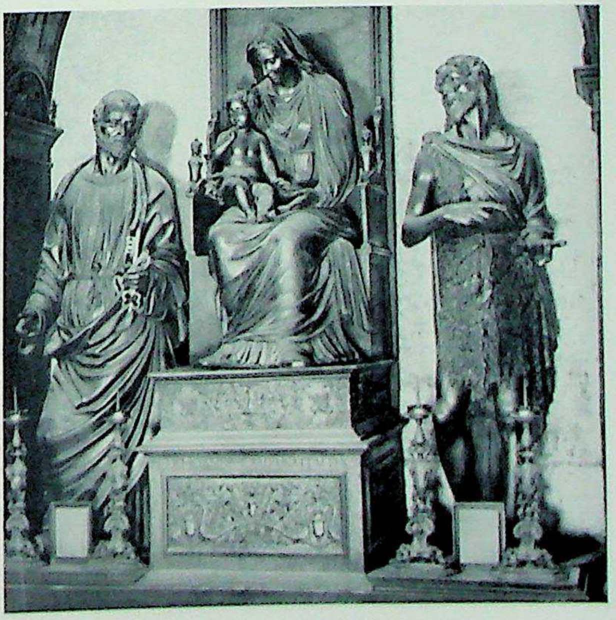

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Fig. 162. Tullio Lombardo: THE VENDRAMIN MONUMENT. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.
Fig. 163. Antonio Lombardo: THE ZEN ALTAR. St. Mark's, Venice.

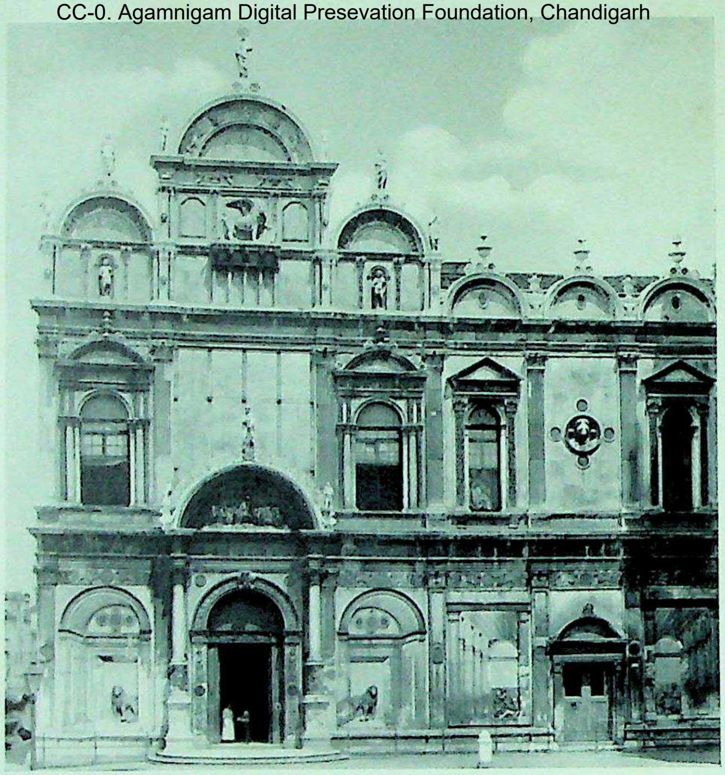


Fig. 164. THE FAÇADE OF THE SCUOLA DI SAN MARCO. Venice.

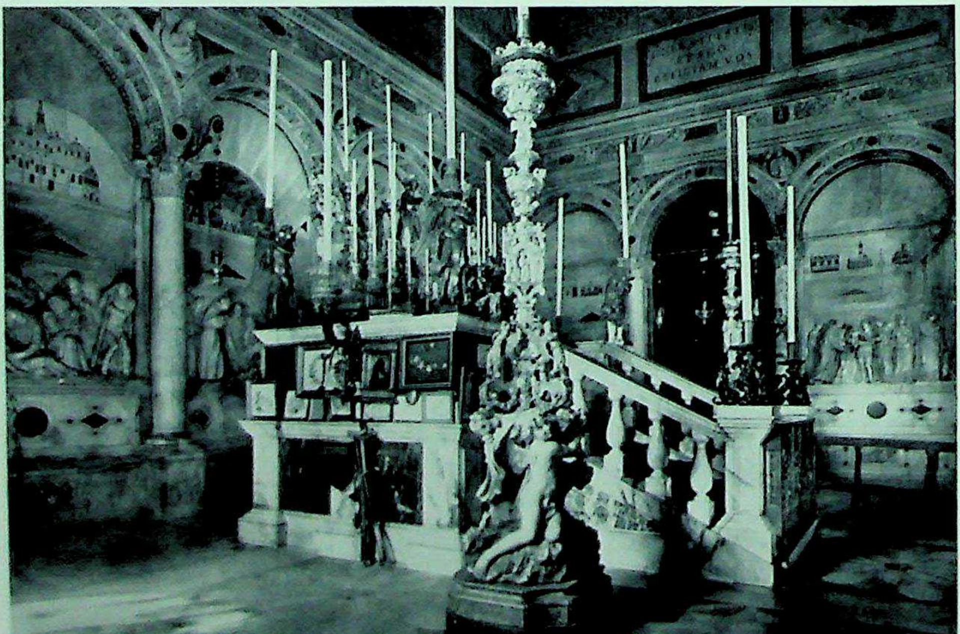


Fig. 165. THE CHAPEL OF ST. ANTHONY. S. Antonio, Padua.

Sacristy of San Lorenzo, nor the beguiling putti beneath the cupola (Plate 133) without knowledge of Donatello's putto reliefs at Padua.

The role assumed by the relief in Venice is very different from the part it played in Florence. Never in Florence do we find reliefs plastered one beside another over a large area of wall-space, as they are in the Giustiniani Chapel in San Francesco della Vigna; and never in Venice do we encounter isolated low reliefs in marble carved with the utmost skill of which a great artist was capable. The differentiation of texture, the deceptive surface modelling, the interior organization of the relief field that are found in reliefs by Desiderio and Antonio Rossellino, were beyond the reach of fifteenth-century Venetian artists. Venetian sculptors seem indeed to have regarded the problems presented by such works with disinterest and even apathy. At all events there is no authentic Madonna relief by Tullio Lombardo, and the most accomplished of the reliefs of Pietro, the Loredano Madonna in the Camera degli Scarlatti (Fig. 161), which must have been carved after 1501, is comparable not with Giovanni Bellini's half-length Madonnas but with his Murano altar-piece.

From the standpoint of quality the reliefs in the lunettes of Pietro Lombardo's monuments are undistinguished, and even in the Vendramin tomb the relief is still of a resolutely archaic kind. In the lower parts of the Lombardo sepulchral monuments, however, a coherent relief style was gradually evolved. The impulse behind it sprang once more from emulation of antiquity. The largest of the reliefs incorporated in the Pietro Mocenigo monument, the Marys at the Sepulchre, which runs the whole width of the centre of the tomb, is marred by technical uncertainty. At the bottom of the tomb, however, are two small reliefs of Hercules and the Hydra and Hercules and the Nemean Lion, and these subjects seem to have supplied the sculptor with the incentive which the larger relief lacked. As with figure sculpture, so with the relief it was left to Tullio and Antonio Lombardo to mould the classicistic aspirations of their father into a genuinely classicistic style. The success with which they did so may be measured in the lyrical reliefs on the base of the Giovanni Mocenigo monument (Plate 137), in which the legend of St. Mark is translated into the firm rhythms of Latin verse. No relief in Florence in the whole quattrocento communicates the same feeling of nostalgia for Roman art.

The representation of space plays no part in Venetian fifteenth-century reliefs. At Padua Donatello had left on the high altar of the Santo a grammar of perspectivism, but only one of his expedients, the receding ceiling of the Miracle of the Newborn Child, found its way into the repertory of Venetian motifs. It was employed about 1460 in the altar frontal in San Trovaso, was taken over by Pietro Lombardo in the tomb of Dante at Ravenna, was used once more in the Giustiniani Chapel in San Francesco della Vigna, and later still recurs in a bronze relief in Santo Stefano. But in the first three cases it is used decoratively, and not as a means of establishing a space illusion, and in the fourth the artist's determination to create a space illusion is frustrated by incompetence. Linear perspective became a feature of Venetian relief style only when it grew necessary to correlate the relief surface with an architectural scheme. It appears first in external reliefs. External reliefs were especially popular in Venice in the first half of the fifteenth century, and were produced in the studios of Buon, the Mascoli Master and other artists. As the style of Buon was superseded by Pietro Lombardo's, the type of relief changed but the old shape was retained. Thus Pietro Lombardo's relief of St. Mark curing Ammianus over the entrance to the Scuola dei Calzolai fills a Gothic lunette, and even where the entrance lunette is rounded, as at San Giobbe, no attempt is made to link the relief to its architectural frame. When the Scuola di San Marco was rebuilt after the fire of 1485, however, the relation between relief and architectural setting was thought out afresh (Fig. 164). There were two doorways in the new façade, a principal entrance to the left and a subsidiary entrance to the right, and beside each of these were carvings in relief, in which for the first time the wall surface was treated as a window and the figures were shown in projected space, each pair of reliefs being constructed with a vanishing point in the centre of the intervening doorway. Beside the central door two boldly foreshortened lions in a marble hall guard the entrance to the School, while beside the doorway on the right are two scenes from the legend of St. Mark based on a relief of the type of the Allocution of Marcus Aurelius in the Capitoline Museum.

Before long linear perspective was introduced in internal as well as external reliefs. Here painting had priority, for as the concept of uniform church architecture was imposed by Coducci and Pietro Lombardo, the interior of the painted altar-piece came to be conceived as an extension of the space of the church. This is the case, for example, with Giovanni Bellini's San Giobbe altar-piece of 1488. In the marble altar-piece which Tullio Lombardo constructed about 1500 for San Giovanni Crisostomo (Plate 138) sculpture followed where painting led. None the less the Coronation of the Virgin (for that is the subject of the altar-piece) is a work of great originality, whose design and iconography bring to their logical climax the style tendencies of the Vendramin tomb. Many scenes from the New Testament could readily be represented *all'antica,* and transposed into the language of imperial art. But the Coronation of the Virgin was not among them, and the prospect of portraying this most mystical of scenes as an event in space and time would have daunted an artist less intoxicated with antiquity.

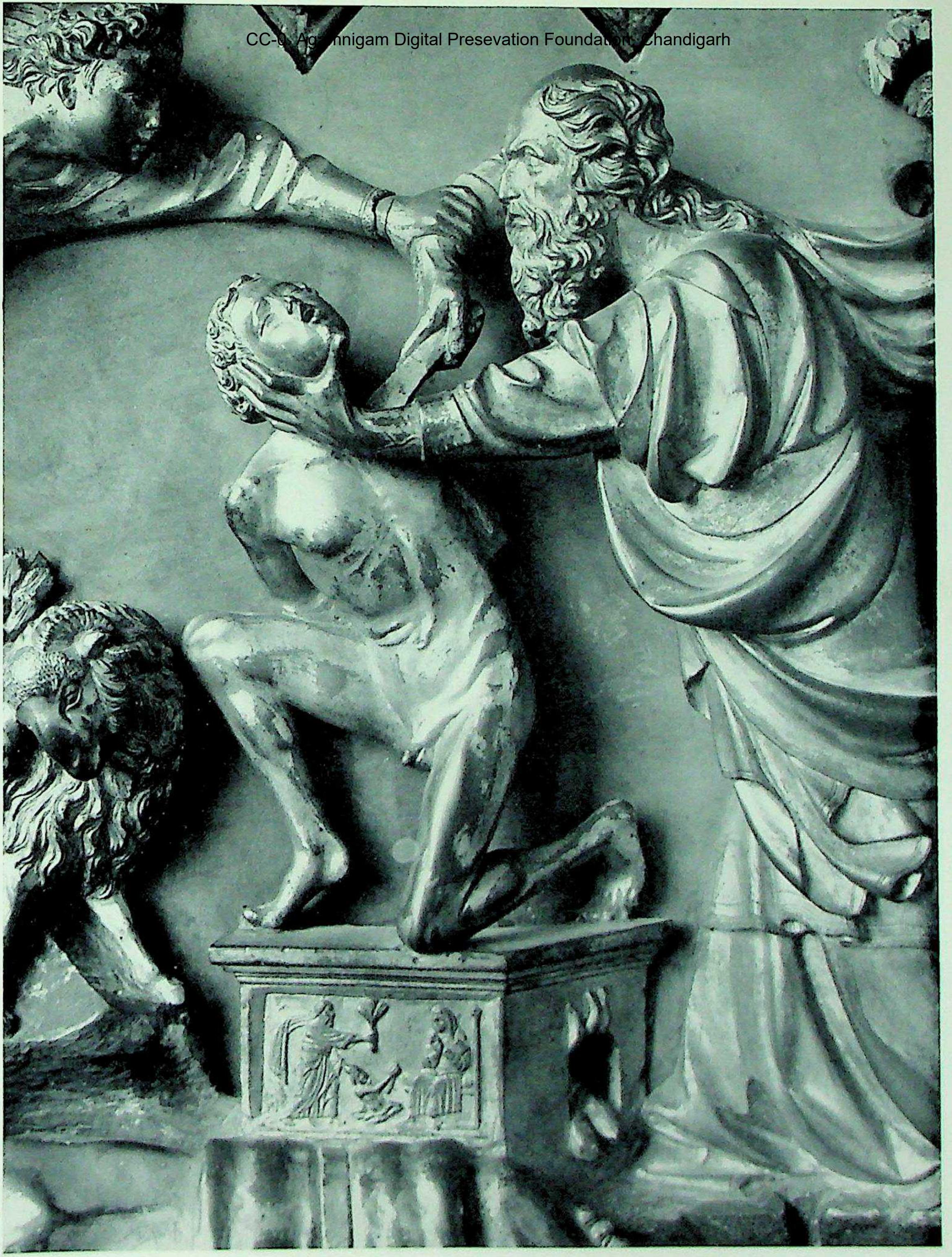
This was the style which the Lombardi after 1500 carried back to Padua. Most visitors to the shrine of St. Anthony (Fig. 165) must feel a sharp sense of discomfort at the contrast between the staid, lucid, classical reliefs which line the chapel walls and the enthusiasm of the pilgrims pressing round the tomb. It seems that the Lombardi illustrated not the hagiographical legend of St. Anthony, but some play about St. Anthony written by Racine. The magnitude of the decision which led to the commissioning of these reliefs can be judged if we imagine the chapel as it was in 1500, its walls covered with half-ruined International Gothic frescoes of the legend of the Saint. The decision was to cover the wall surfaces beside and behind the altar with nine large-scale marble carvings, each composed of a narrative scene below and a perspective above. A model for the chapel was made by Riccio, and the ideas underlying the reliefs must have originated with the humanist circle whose mouthpiece Riccio was. Riccio at about this time was engaged on a classical reinterpretation of that familiar Franciscan subject, the Legend of the Cross, for Santa Maria dei Servi in Venice—a version in Alexandrines which is now shown in the Ca d'Oro—and it is not unnatural that the cult of St. Anthony should likewise have been purged and humanized.

One of the reliefs was carved by Antonio and two by Tullio Lombardo. The earliest of the three is Antonio Lombardo's (Plate 143), which was paid for in 1505. This relief is also the most classical; the only realistic features in it are two friars on the left who have strayed into what is otherwise an antique scene. Yet Antonio's reinterpretation of the Miracle of the New-Born Child is not lacking in feeling, and the staid gestures of the outwardly impassive women on the right are imbued with a peculiar gravity and tenderness. In this Antonio's differs from Tullio's reliefs (Plate 142), where the poses are less restrained and the overt expression of emotion is more pronounced. No doubt this is due in part to a difference between the temperaments of the two artists, but it also reflects the fact that Tullio's reliefs, though they were commissioned like Antonio's in 1501, were not delivered until 1525. Where Antonio's relief is a product of the classical moment in which the whole scheme was conceived, Tullio's reflect the developed taste of the sixteenth century; their affinities are with the Niobids and the Laocoon. The central figures, both of which seem to depend from sarcophagus reliefs, reveal Tullio as an artist of great imaginative force.

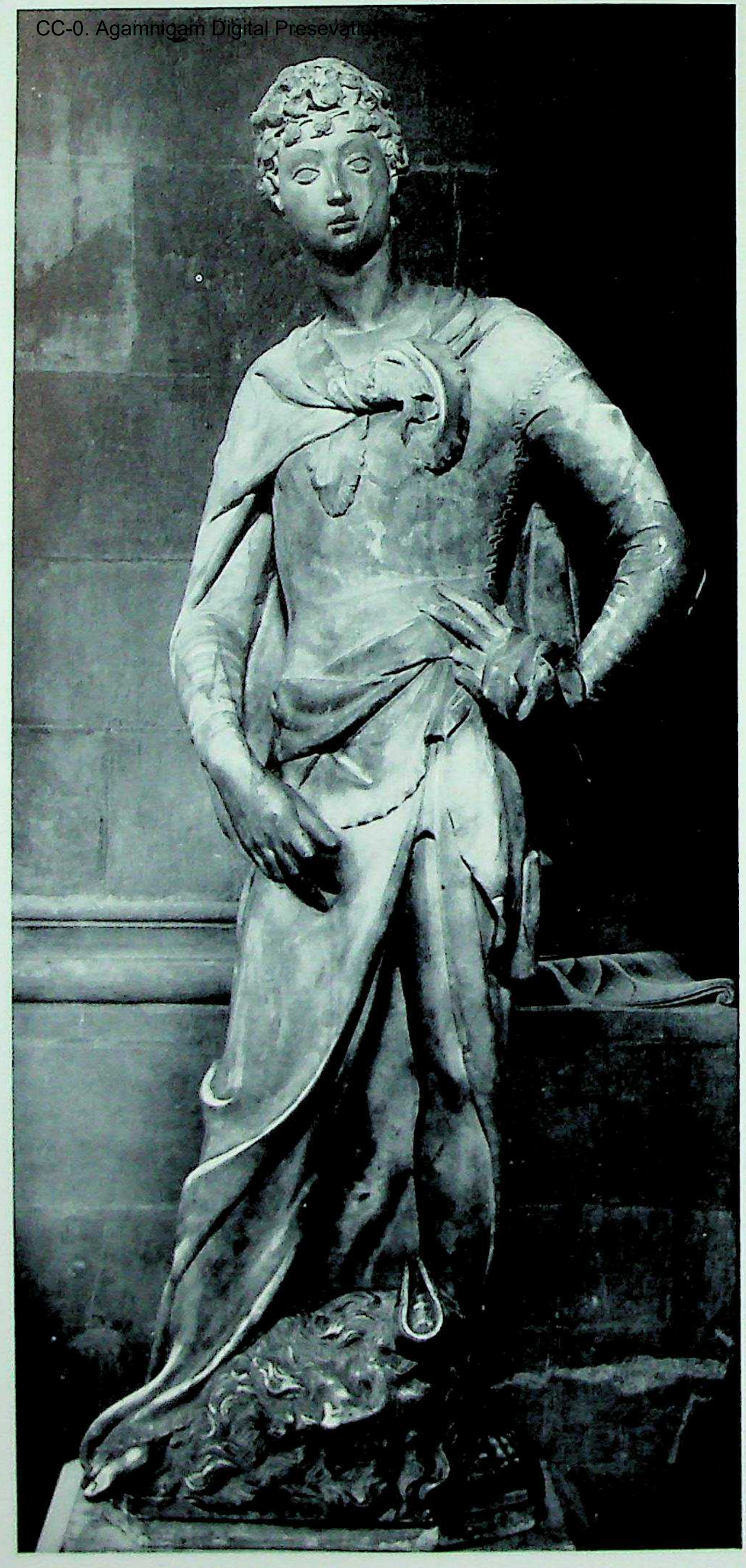
The fate of Antonio Lombardo was a less happy one. The Padua relief completed, he started work on the Zen altar in St. Mark's (Fig. 163). The altar and tomb in the Zen Chapel have a unique importance in that they were the first works in Venice to be planned exclusively in bronze, and Antonio, in undertaking the commission, must have had Donatello's high altar in the Santo and Bellano's Roccabonella monument in San Francesco at Padua constantly in mind. The will of Cardinal Zen provided that the epitaph should be as faithful to the antique as was practicable, 'che tenga più all'antica sia possibile,' and in the figures on the altar (Plate 144) the realism of Donatello and Bellano is replaced by an easy, instinctive classicism which recalls that of the Padua relief. Before long, however, work on the Zen Chapel was broken off, and in 1507 Antonio Lombardo appears at Ferrara, where he lived for the nine years that were left him. During this time his main task was the decoration of the alabaster chambers of Alfonso d'Este. Among the few works certainly executed by Antonio for Alfonso d'Este are some allegorical reliefs at Leningrad (Fig. 153), of which the most notable show Neptune and Minerva before Erichthonius and the Forge of Vulcan. Prostituted to interior decoration, Antonio's style becomes more elegant, and sheds much of its vitality.

In looking at Venetian sculpture, we have to bear constantly in mind the saying of Goethe, that 'Venice can be compared only with itself'. Though its aggregate value in the fifteenth century is lower than that of Tuscan sculpture, its historical importance is very great. Cima, when he painted his Incredulity of St. Thomas in the National Gallery, must have recalled the San Giovanni Crisostomo altar of Tullio Lombardo; the Zen altar and the Castelfranco Madonna are variations on a single theme; and Giorgione, in the Judgment of Solomon at Kingston Lacey, and Titian, in the Annunciation at Treviso, transfer to painting the system of perspective and relief introduced by the Lombardi on the Scuola di San Marco and in the Santo. In this respect the Lombardi served as intermediaries between the sculpture of antiquity and the painters of their own day, and Venetian High Renaissance painting is the climax of the movement which they led. In sculpture, however, the precarious equilibrium which they maintained could not be long preserved. When Tullio died in 1532, the statues of the Medici Chapel in San Lorenzo were all but finished, and the Moses and the Dying and Rebellious Slaves for the tomb of Pope Julius II were complete, while eddies of the new style had reached Venice through Jacopo Sansovino, who for three years had been Protomagister of St. Mark's. The humanist synthesis established in the fifteenth century had succumbed to the emotions and ideas of a new age, and mankind stood face to face with the colossus of Michelangelo.

THE PLATES



1. Brunelleschi: THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC (detail of Figure 2). Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze parcel-gilt (overall inside moulding 42×39 cm.).



2. Donatello: DAVID. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Marble (H. 191 cm.).

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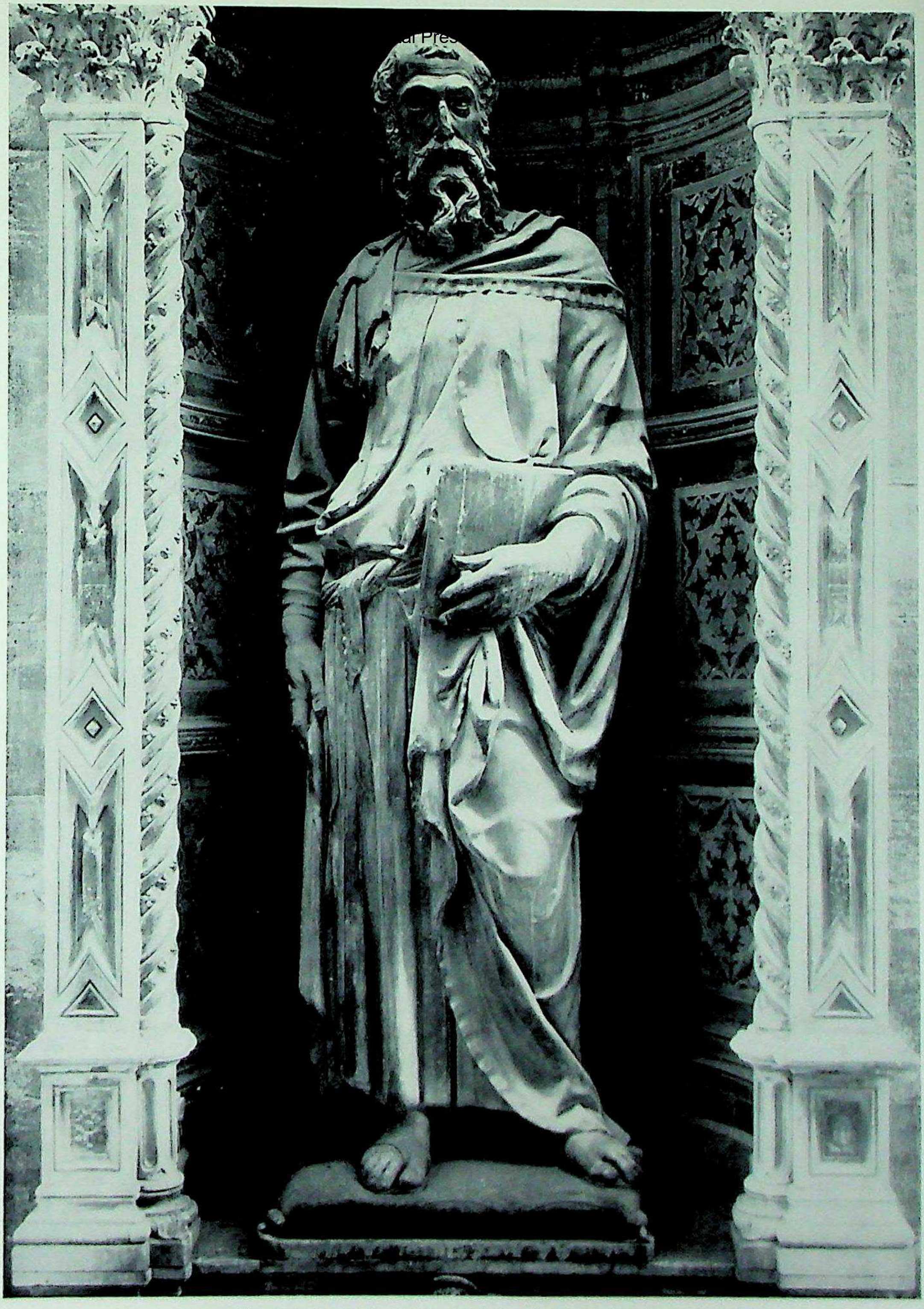
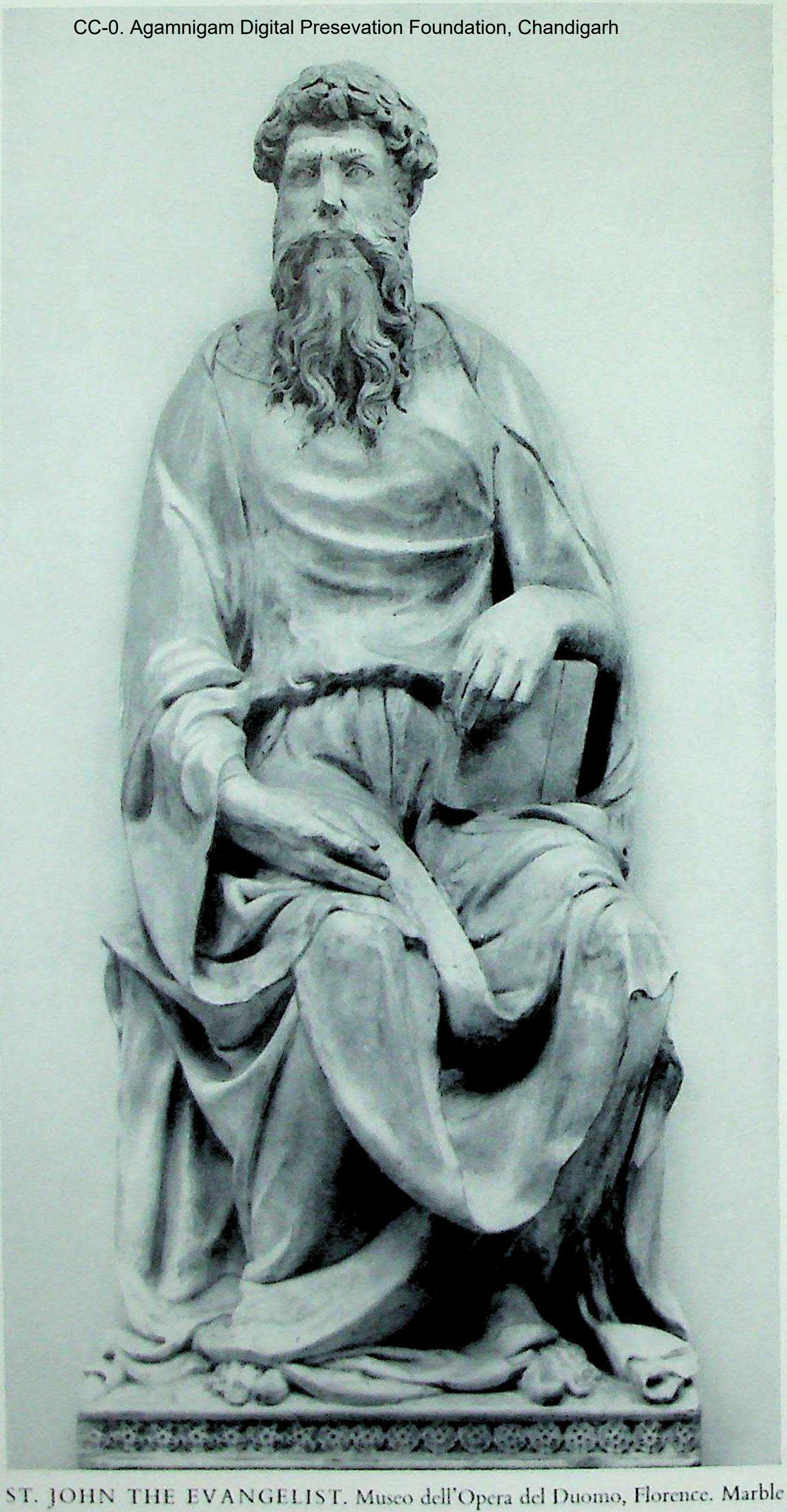
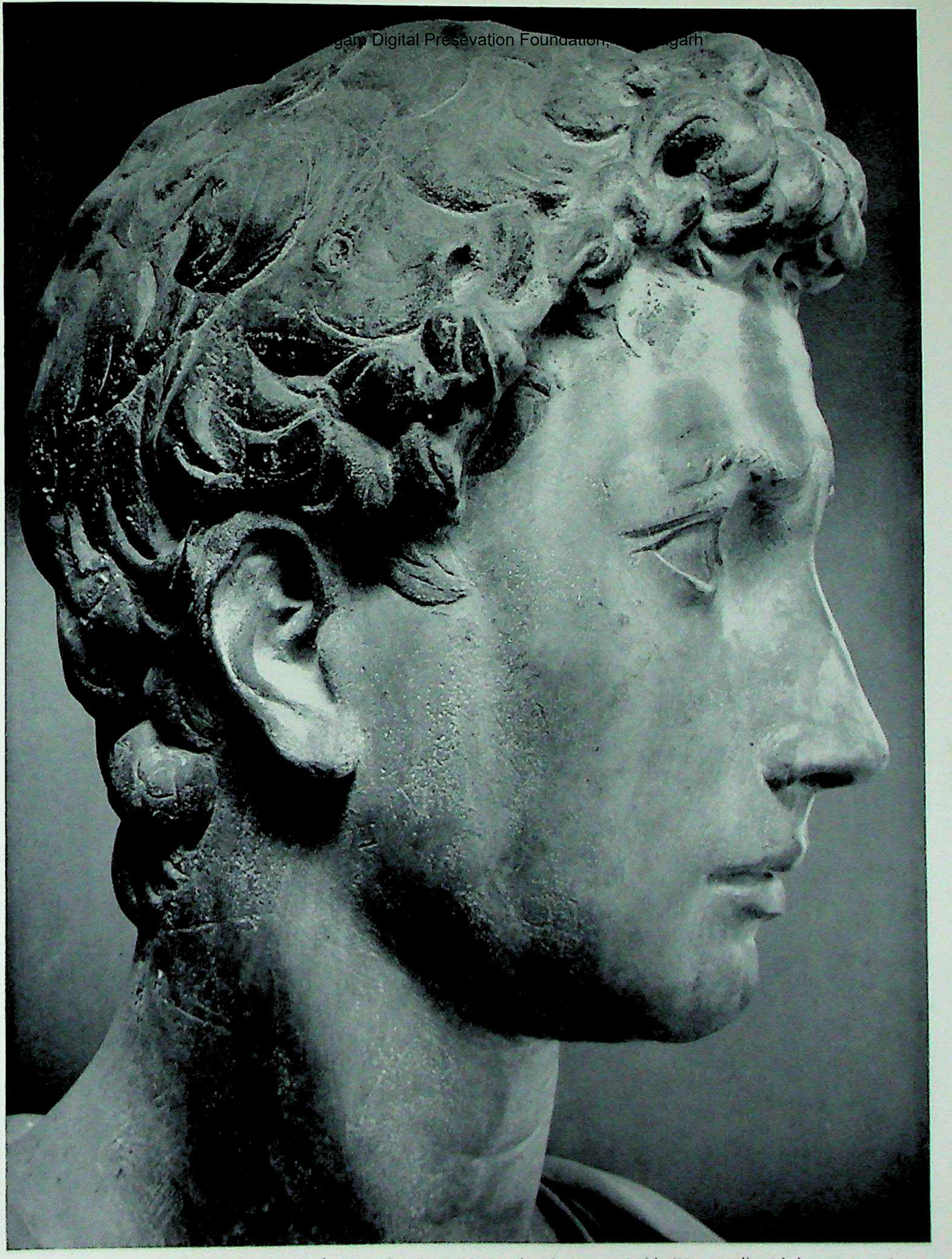


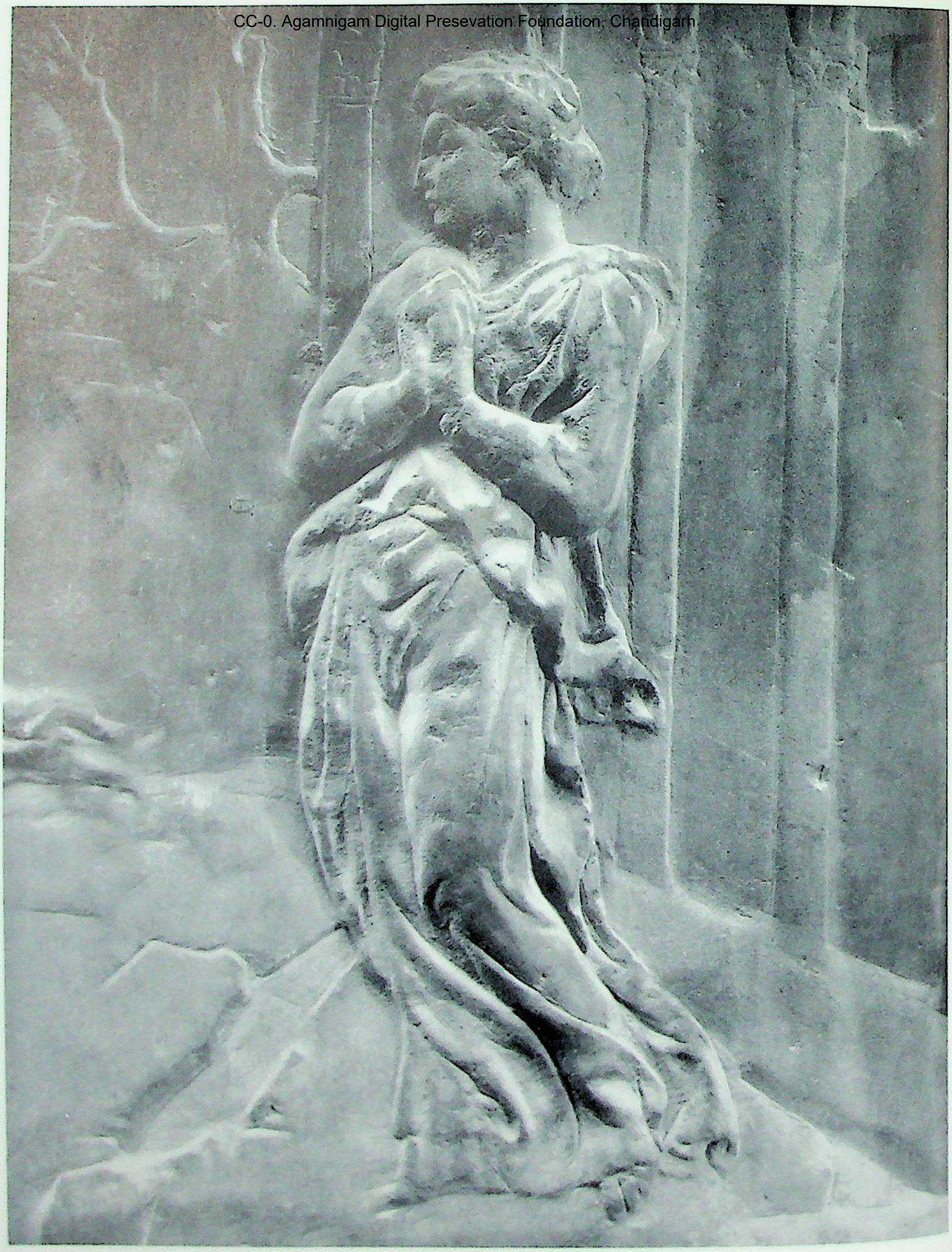
3. Donatello: ST. MARK. Or San Michele, Florence. Marble (H. 236 cm.).



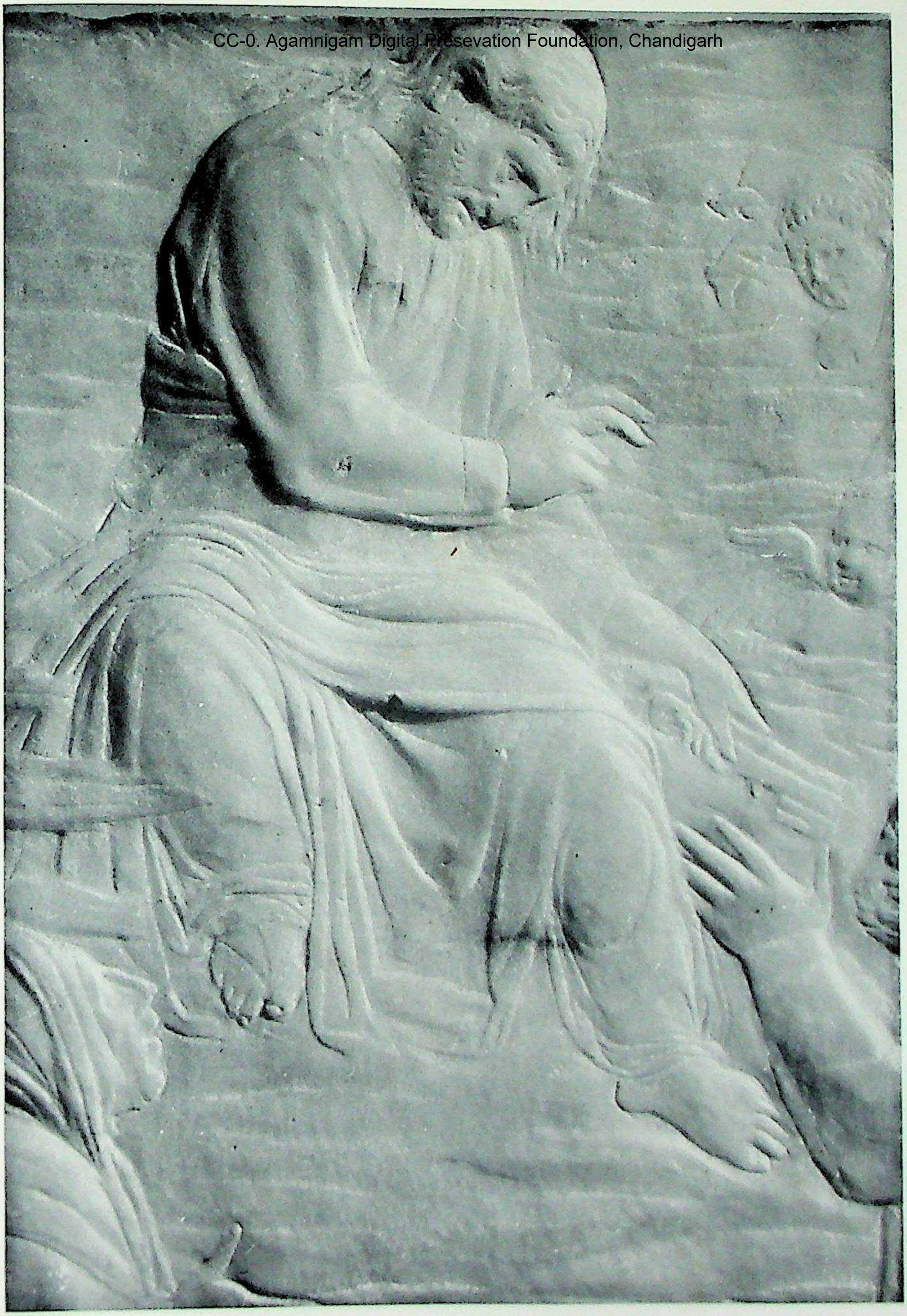
4. Donatello: ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (H. 210 cm.).



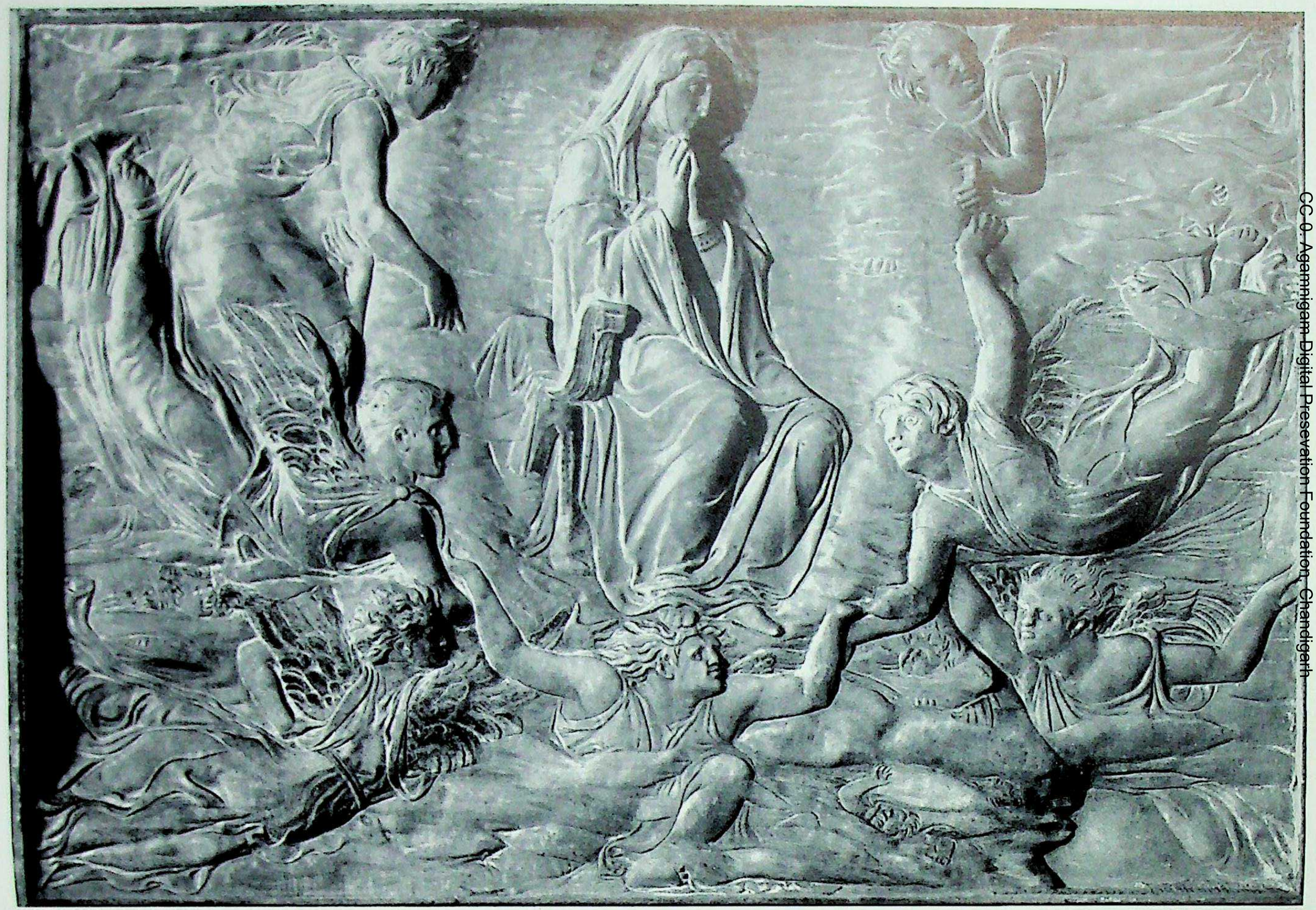
5. Donatello: ST. GEORGE (detail of Figure 5). Museo Nazionale, Florence. Marble (H. overall with base 214 cm.).



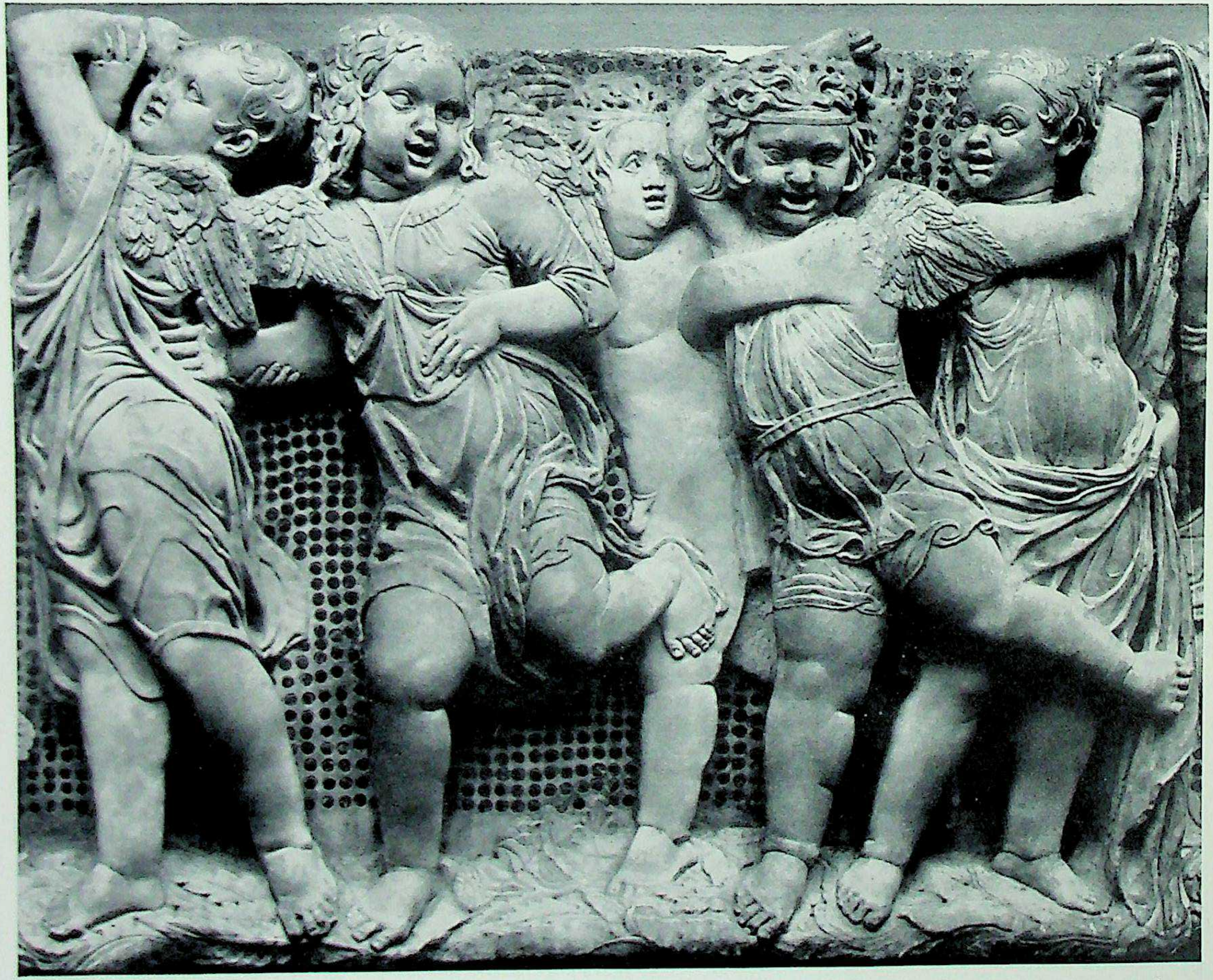
6. Donatello: ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON (detail of Figure 21). Or San Michele, Florence. Marble (overall 39 × 120 cm.).



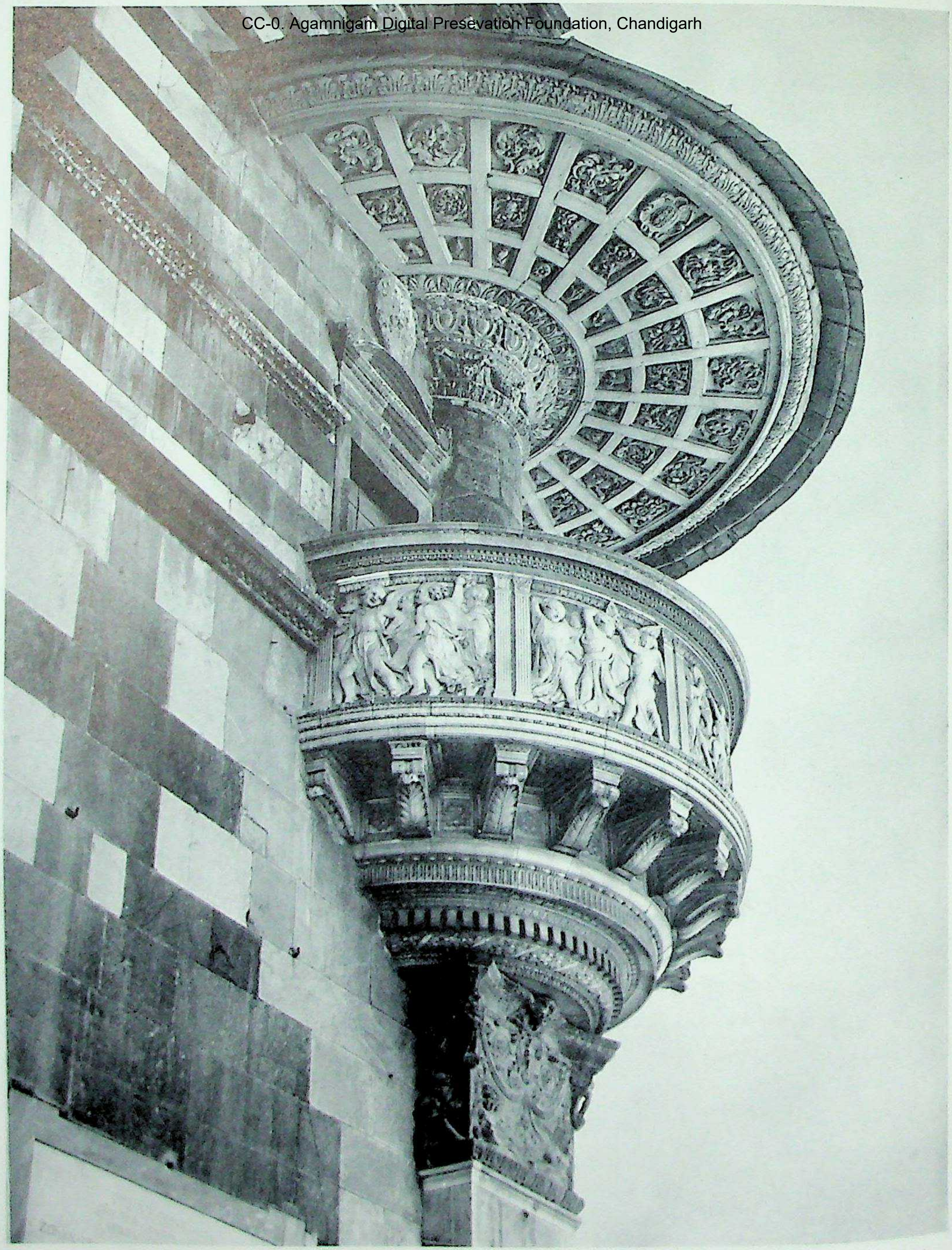
7. Donatello: CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER (detail of Figure 22). Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Marble (overall 41 × 115 cm.).



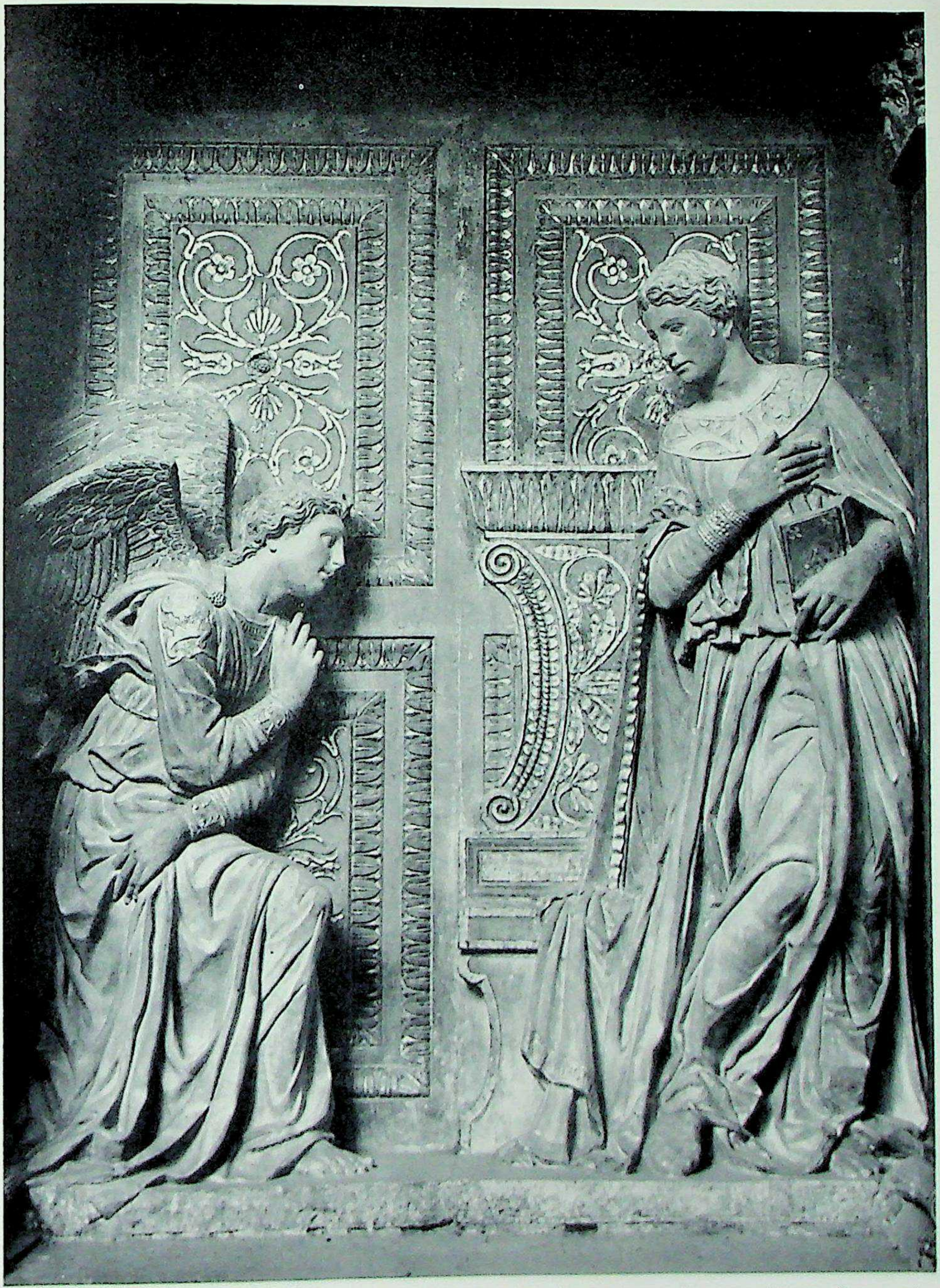
8. Donatello: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN (detail of Figure 59). S. Angelo a Nilo, Naples. Marble (54×78 cm.).



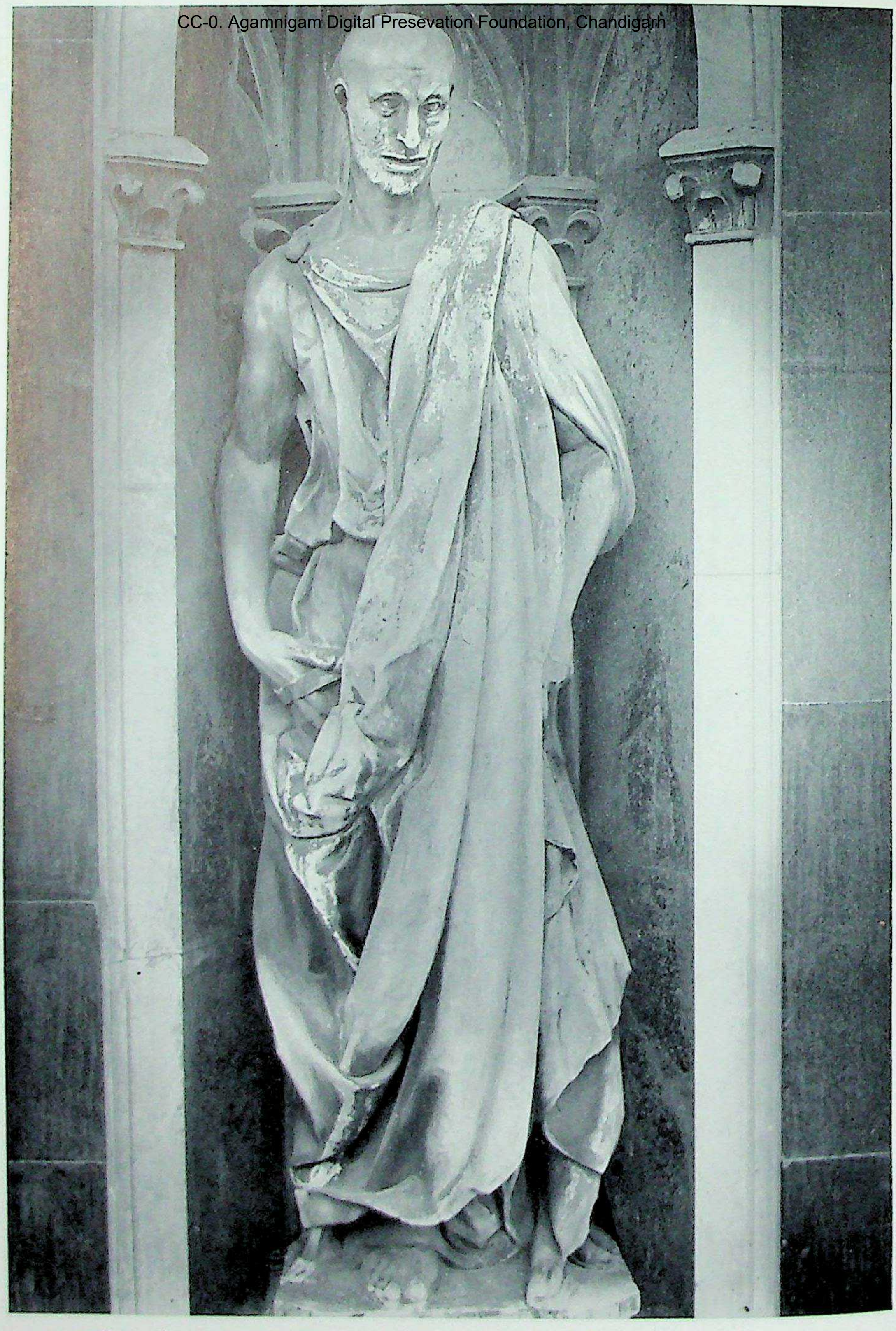
9. Donatello: CANTORIA (detail of Figure 20). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (front figurated area 98 × 522 cm.).



10. Donatello: EXTERNAL PULPIT. Duomo, Prato. Marble, with bronze capital (individual panels 74×79 cm.).



11. Donatello: THE ANNUNCIATION (detail of Figure 37). S. Croce, Florence. Limestone (H. overall 419 cm.).



12. Donatello: HABAKKUK. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (H. 195 cm.).

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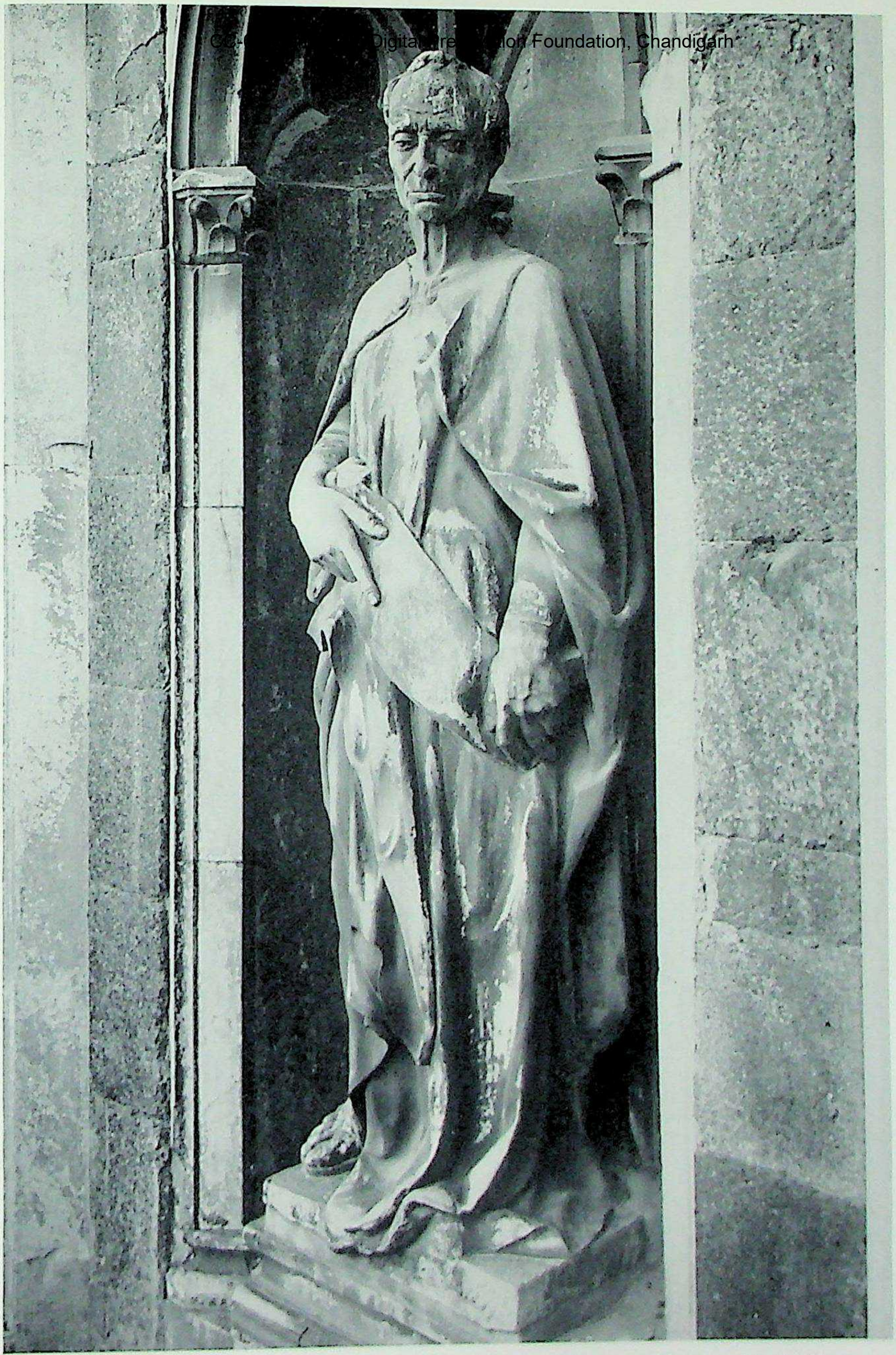
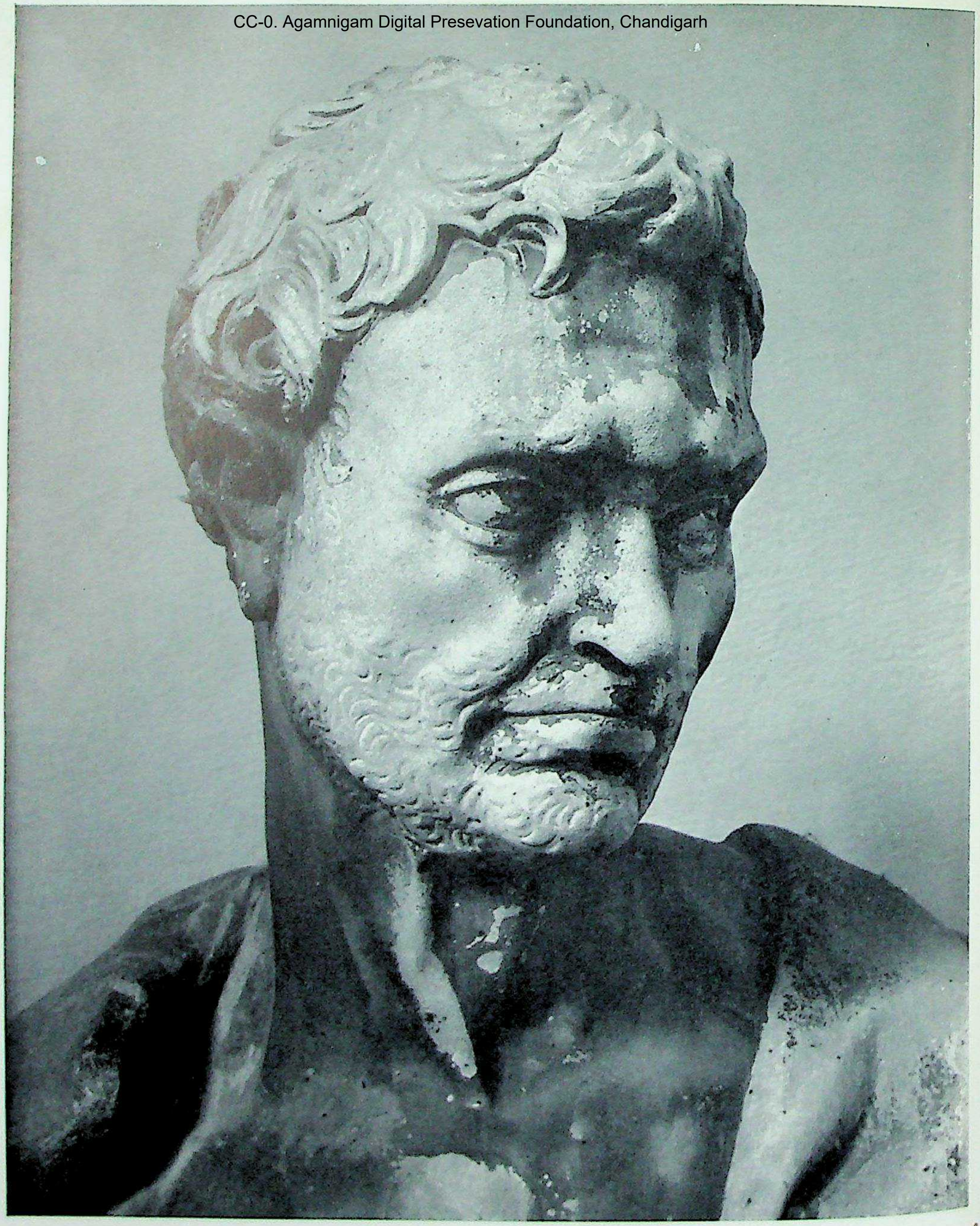
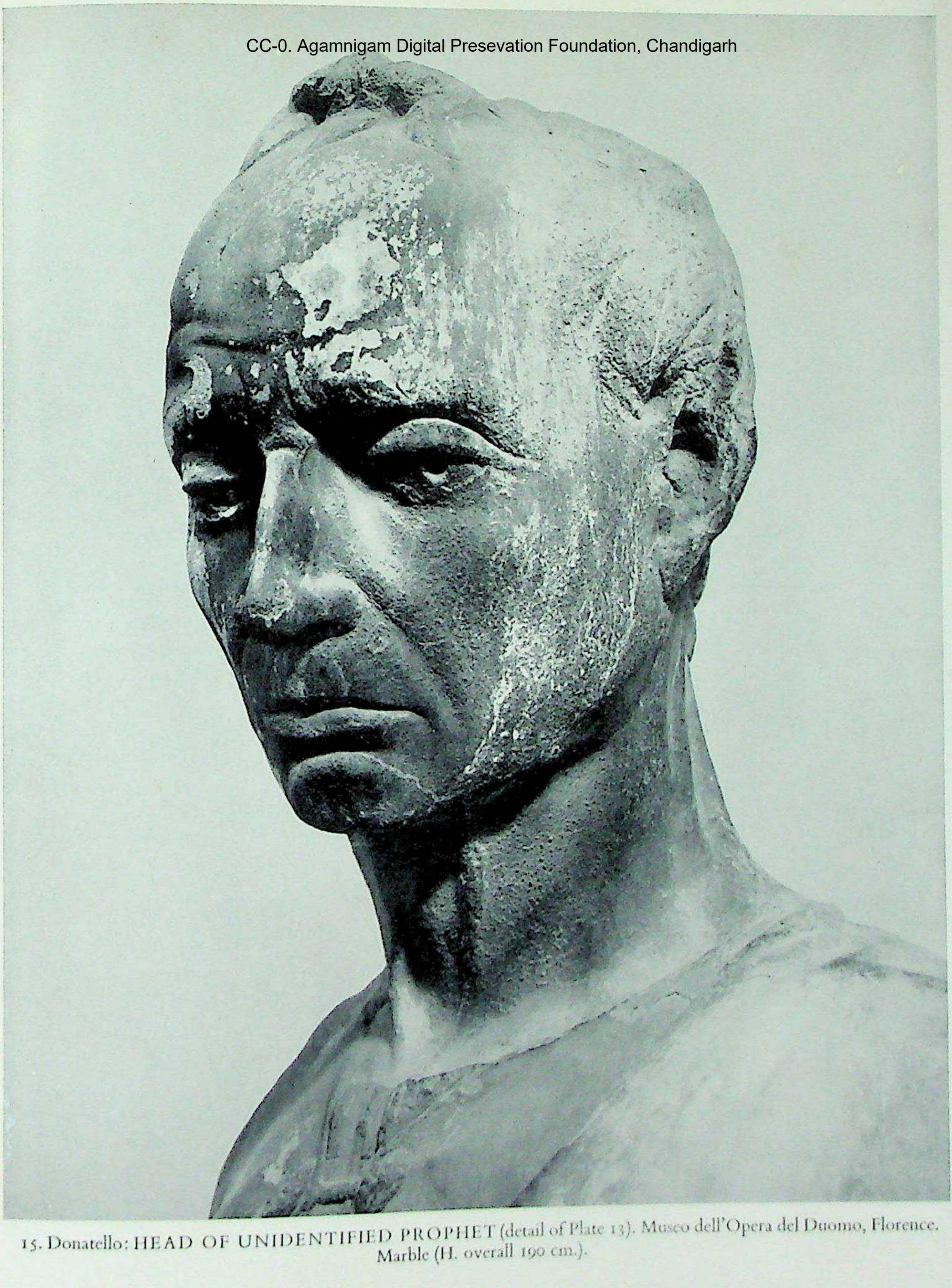


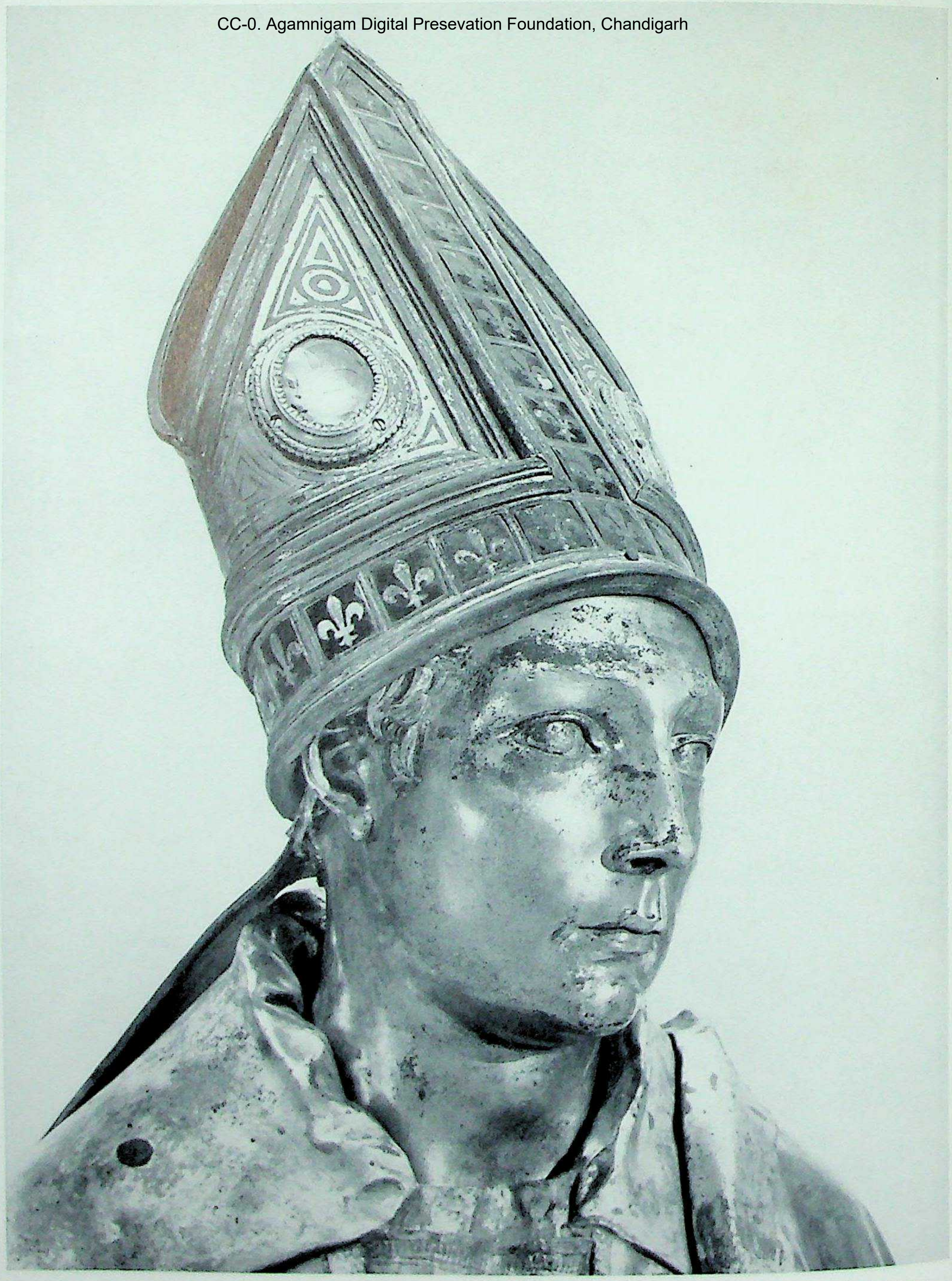
13. Donatello: UNIDENTIFIED PROPHET. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (H. 190 cm.).



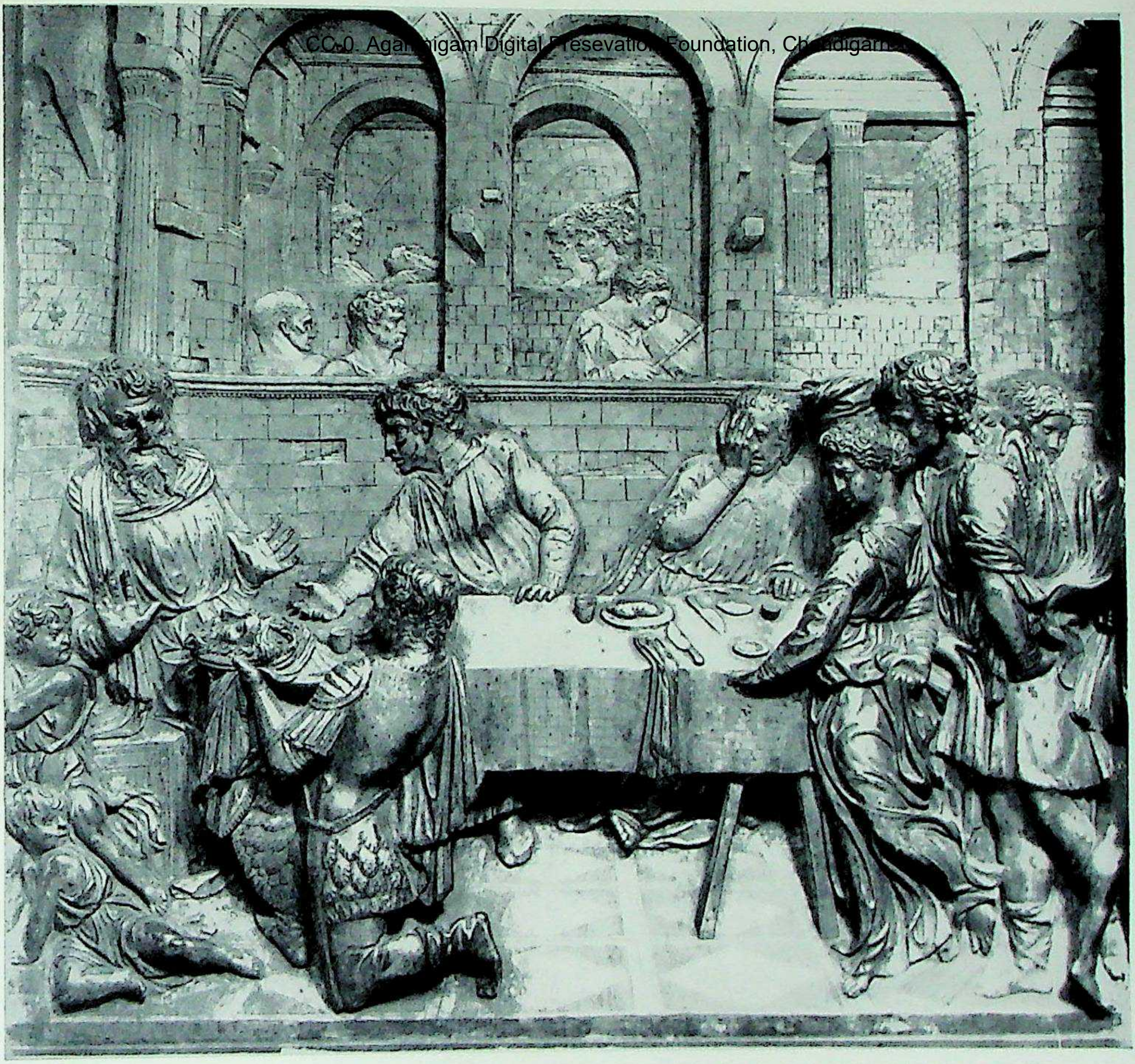
14. Donatello: HEAD OF JEREMIAH (detail of Figure 7). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (H. overall 191 cm.).



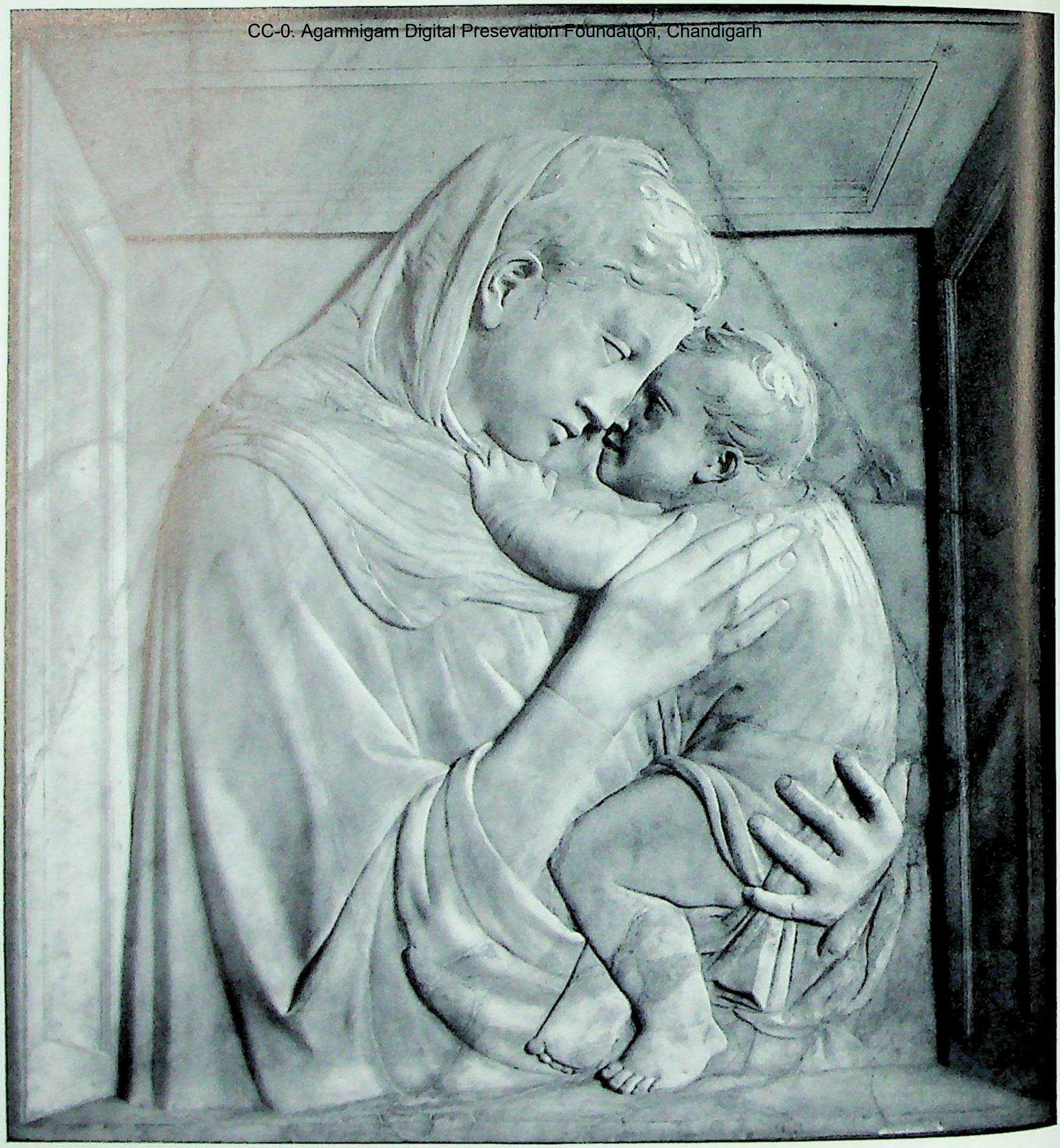
15. Donatello: HEAD OF UNIDENTIFIED PROPHET (detail of Plate 13). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (H. overall 190 cm.).



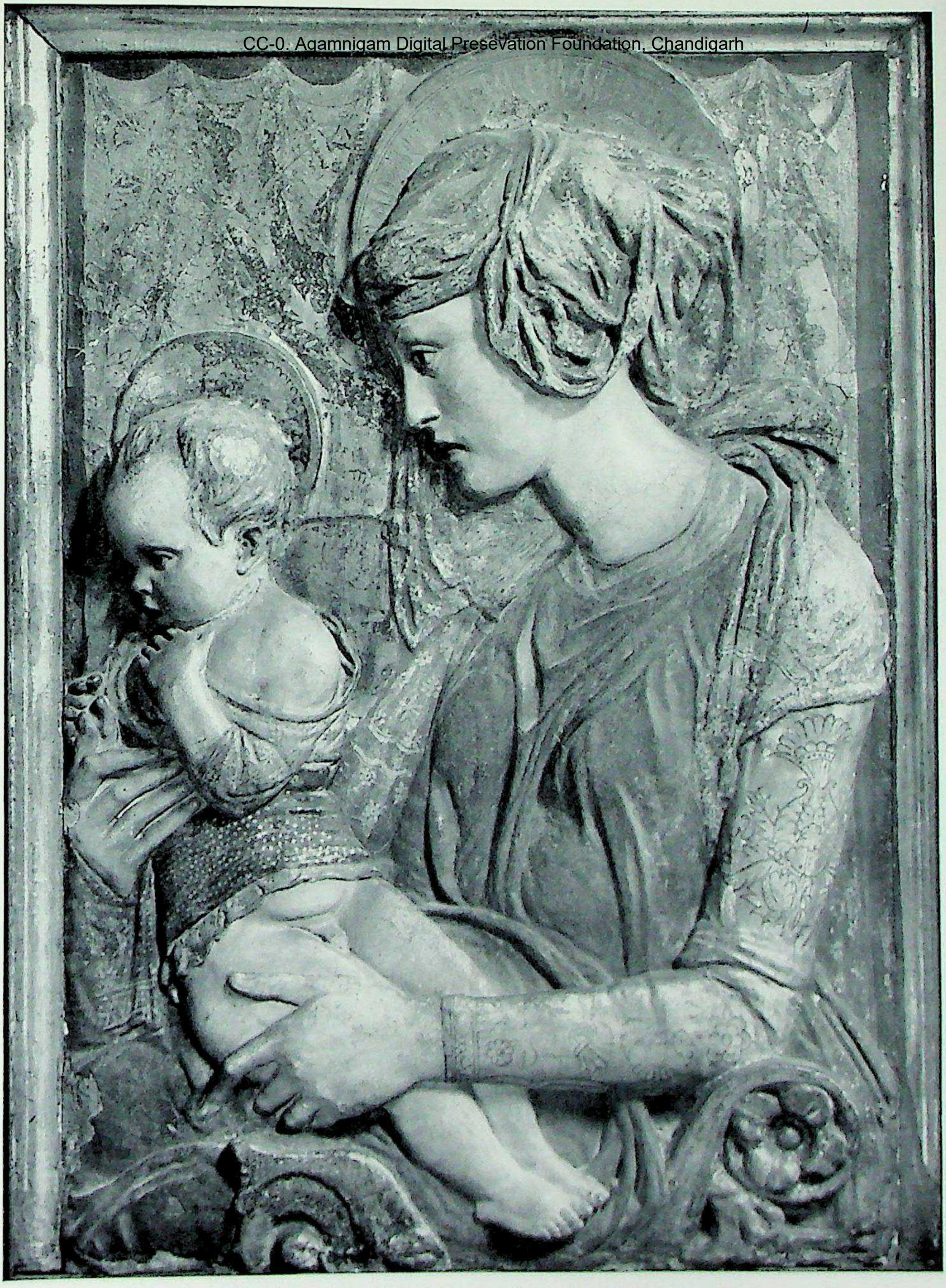
16. Donatello: HEAD OF ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE (detail of Figure 56). Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce, Florence. Gilt bronze (H. overall 266 cm.).



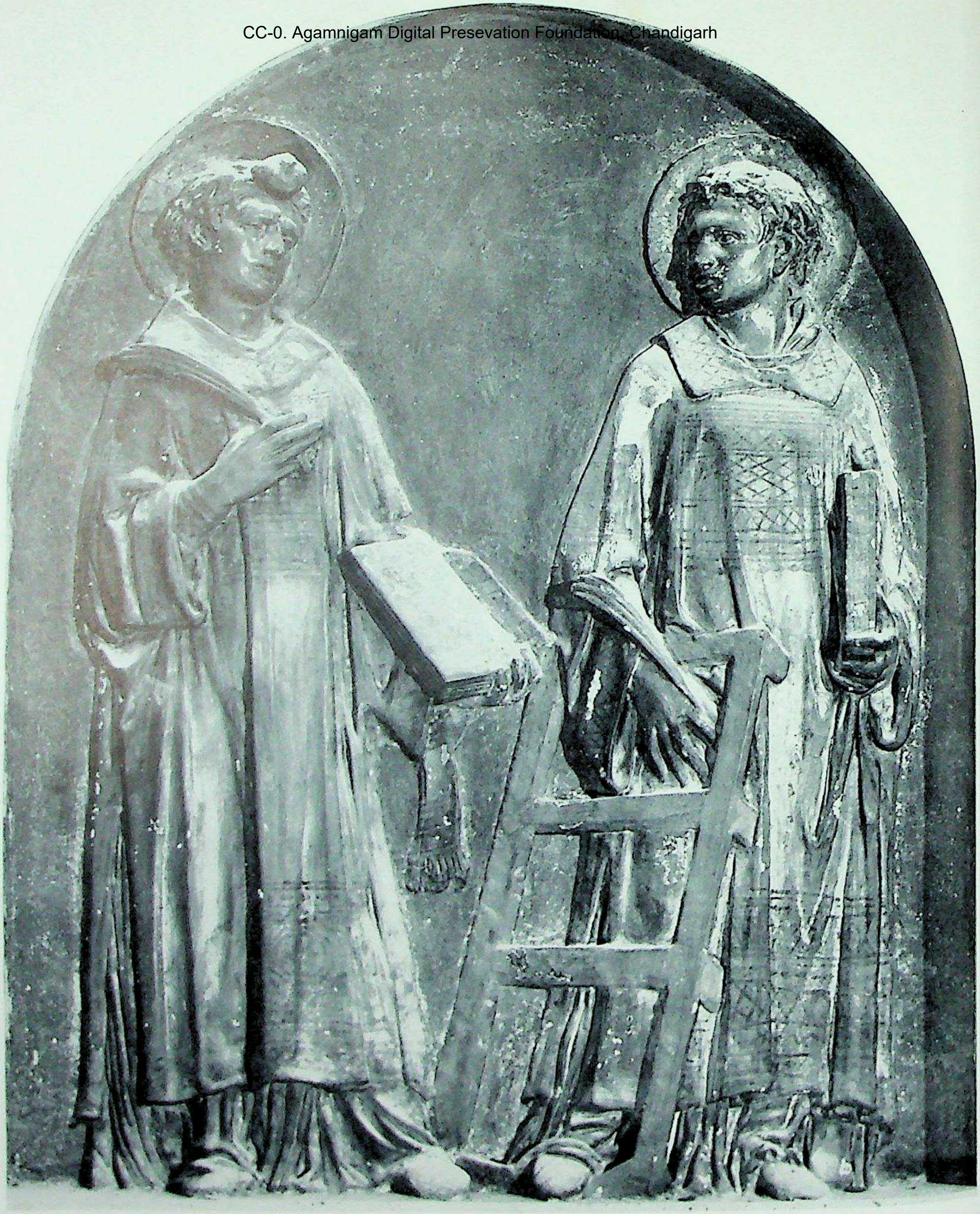
17. Donatello: THE PRESENTATION OF THE BAPTIST'S HEAD TO HEROD. Baptistry, Siena. Gilt bronze (60×61 cm.).



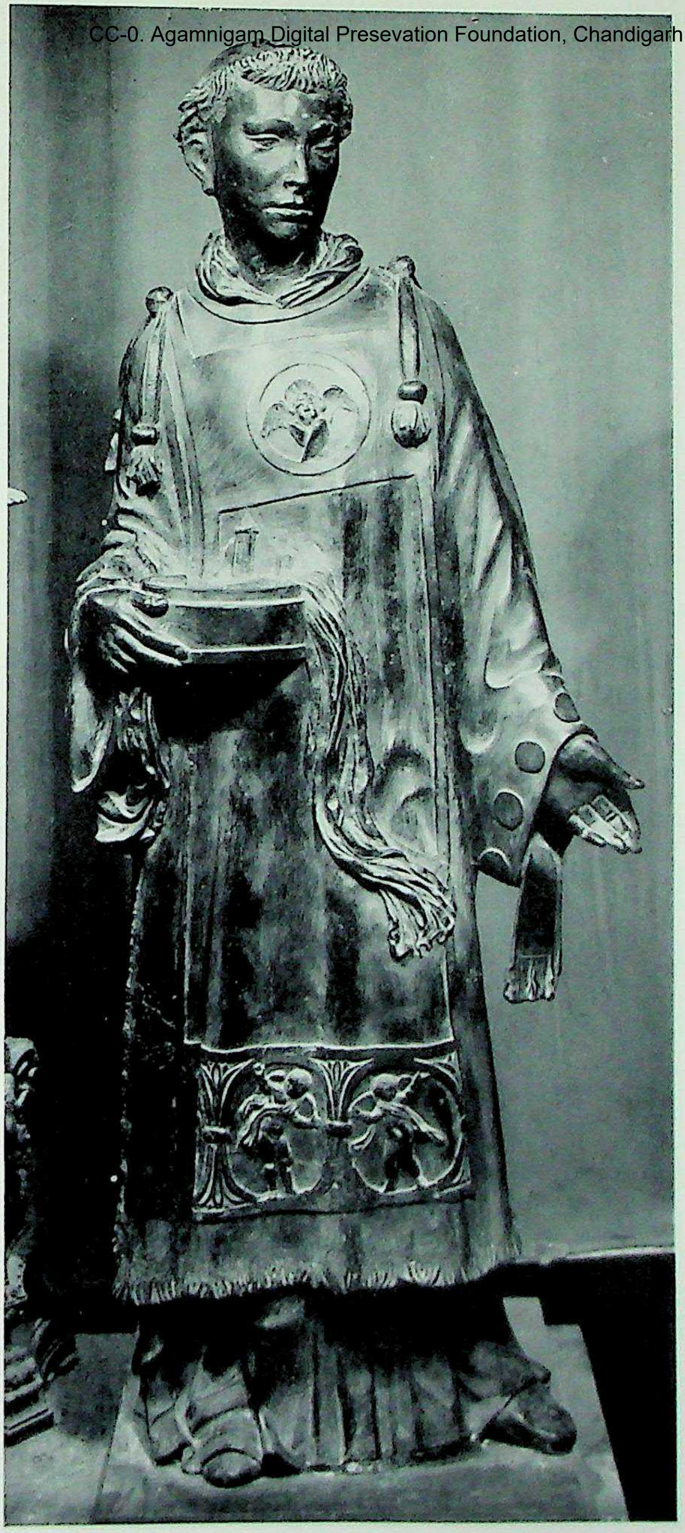
18. Donatello: THE PAZZI MADONNA. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Marble (75×70 cm.).



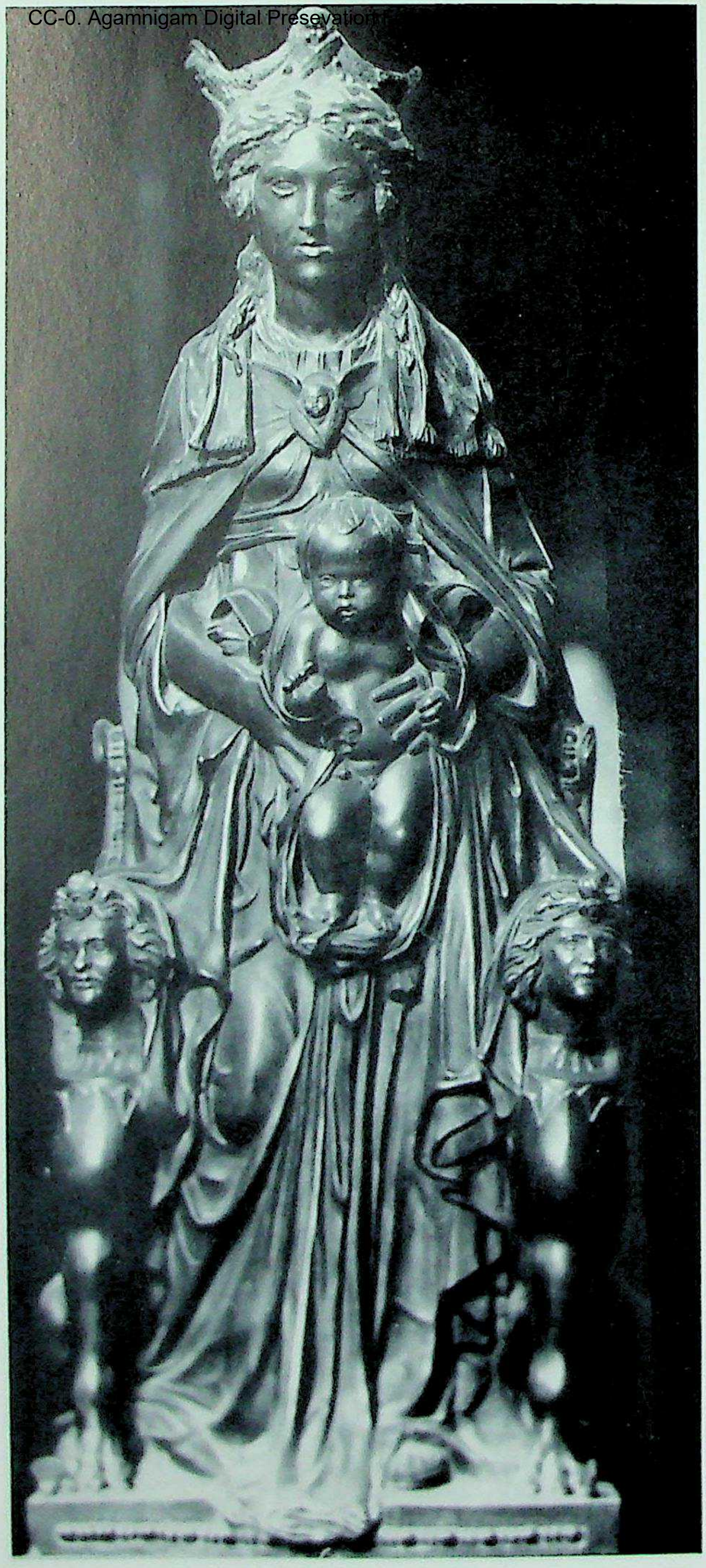
19. Donatello: VIRGIN AND CHILD. Louvre, Paris. Pigmented terracotta (102 × 74 cm.).



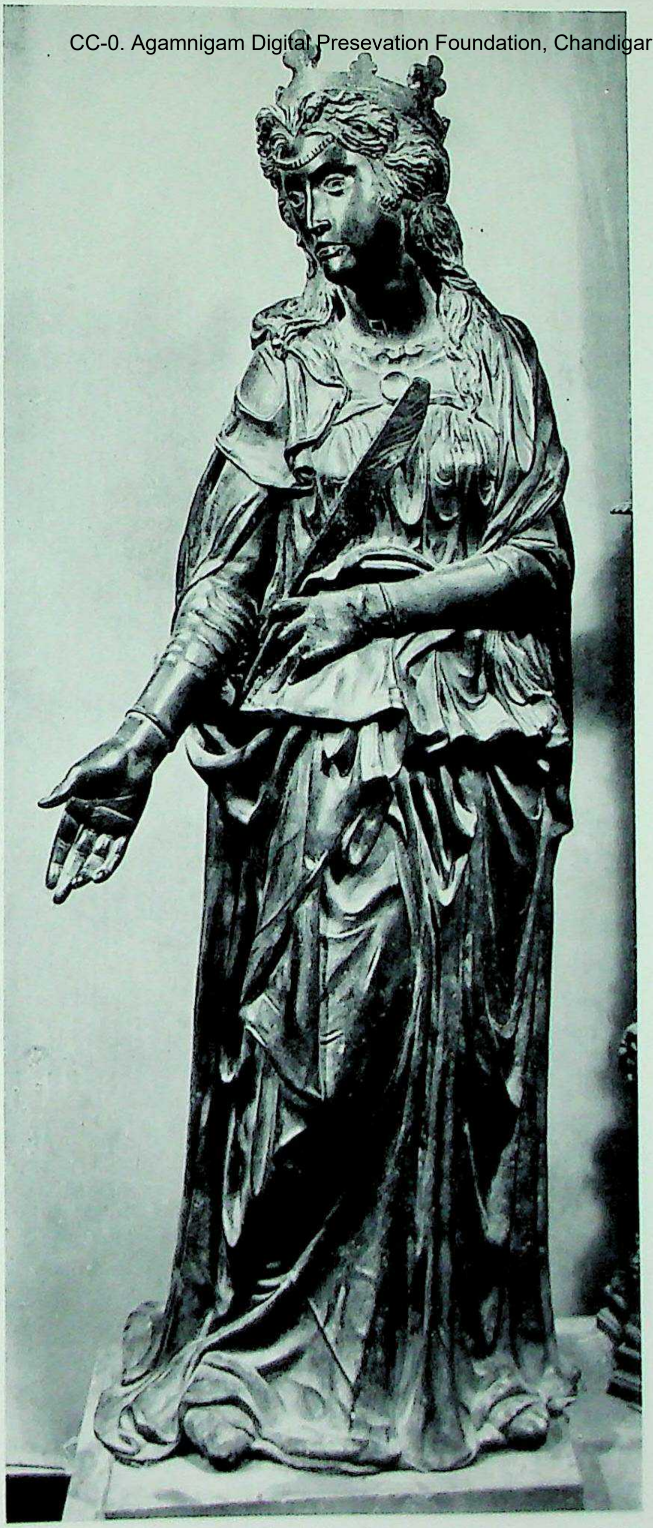
20. Donatello: SS. STEPHEN AND LAWRENCE. Sagrestia Vecchia, S. Lorenzo, Florence. Pigmented stucco (H. ca. 215 cm.).



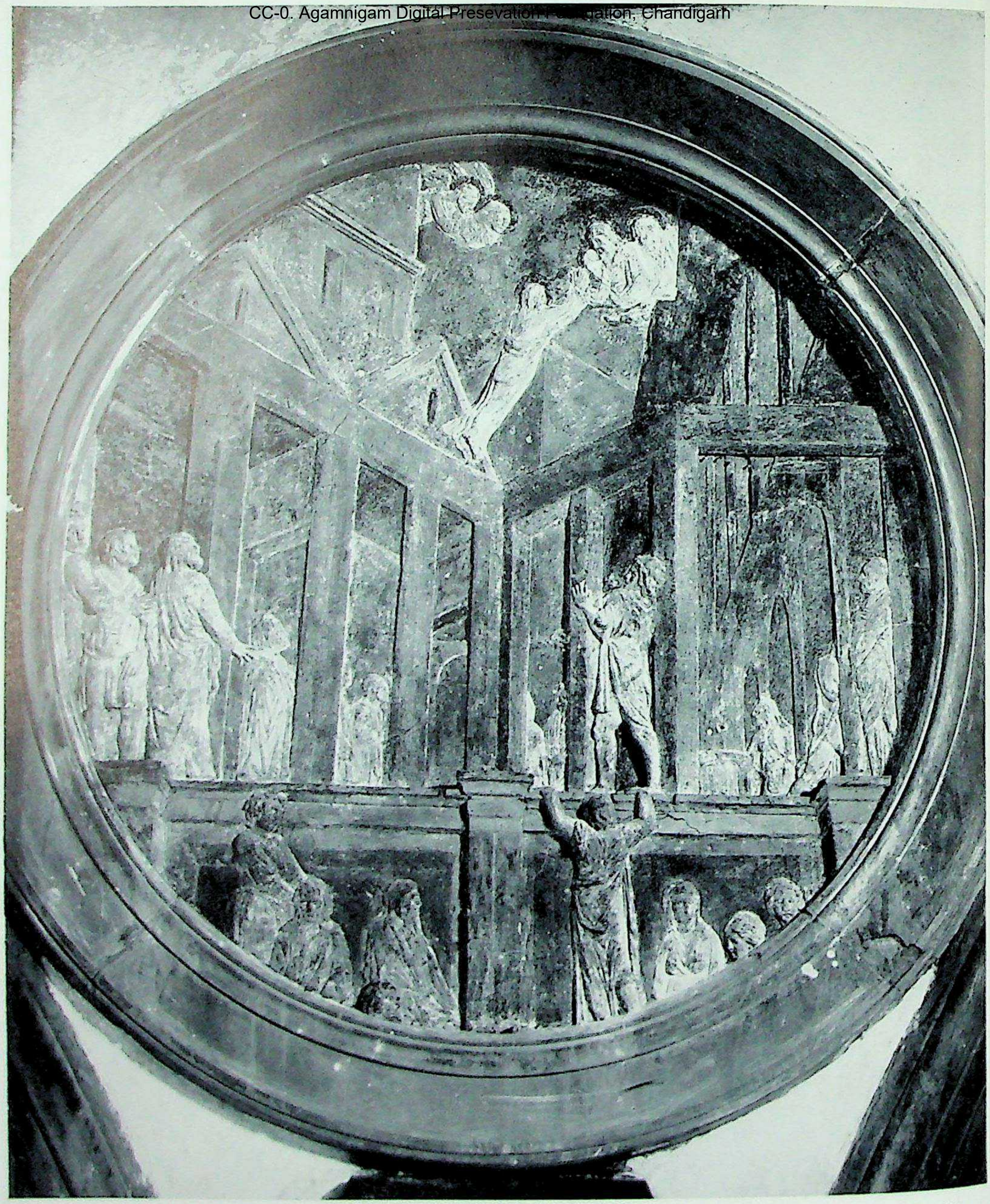
21. Donatello: ST. DANIEL (detail of Figure 26). S. Antonio, Padua. Bronze (H. 123 cm.).



22. Donatello: VIRGIN AND CHILD (detail of Figure 26). S. Antonio, Padua.
Bronze (H. 159 cm.).



23. Donatello: S. GIUSTINA (detail of Figure 26). S. Antonio, Padua. Bronze (H. 154 cm.).



24. Donatello: THE ASSUMPTION OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (detail of Figure 40). Sagrestia Vecchia, S. Lorenzo, Florence. Pigmented stucco (diameter inside moulding ca. 215 cm.).

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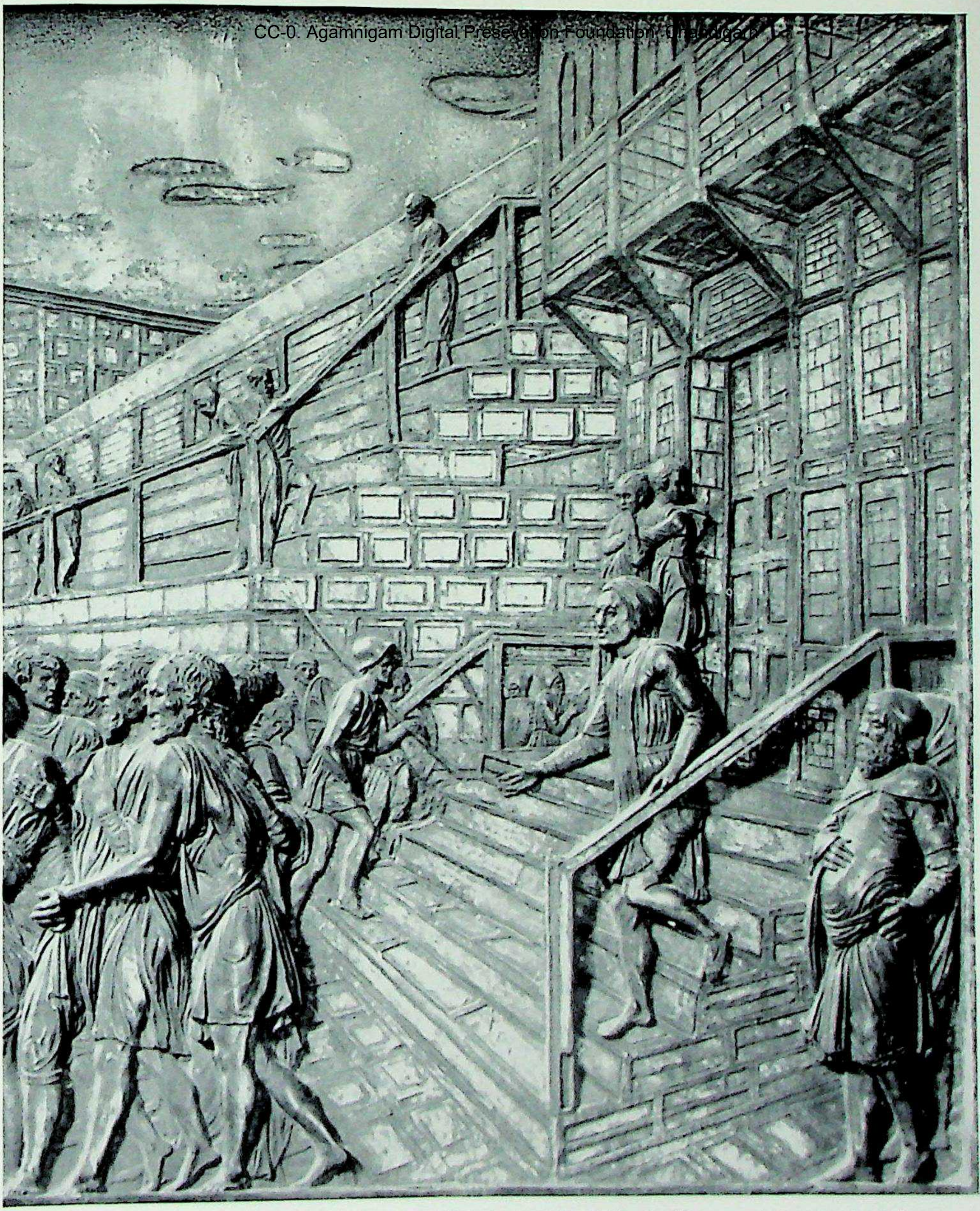
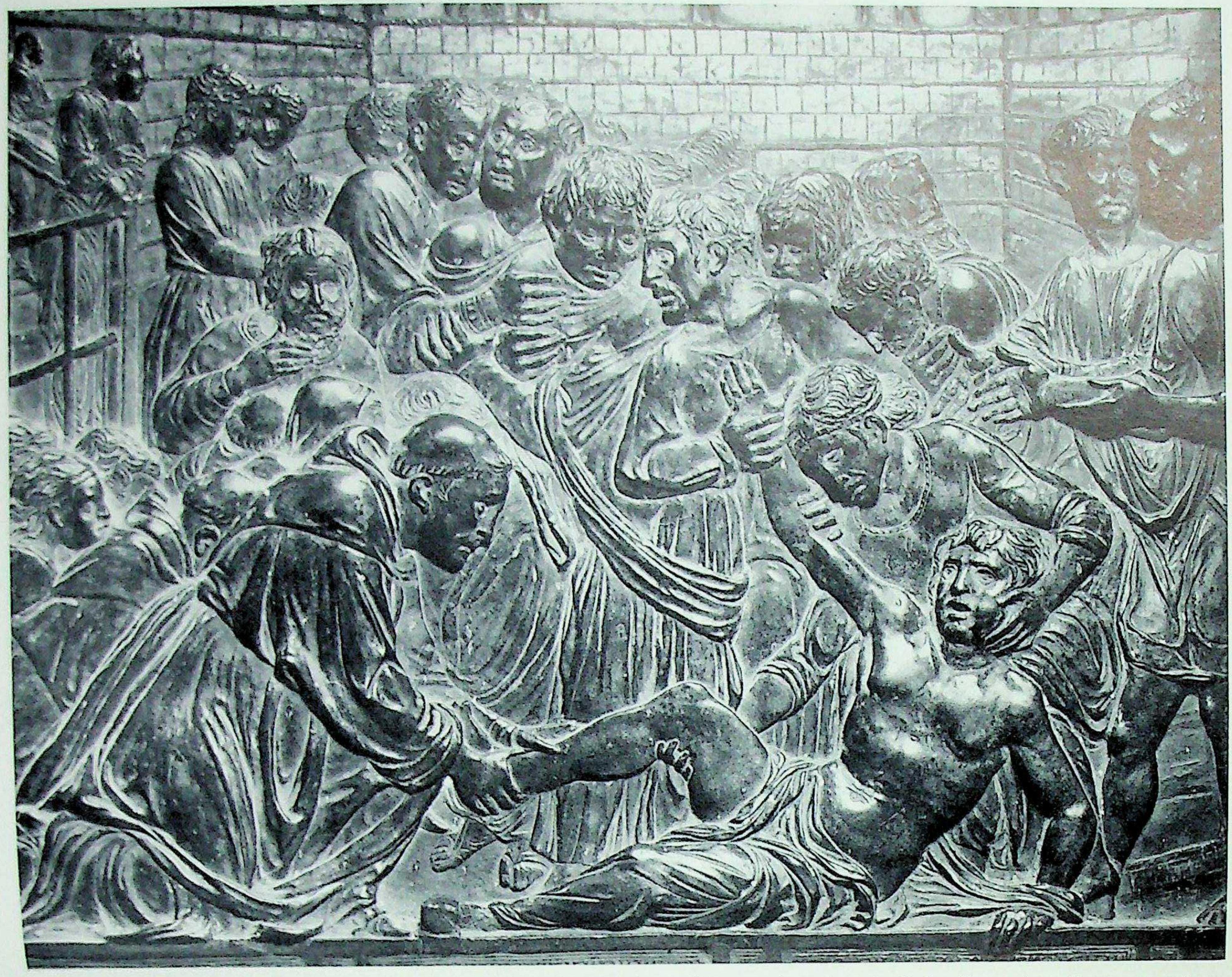
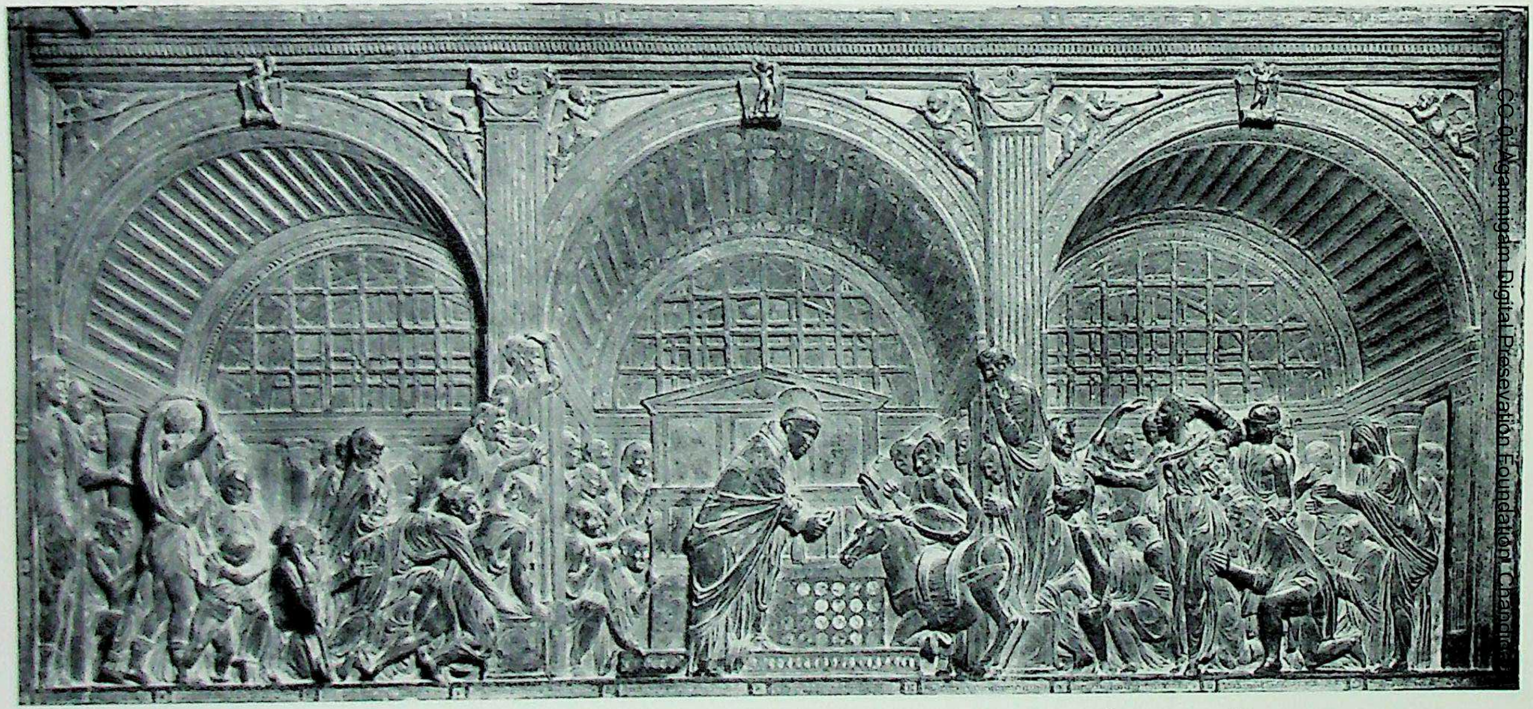


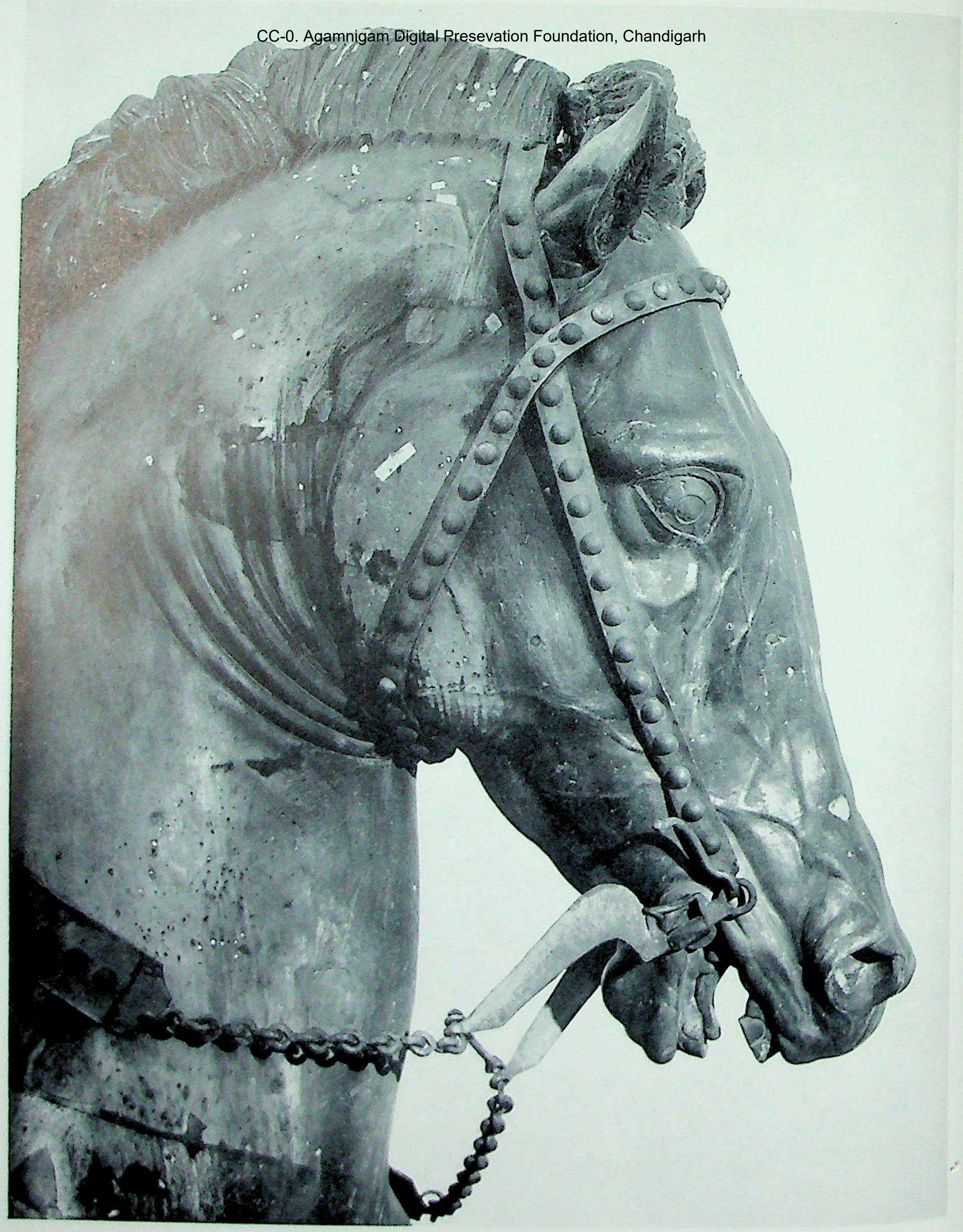
25. Donatello: THE MIRACLE OF THE REPENTANT SON (detail of Figure 23). S. Antonio, Padua. Bronze (overall 57 × 123 cm.).



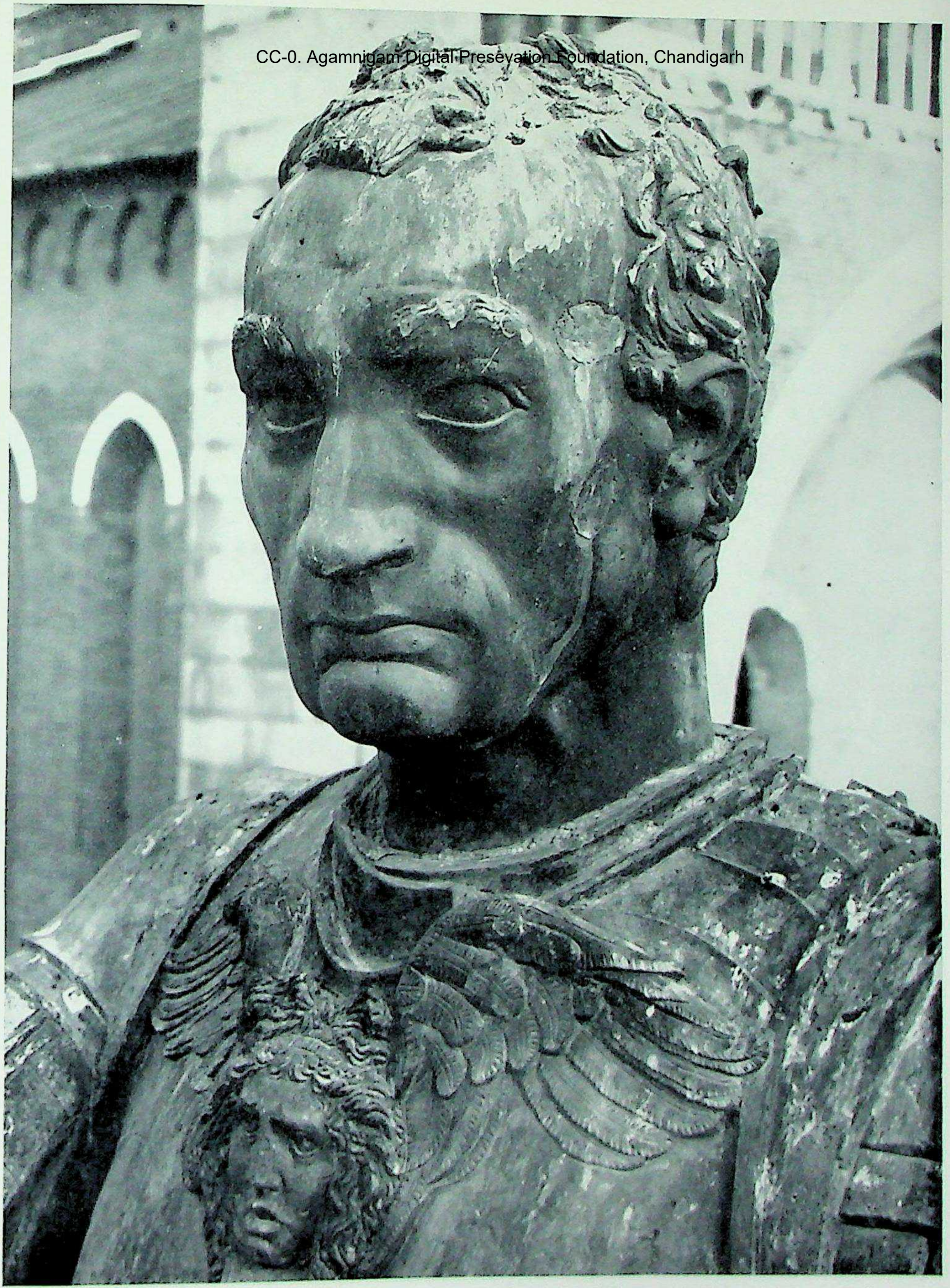
26. Donatello: THE MIRACLE OF THE REPENTANT SON (detail of Figure 23). S. Antonio, Padua. Bronze (overall 57×123 cm.).



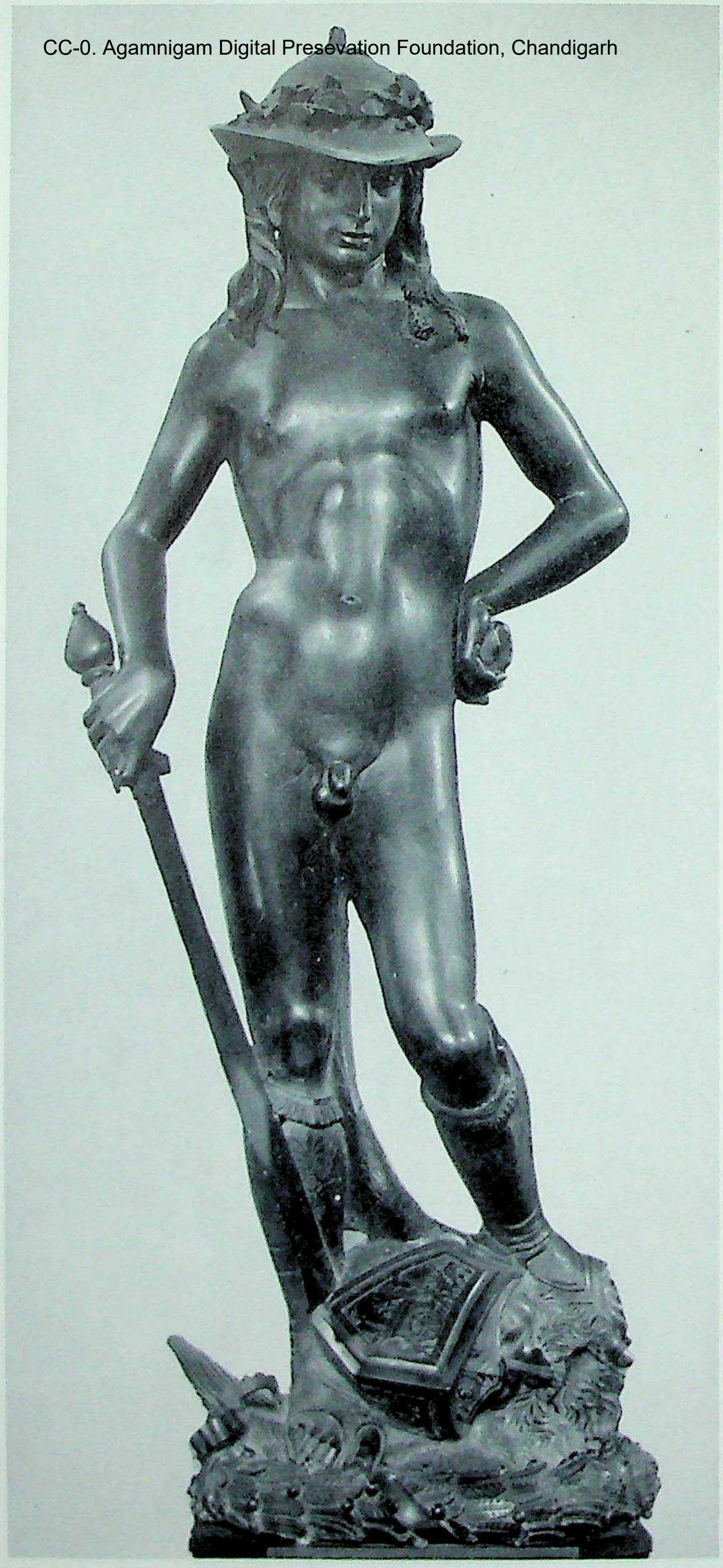
27. Donatello: THE MIRACLE OF THE MULE. S. Antonio, Padua. Bronze (overall 57×123 cm.).



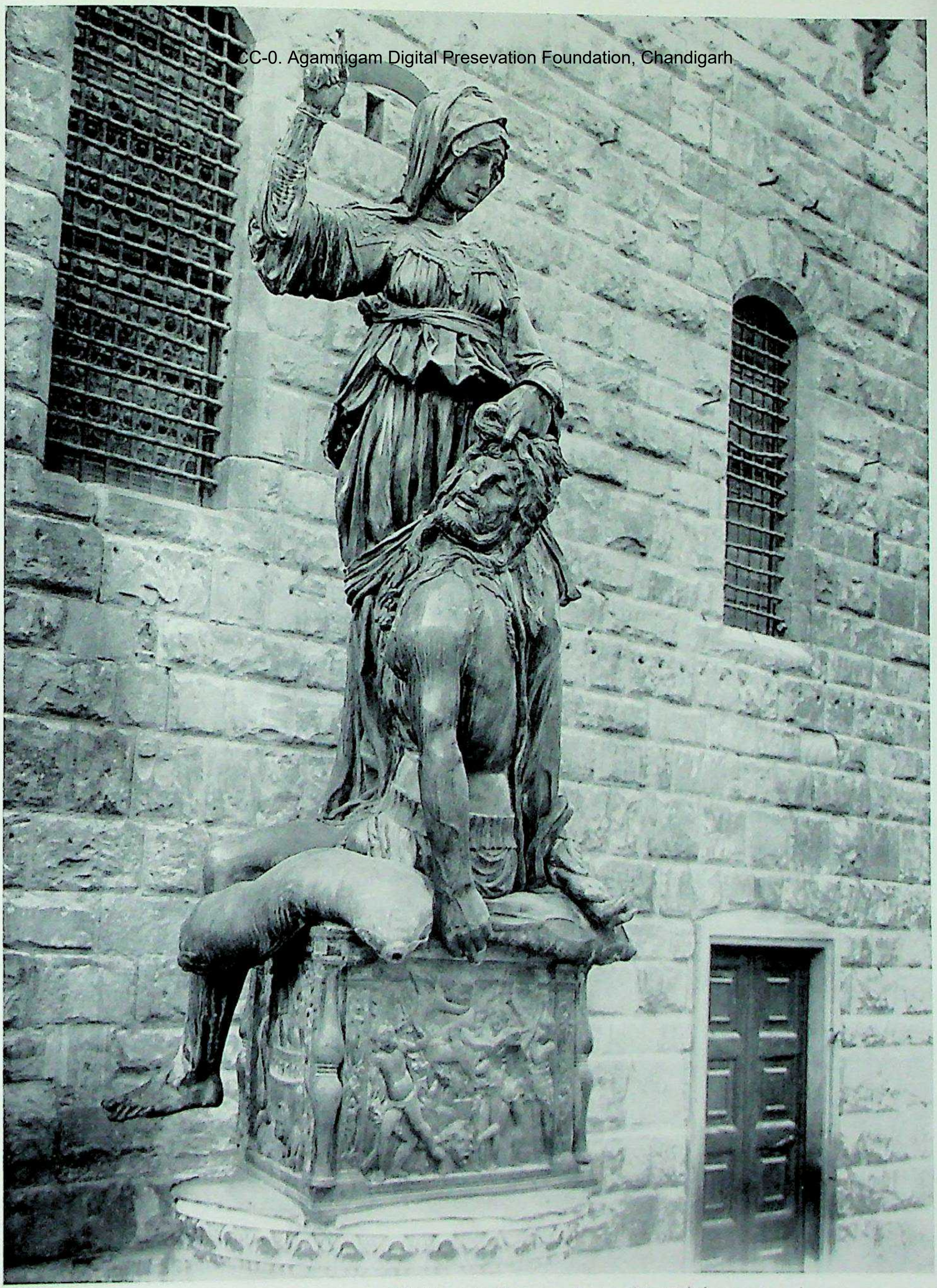
28. Donatello: THE GATTAMELATA MONUMENT (detail of Figure 88). Piazza del Santo, Padua. Bronze (H. overall without base c. 340 cm.).



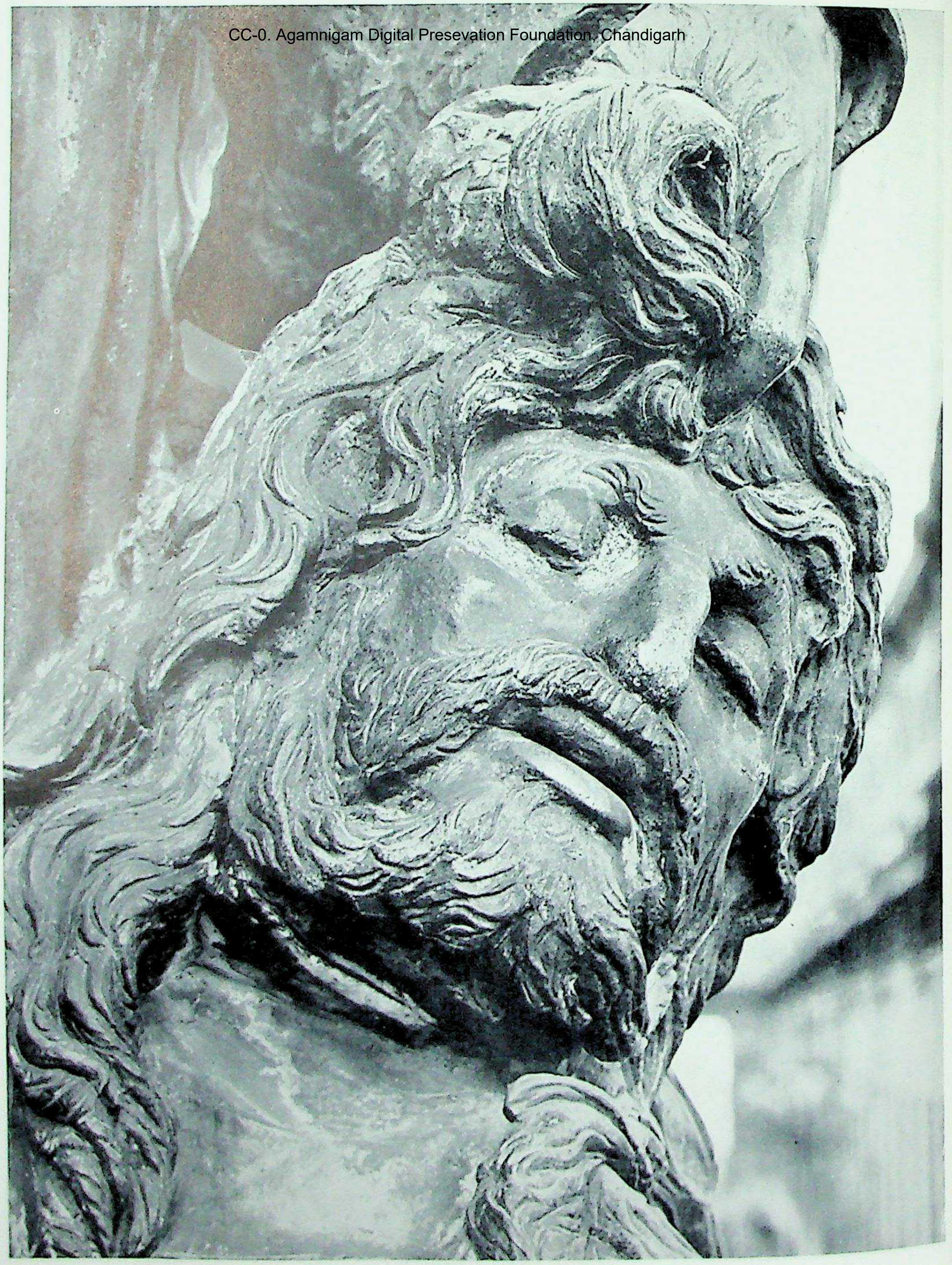
29. Donatello: THE GATTAMELATA MONUMENT (detail of Figure 88). Piazza del Santo, Padua. Bronze (H. overall without base c. 340 cm.).



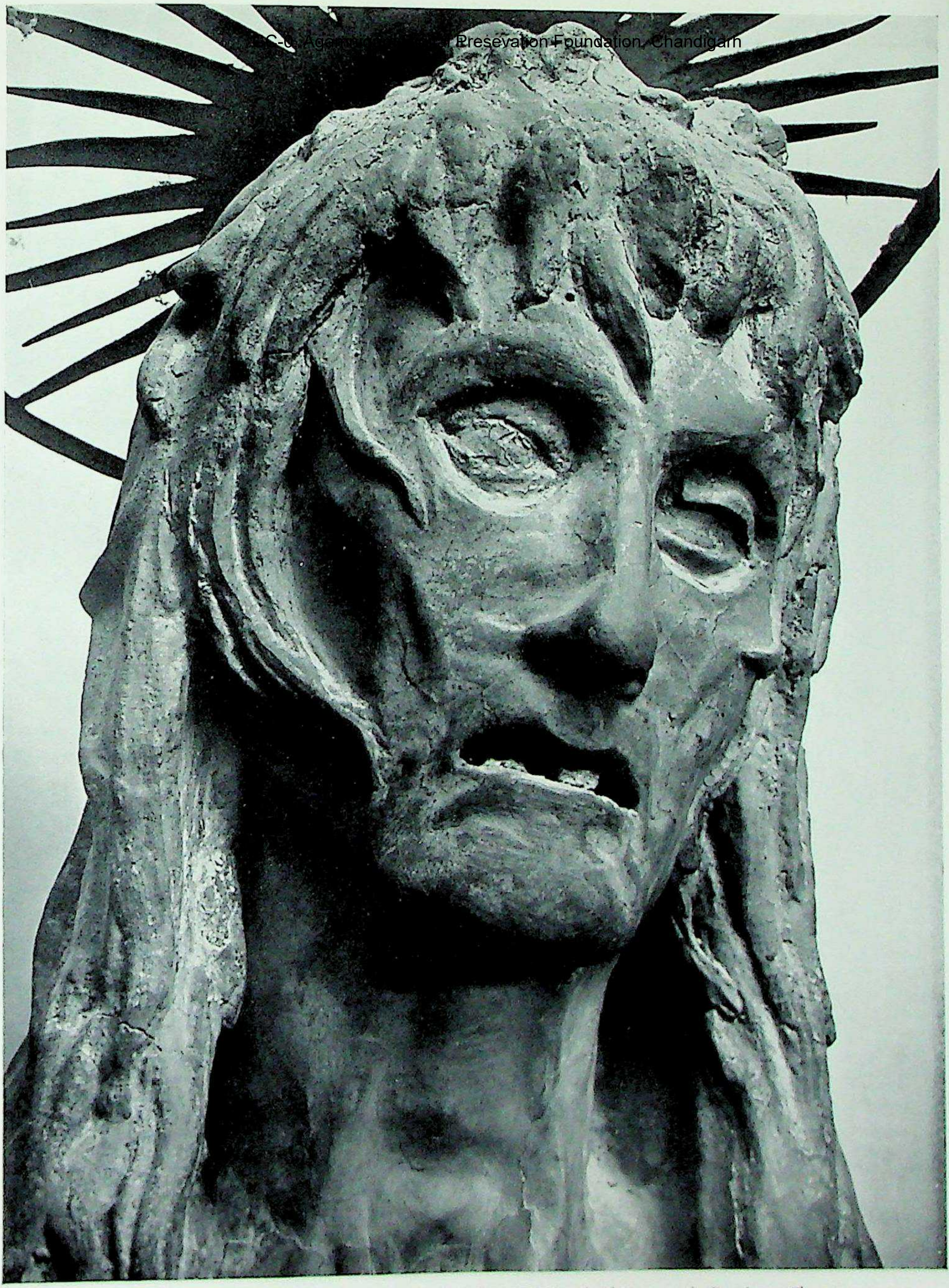
30. Donatello: DAVID. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze (H. 159 cm.).



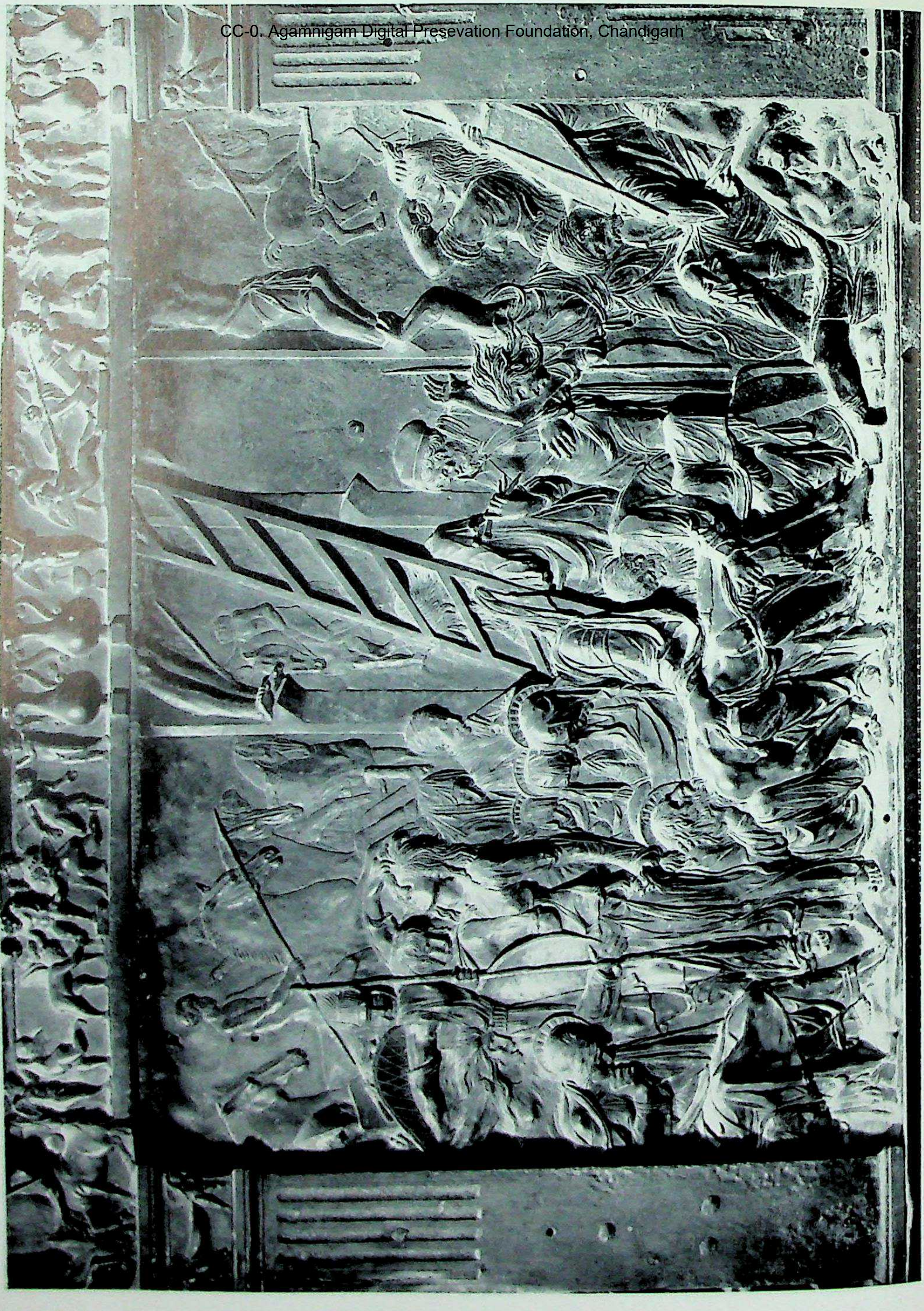
31. Donatello: JUDITH. Piazza della Signoria, Florence. Bronze (H. with base 236 cm.).



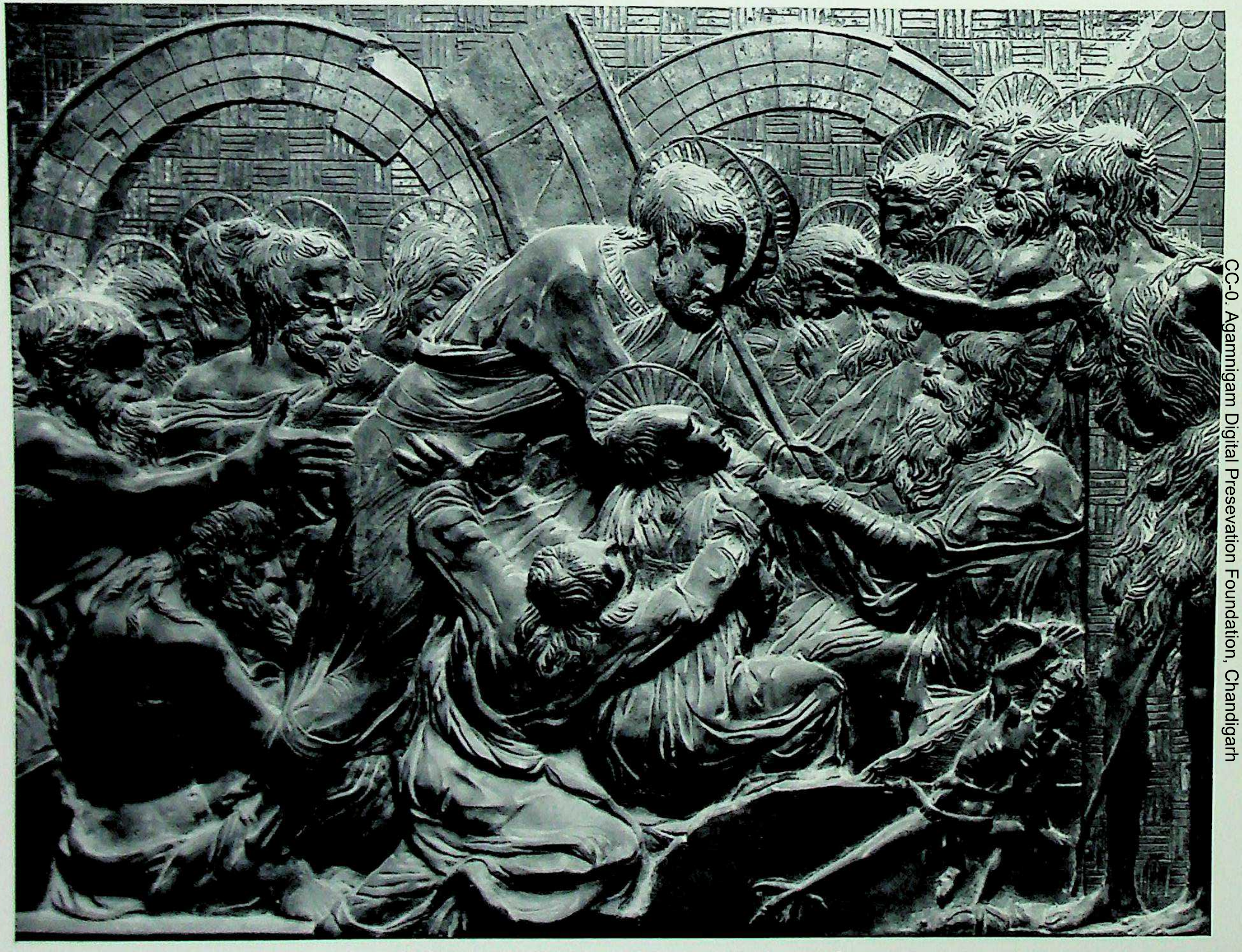
32. Donatello: HEAD OF HOLOFERNES (detail of Plate 31). Piazza della Signoria, Florence.



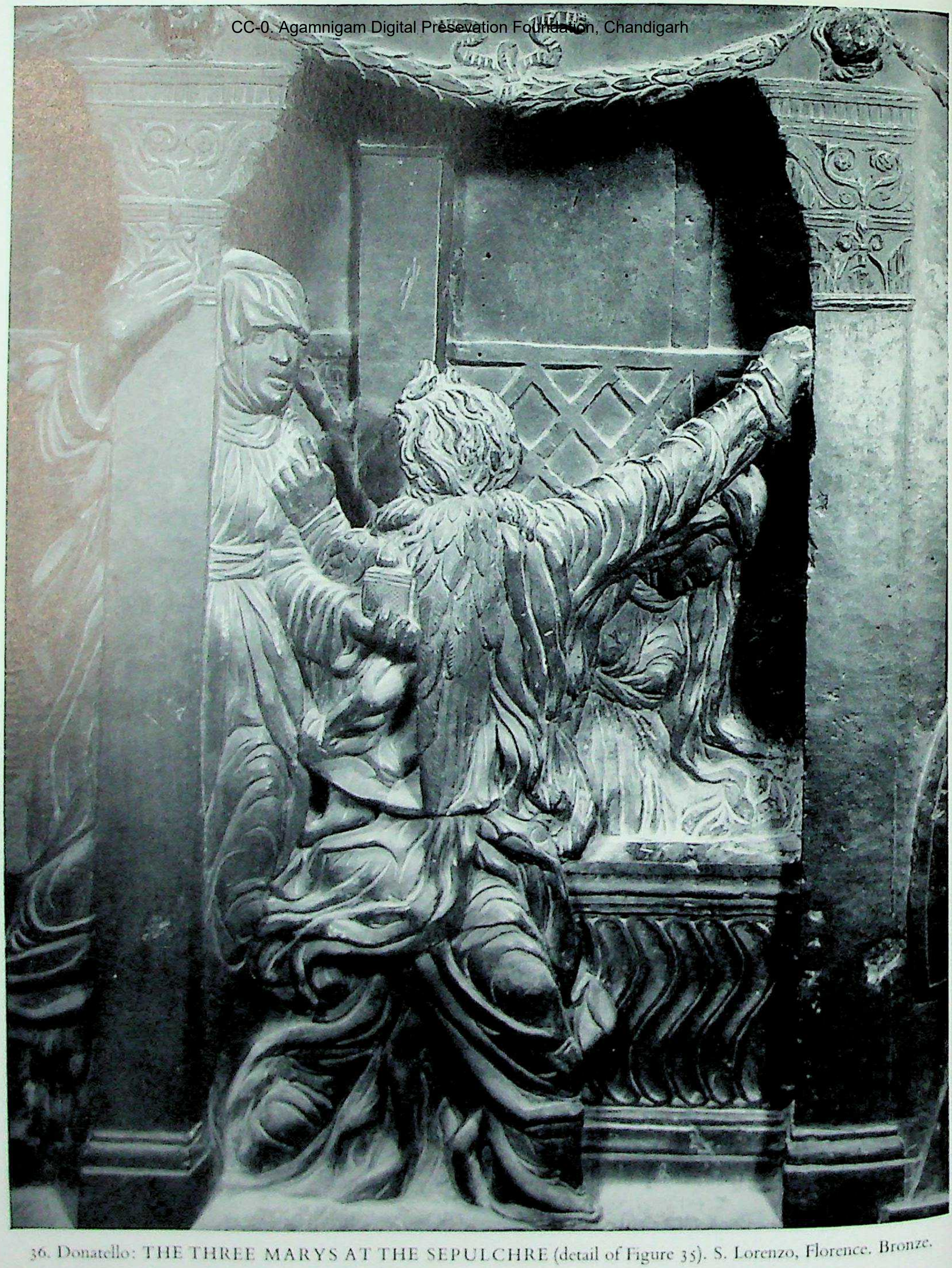
33. Donatello: HEAD OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN (detail of Figure 13). Baptistry, Florence. Wood (H. overall 188 cm.).



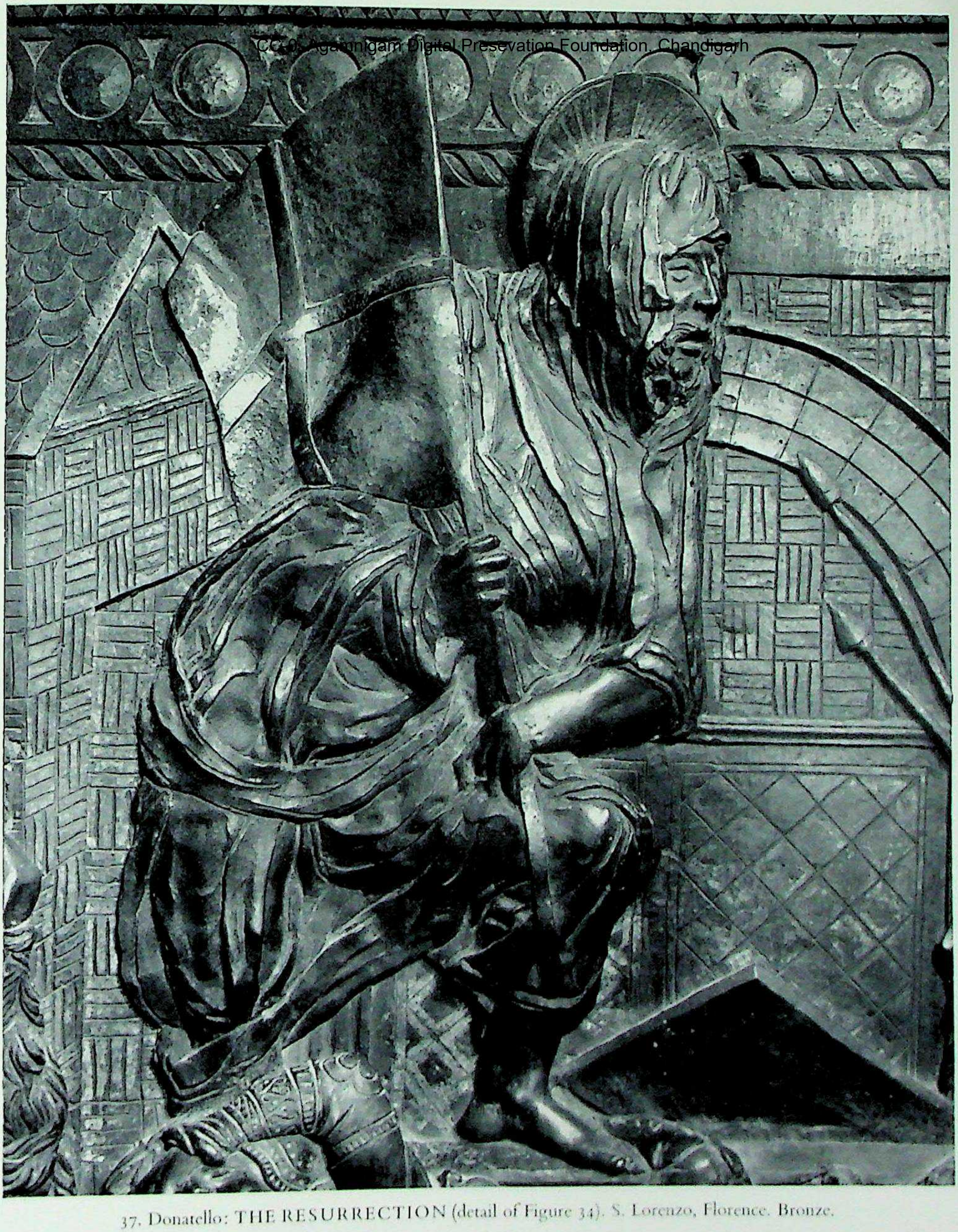
34. Donatello: THE LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST. S. Lorenzo, Florence. Bronze.



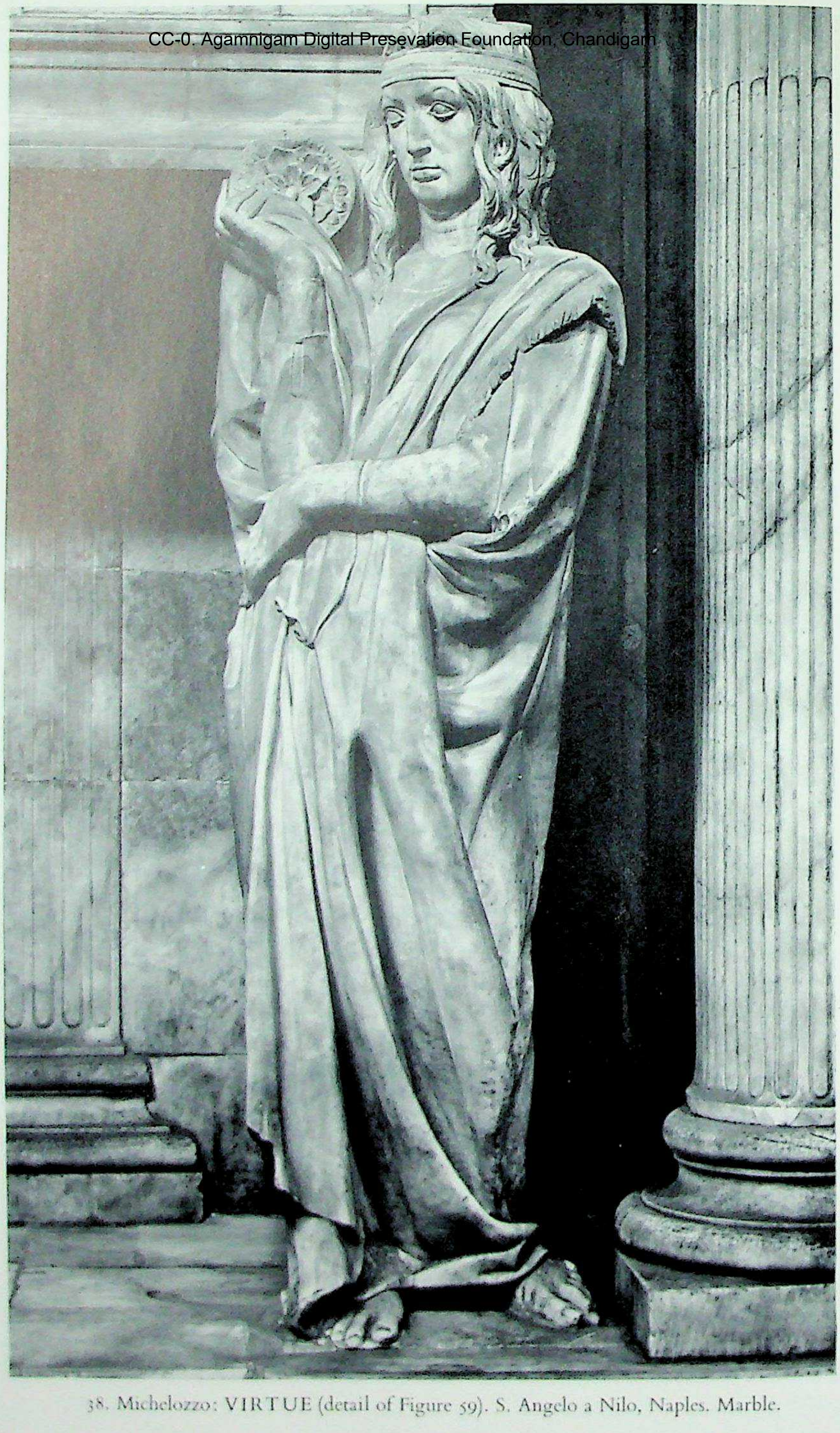
35. Donatello: CHRIST IN LIMBO (detail of Figure 34). S. Lorenzo, Florence. Bronze.



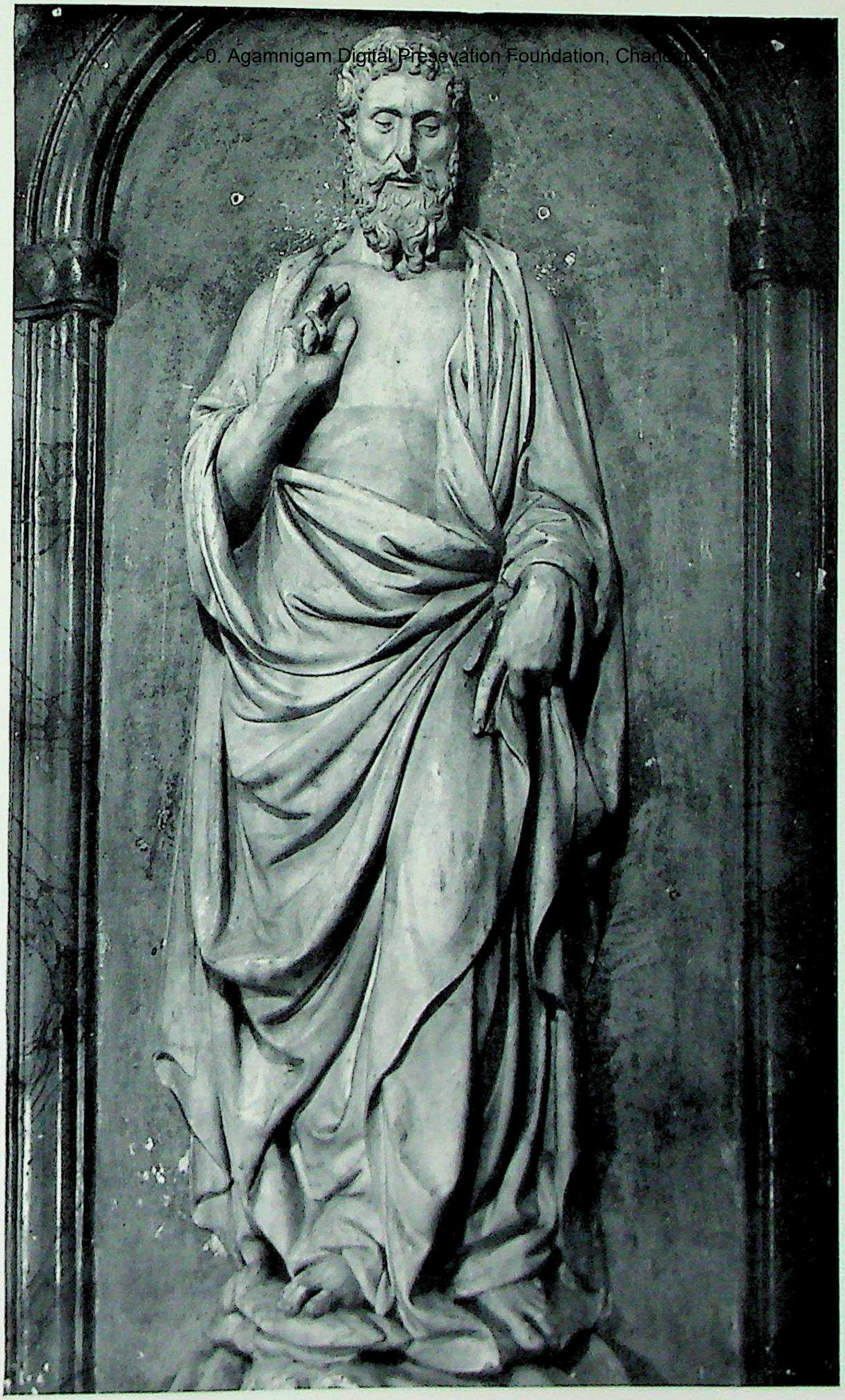
36. Donatello: THE THREE MARYS AT THE SEPULCHRE (detail of Figure 35). S. Lorenzo, Florence. Bronze.



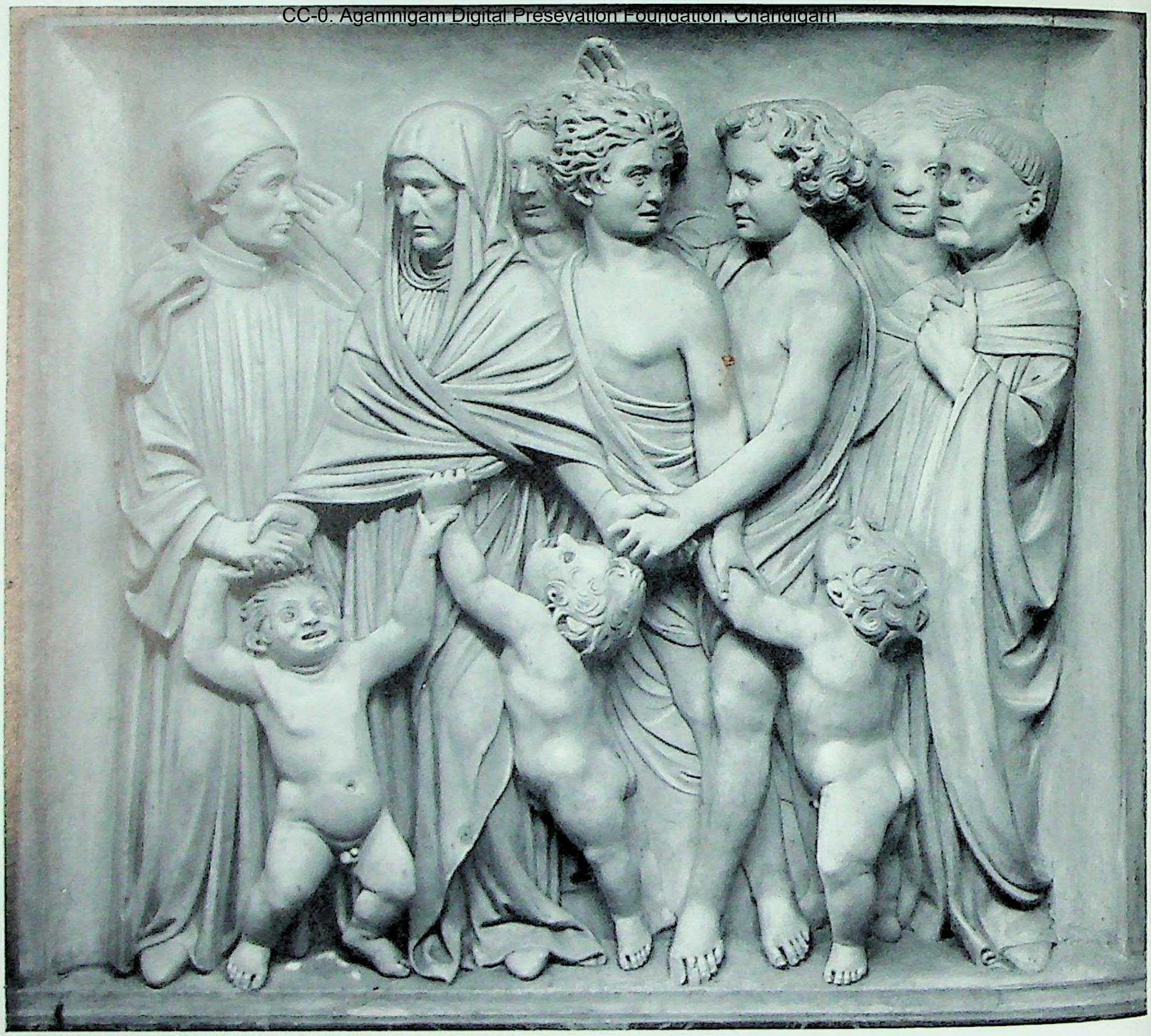
37. Donatello: THE RESURRECTION (detail of Figure 34). S. Lorenzo, Florence. Bronze.



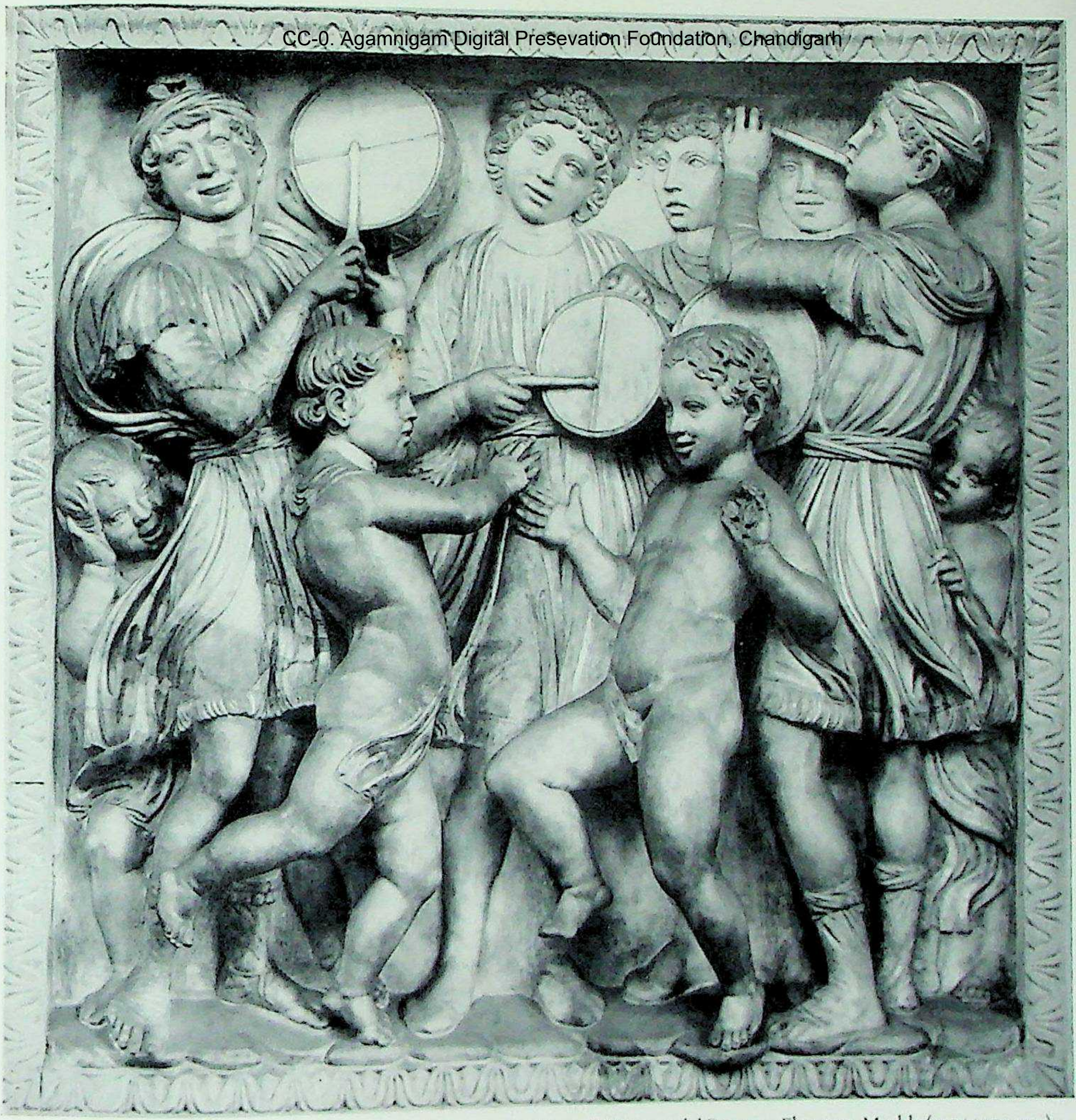
38. Michelozzo: VIRTUE (detail of Figure 59). S. Angelo a Nilo, Naples. Marble.



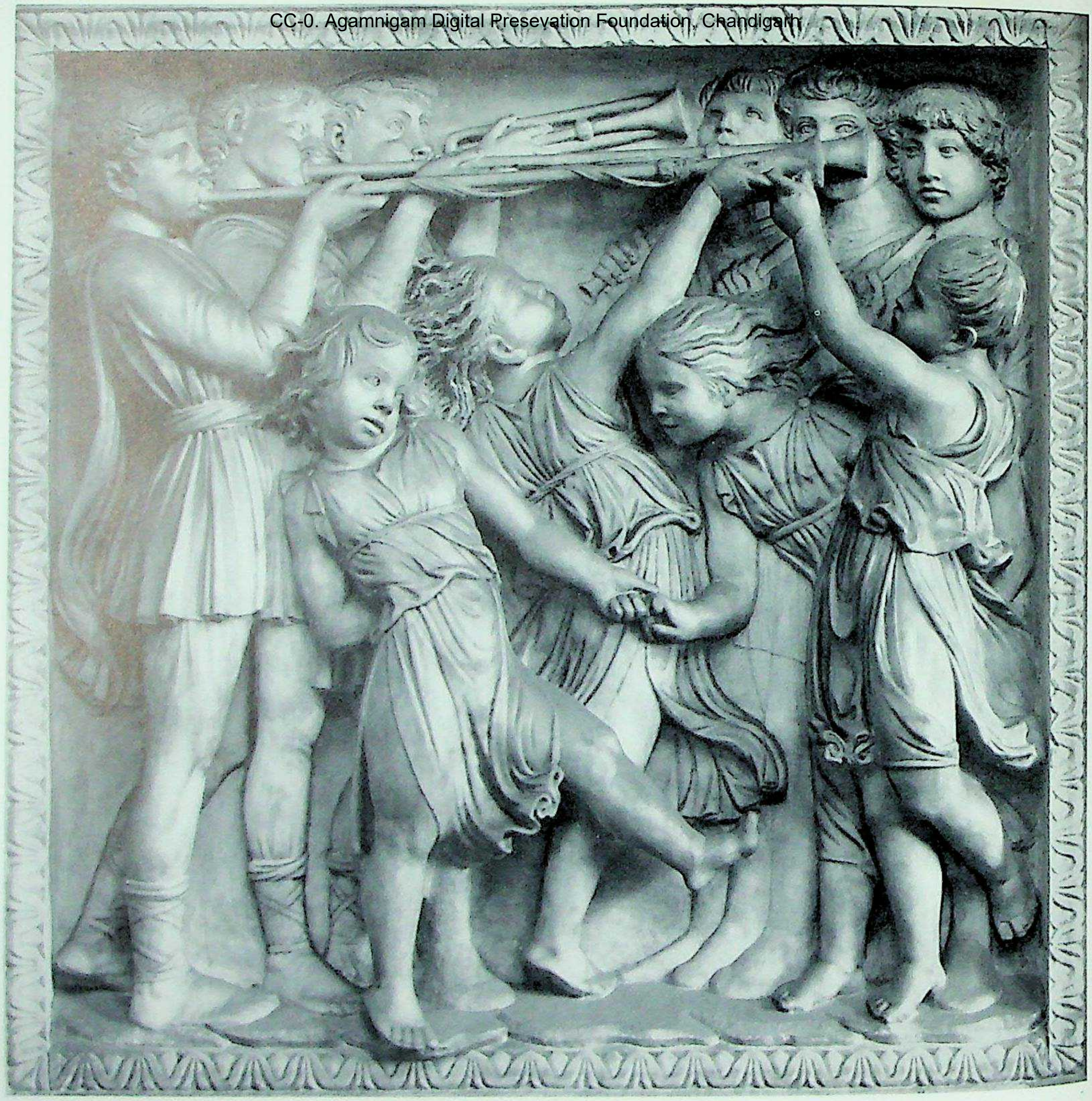
39. Michelozzo: ST. BARTHOLOMEW. Duomo, Montepulciano. Marble.



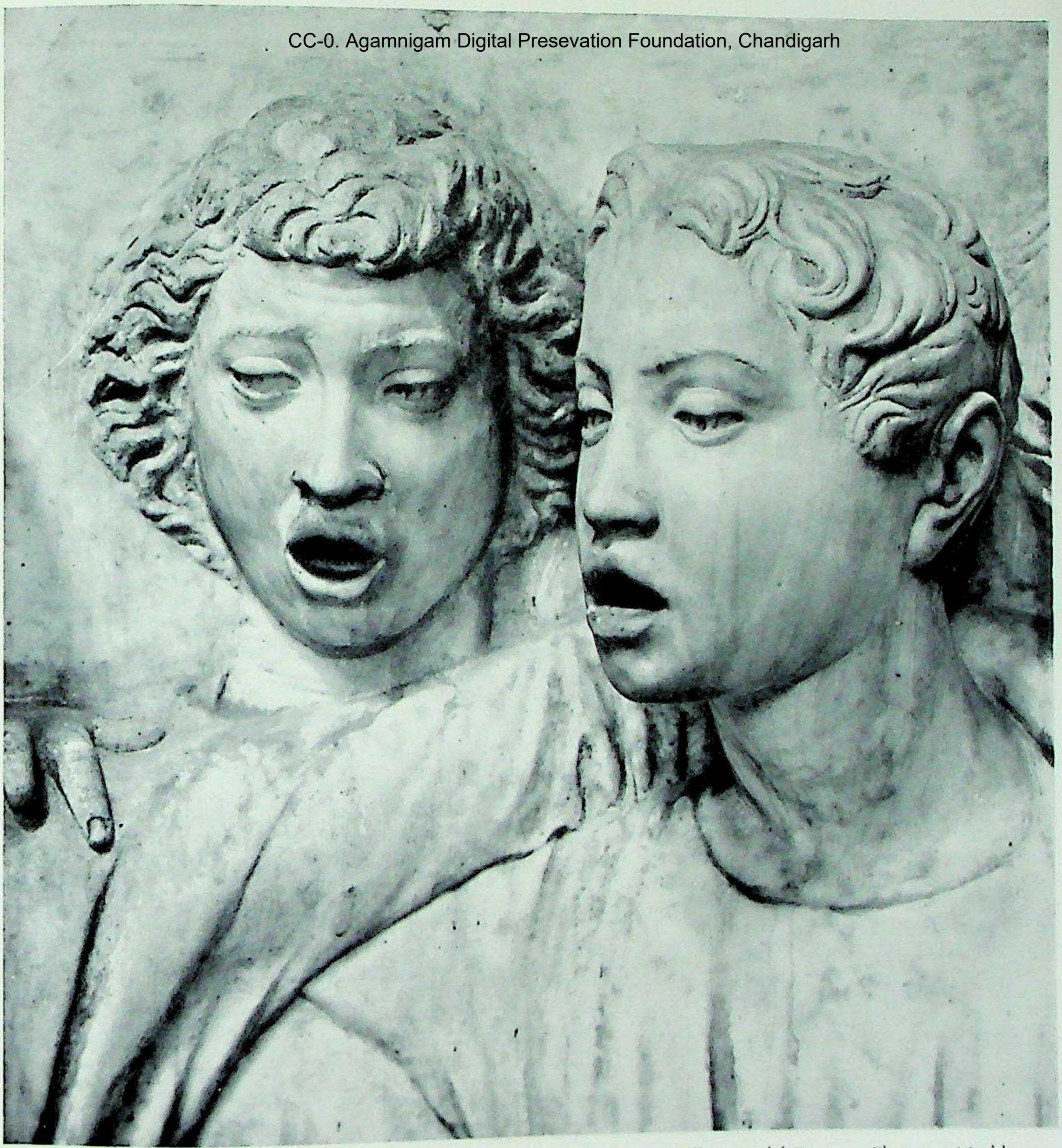
40. Michelozzo: BARTOLOMMEO ARAGAZZI BIDDING FAREWELL TO HIS FAMILY.
Duomo, Montepulciano. Marble.



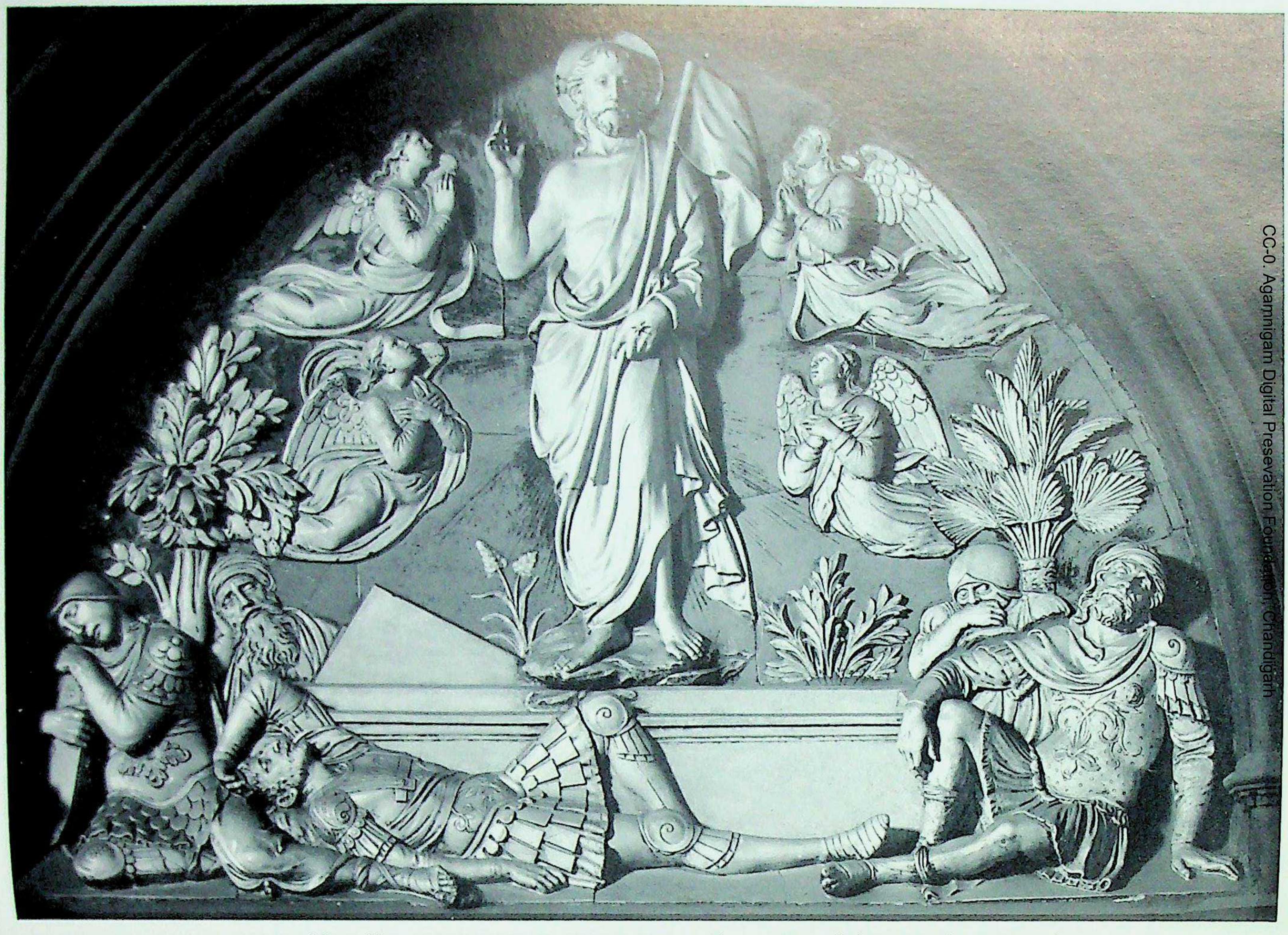
41. Luca della Robbia: DRUMMERS (detail of Figure 19). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (107 × 104 cm.).



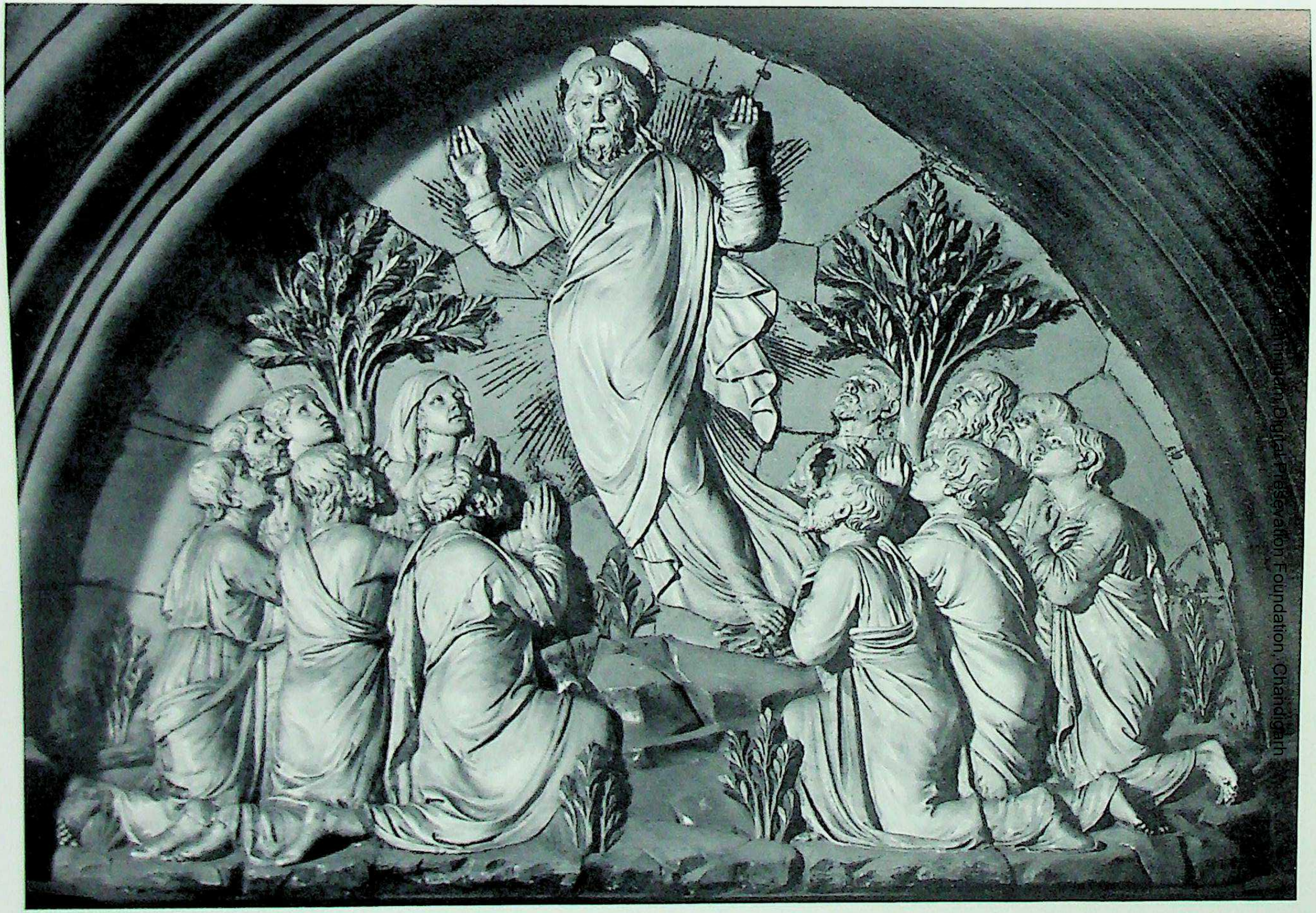
42. Luca della Robbia: TRUMPETERS (detail of Figure 19). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble (107 × 104 cm.).



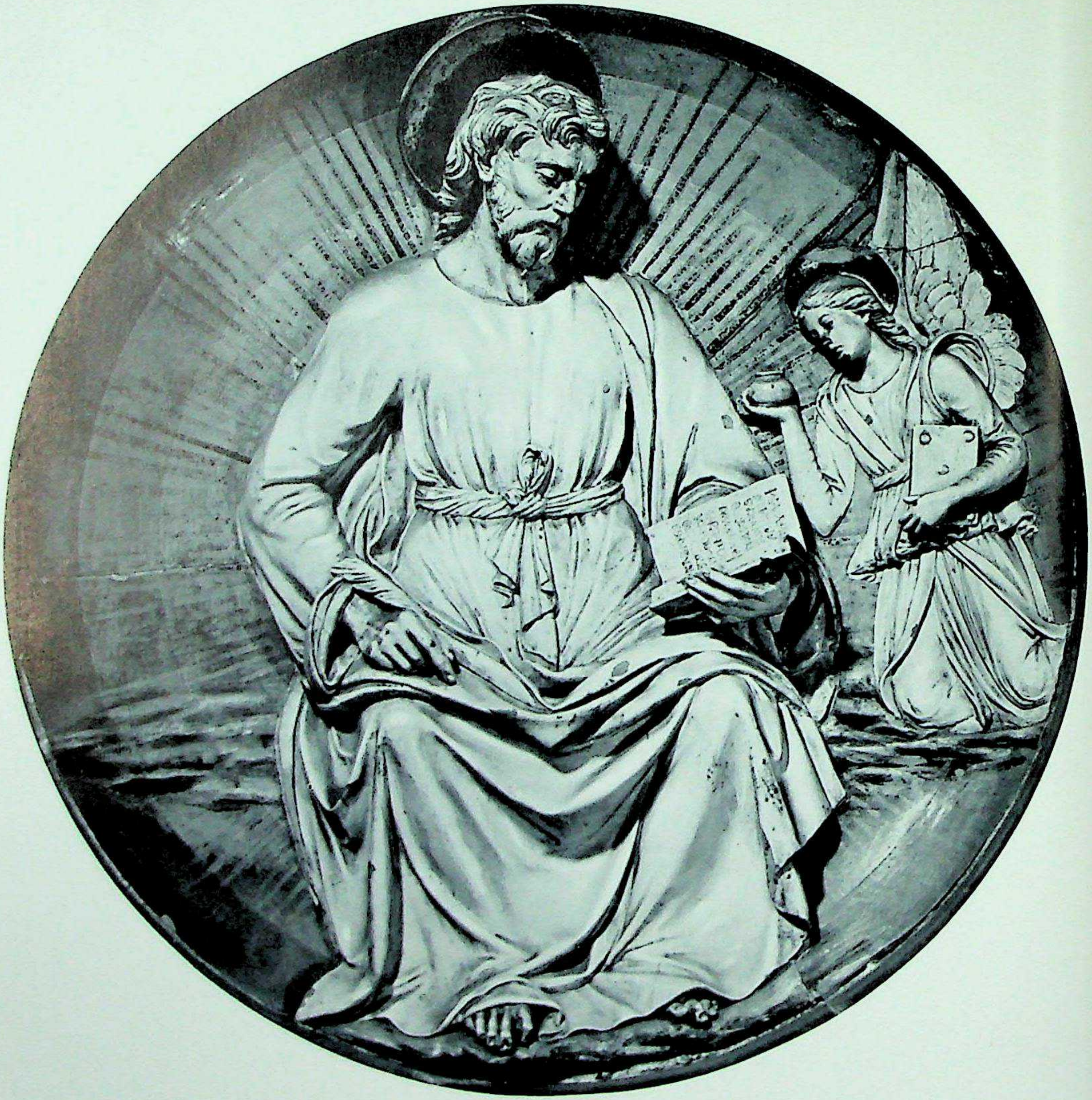
43. Luca della Robbia: SINGING BOYS (detail of Figure 31). Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Marble.



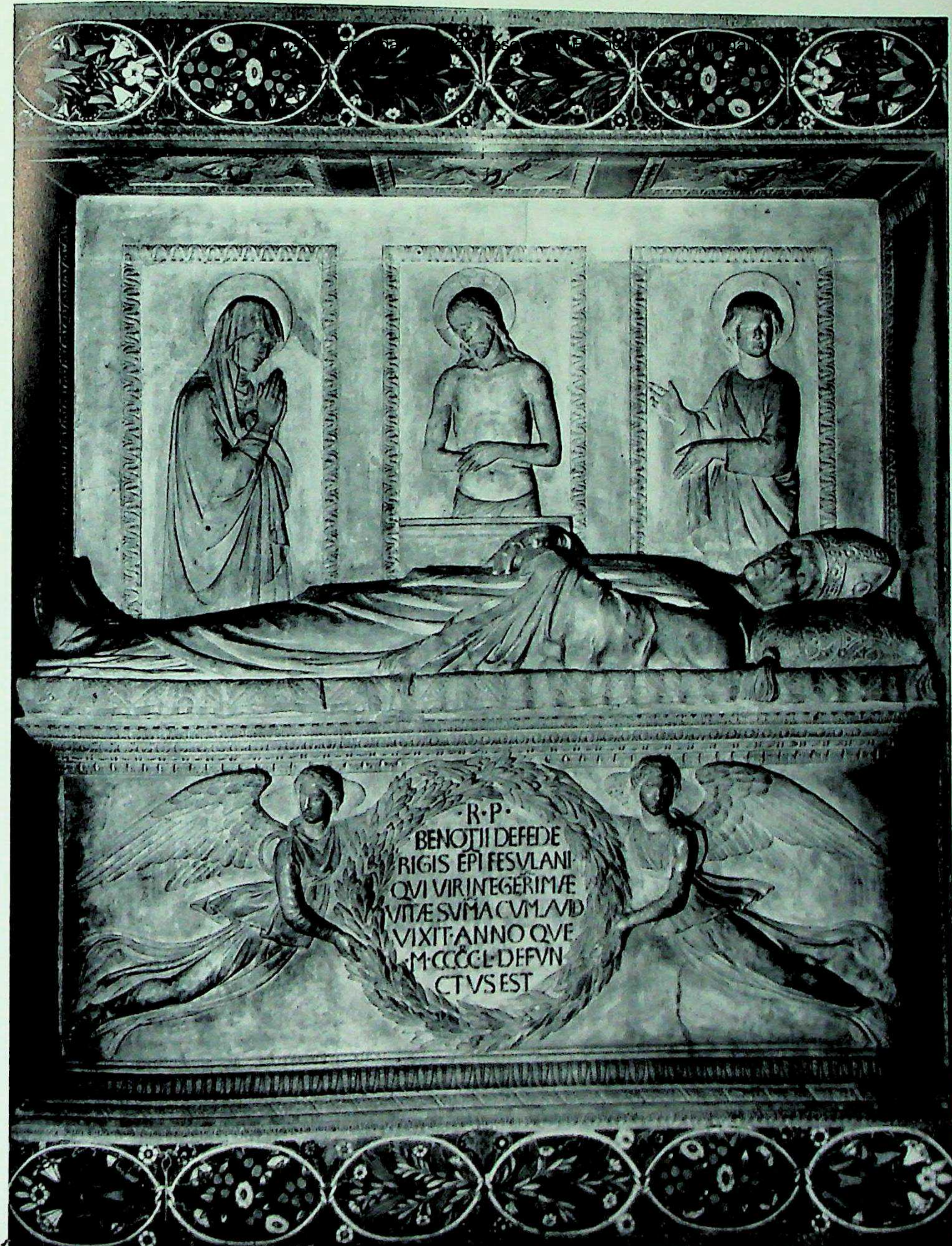
44. Luca della Robbia: THE RESURRECTION. Duomo, Florence. Enamelled terracotta (200×260 cm.).



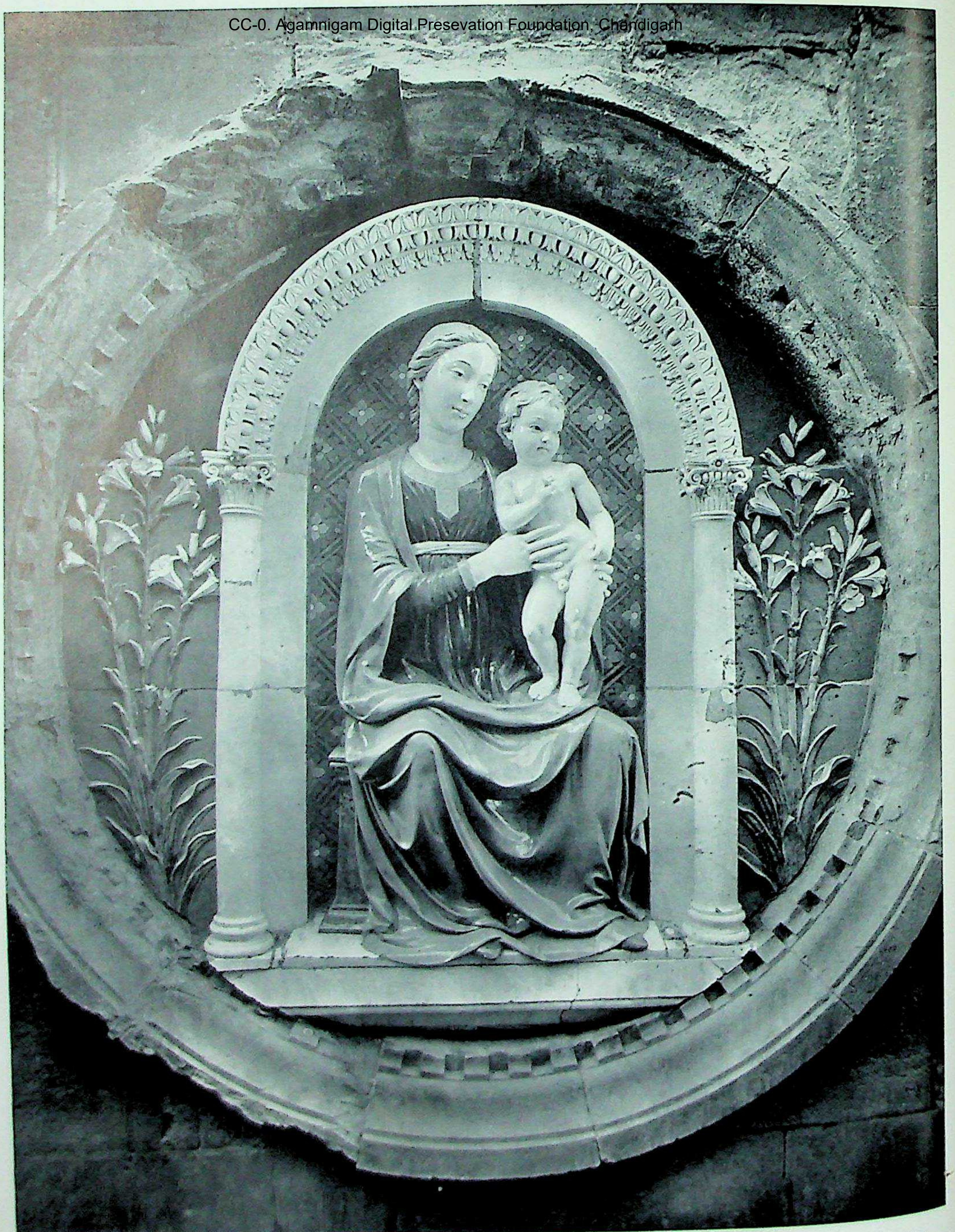
45. Luca della Robbia: THE ASCENSION. Duomo, Florence. Enamelled terracotta (200 × 260 cm.).



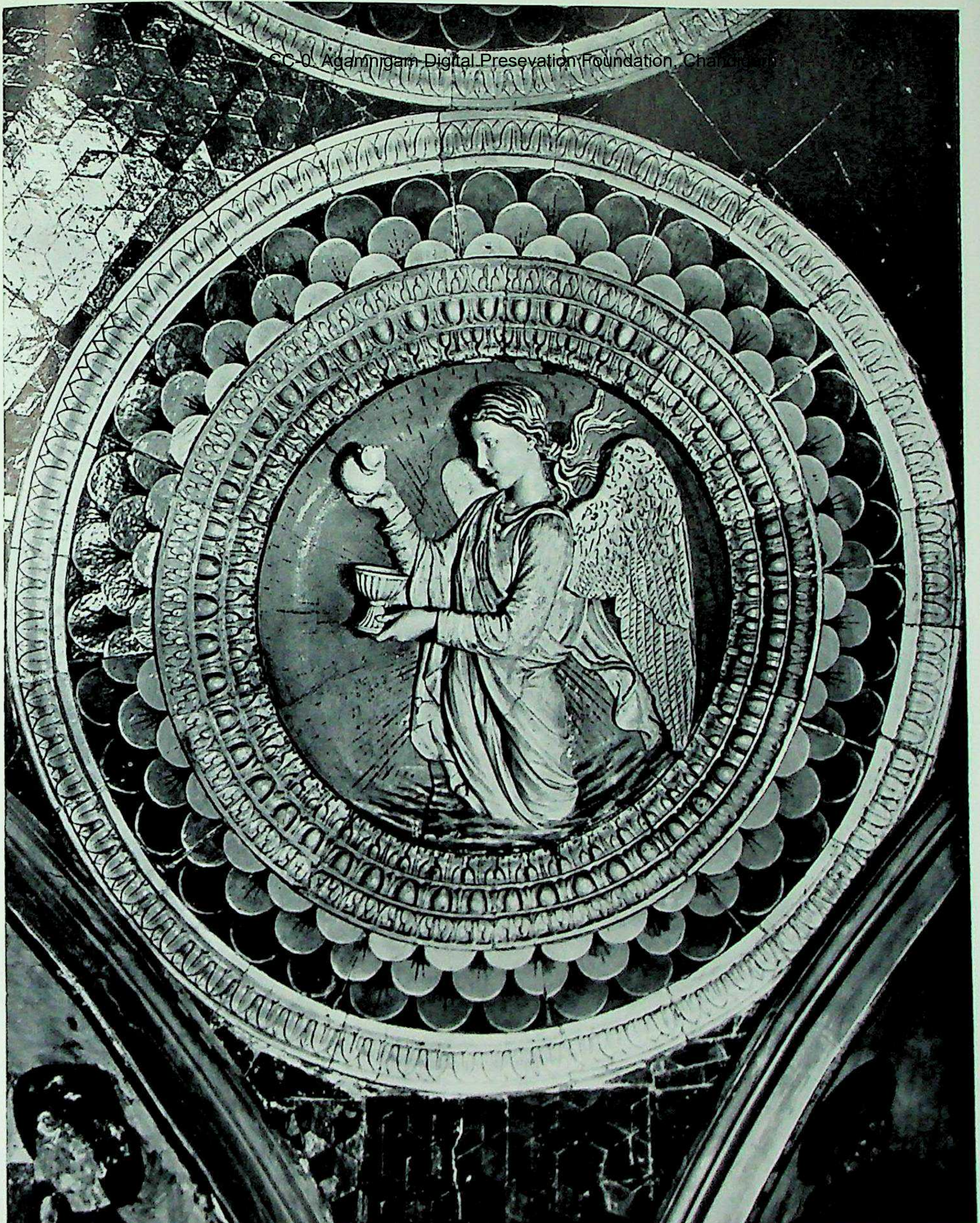
46. Luca della Robbia: ST. MATTHEW (detail of Figure 40). Pazzi Chapel, S. Croce, Florence.
Enamelled terracotta (diameter 134 cm.).


R·P
BENOZII DEFEDE
RIGIS EPI FESVLANI
QVI VIR INTEGERIMAE
VITAE SVMA CVM LAVD
VIXIT ANNO QVE
M·CCCCL·DEFVN
CTVS EST

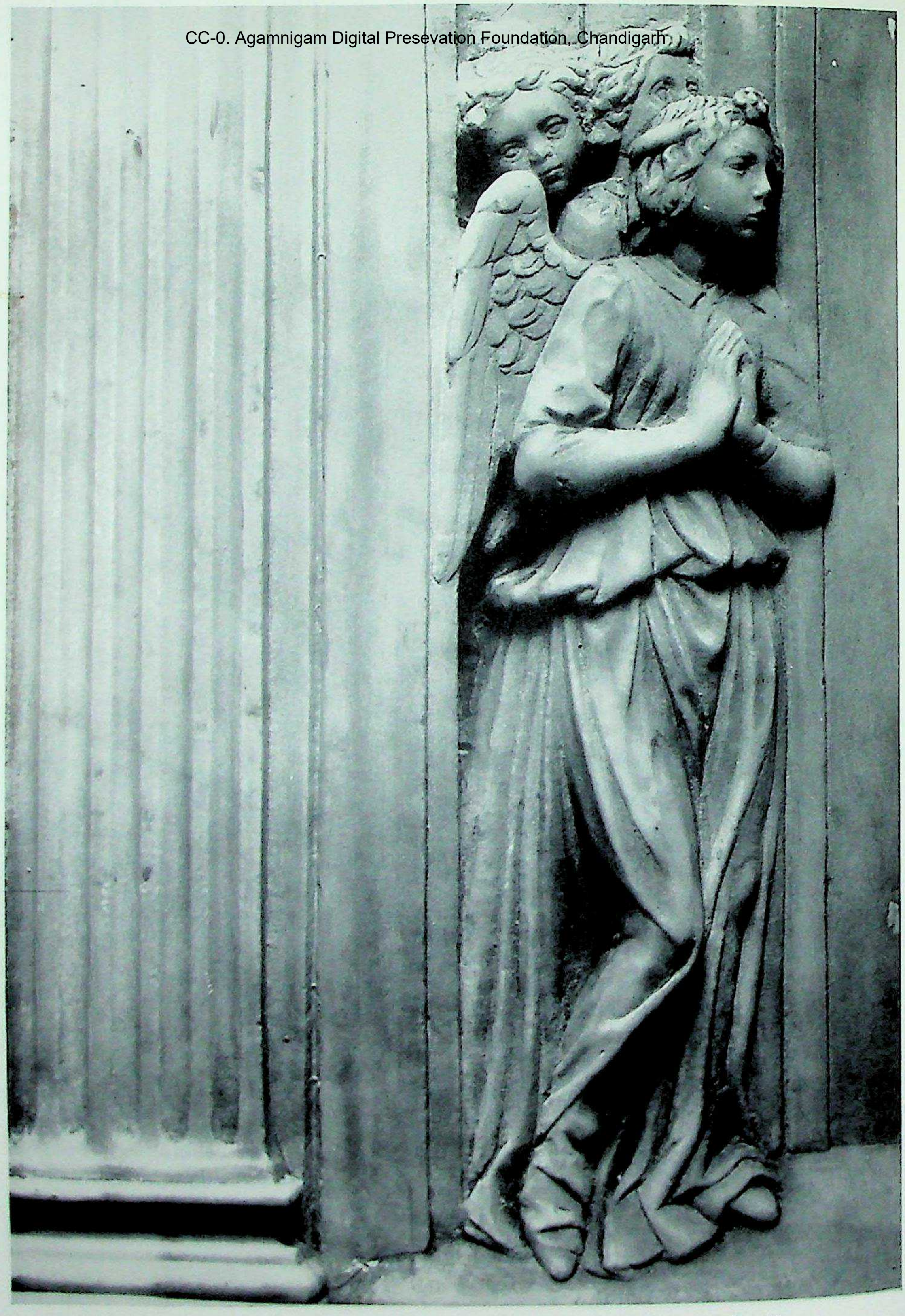
47. Luca della Robbia: THE FEDERIGHI MONUMENT. S. Trinità, Florence.
Marble, with enamelled terracotta surround (overall 270×257 cm.).



48. Luca della Robbia: STEMMA OF THE ARTE DEI MEDICI E SPEZIALI. Or San Michele, Florence. Enamelled terracotta (diameter 180 cm.).



49. Luca della Robbia: TEMPERANCE (detail of Figure 65). S. Miniato al Monte, Florence.
Enamalled terracotta (diameter of medallion 200 cm.).



50. Bernardo Rossellino: ADORING ANGELS (detail of Figure 44). S. Egidio, Florence. Marble (overall without console 140×92 cm.).

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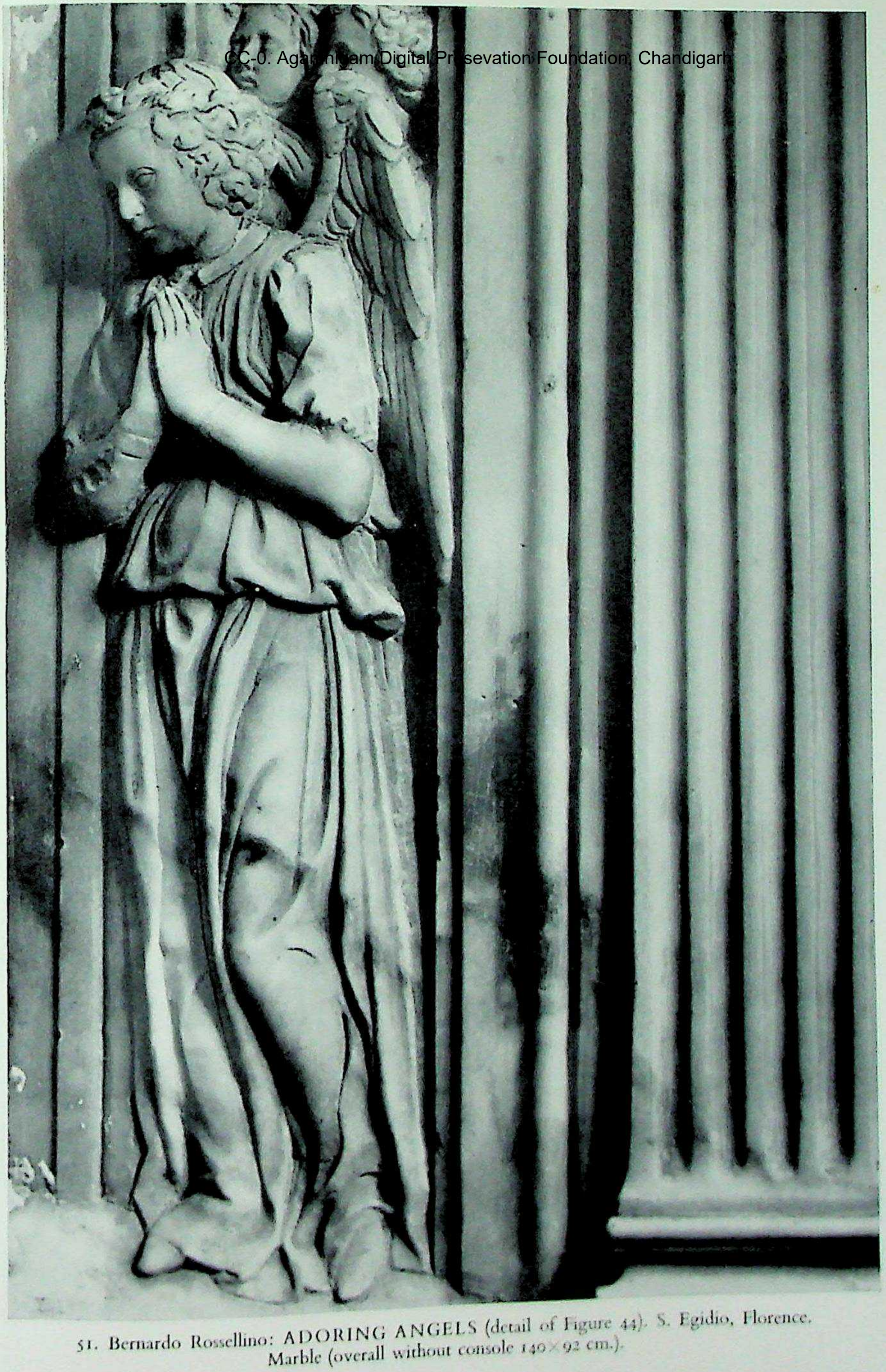
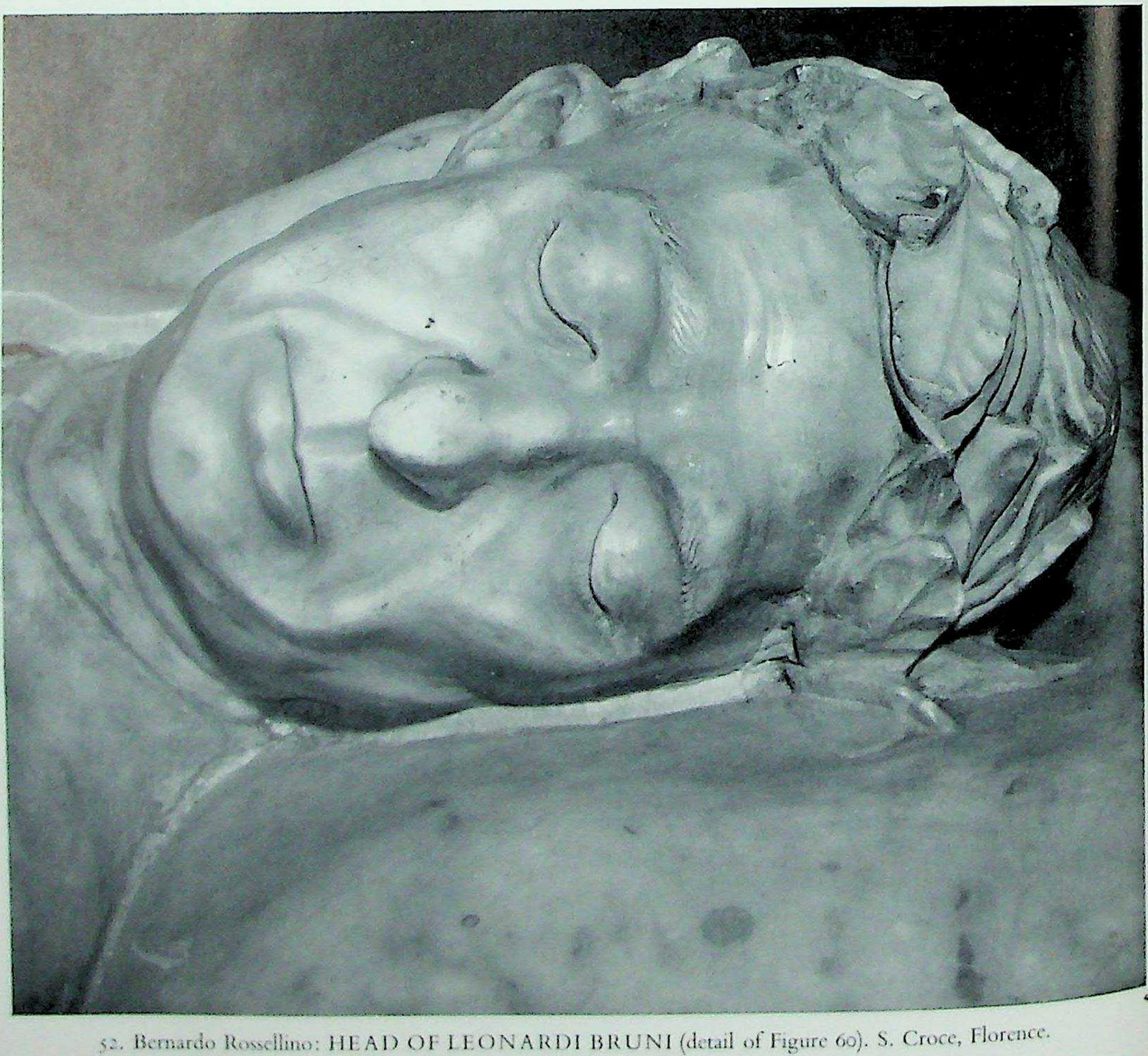
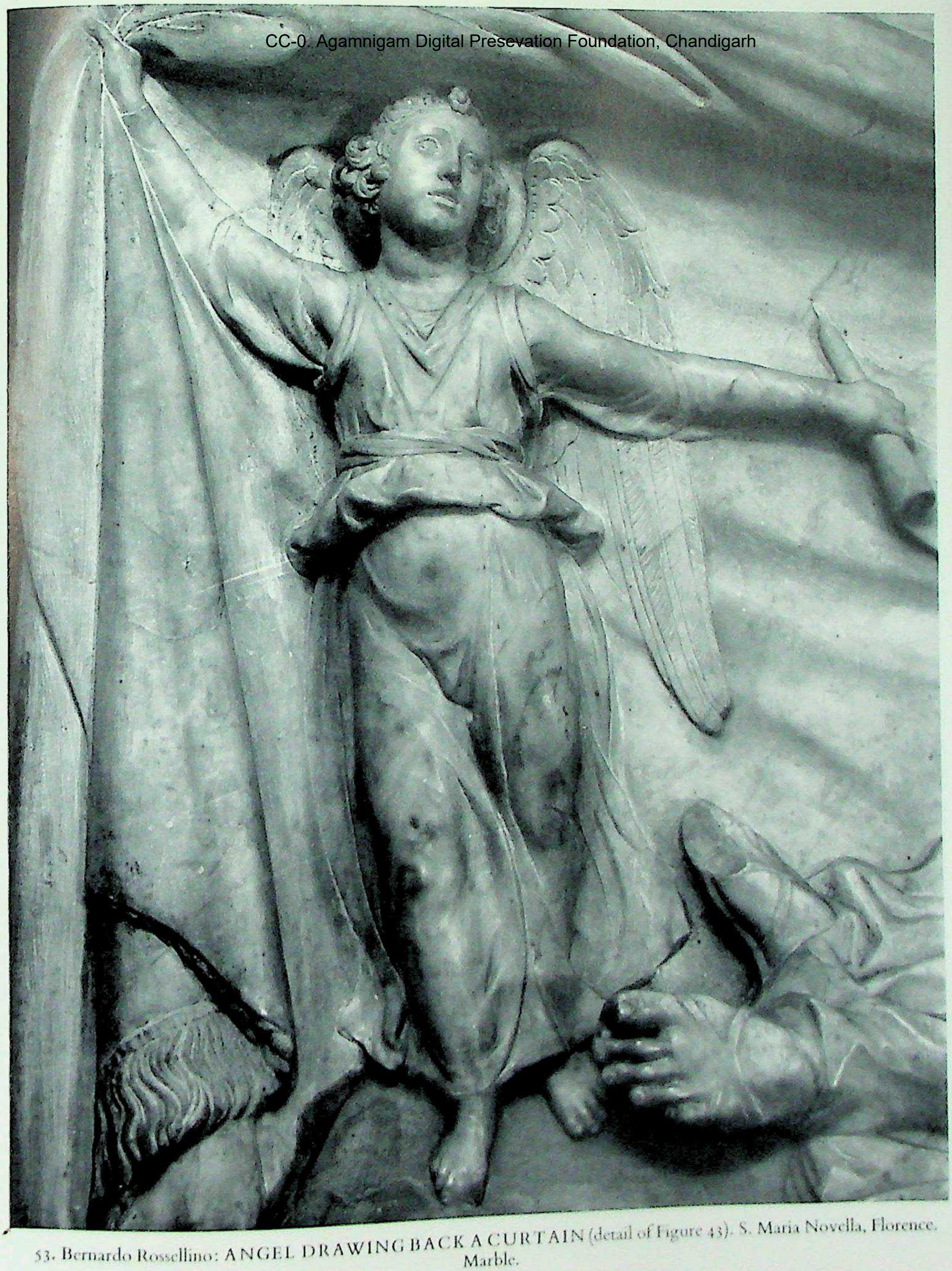


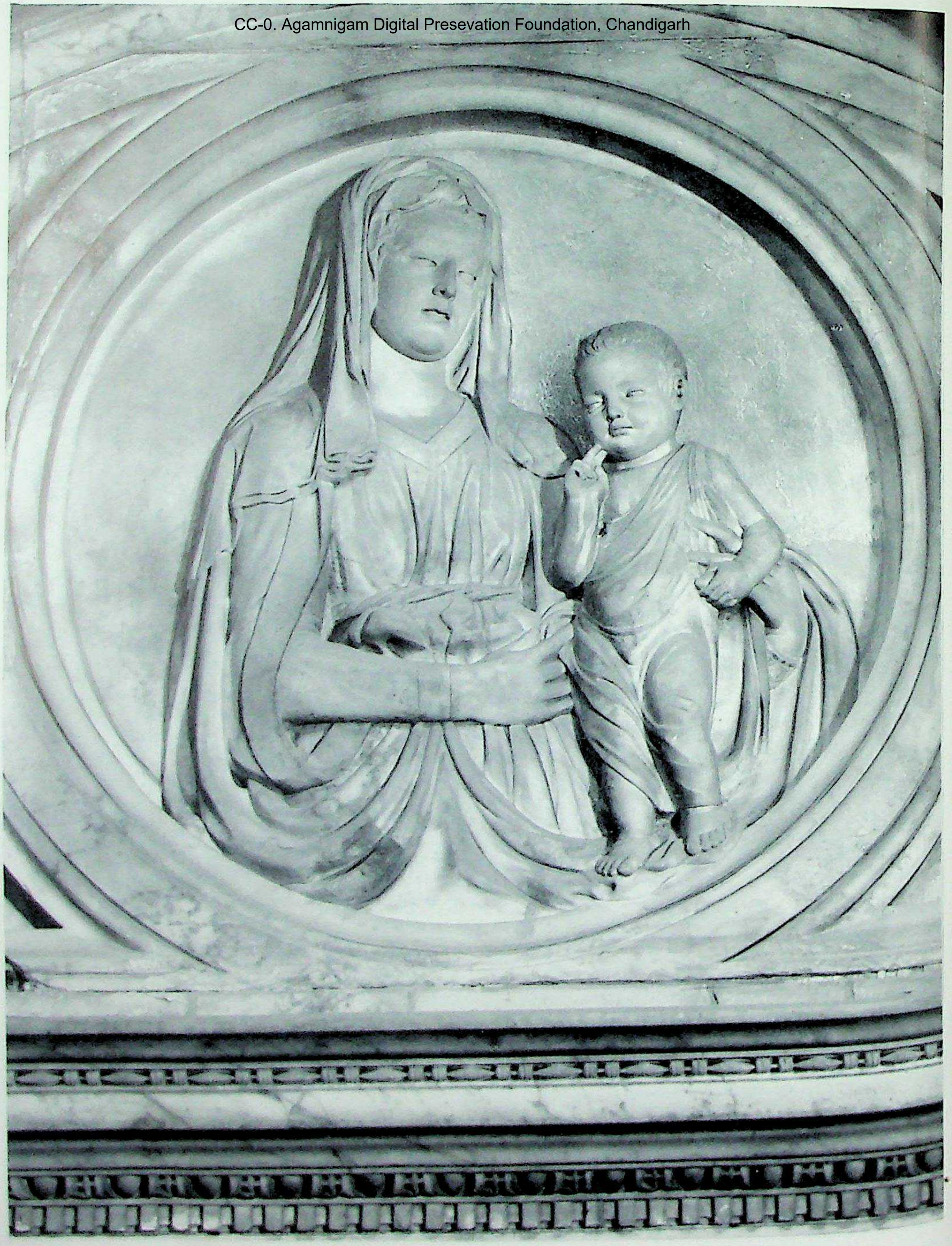
51. Bernardo Rossellino: ADORING ANGELS (detail of Figure 44). S. Egidio, Florence. Marble (overall without console 140×92 cm.).



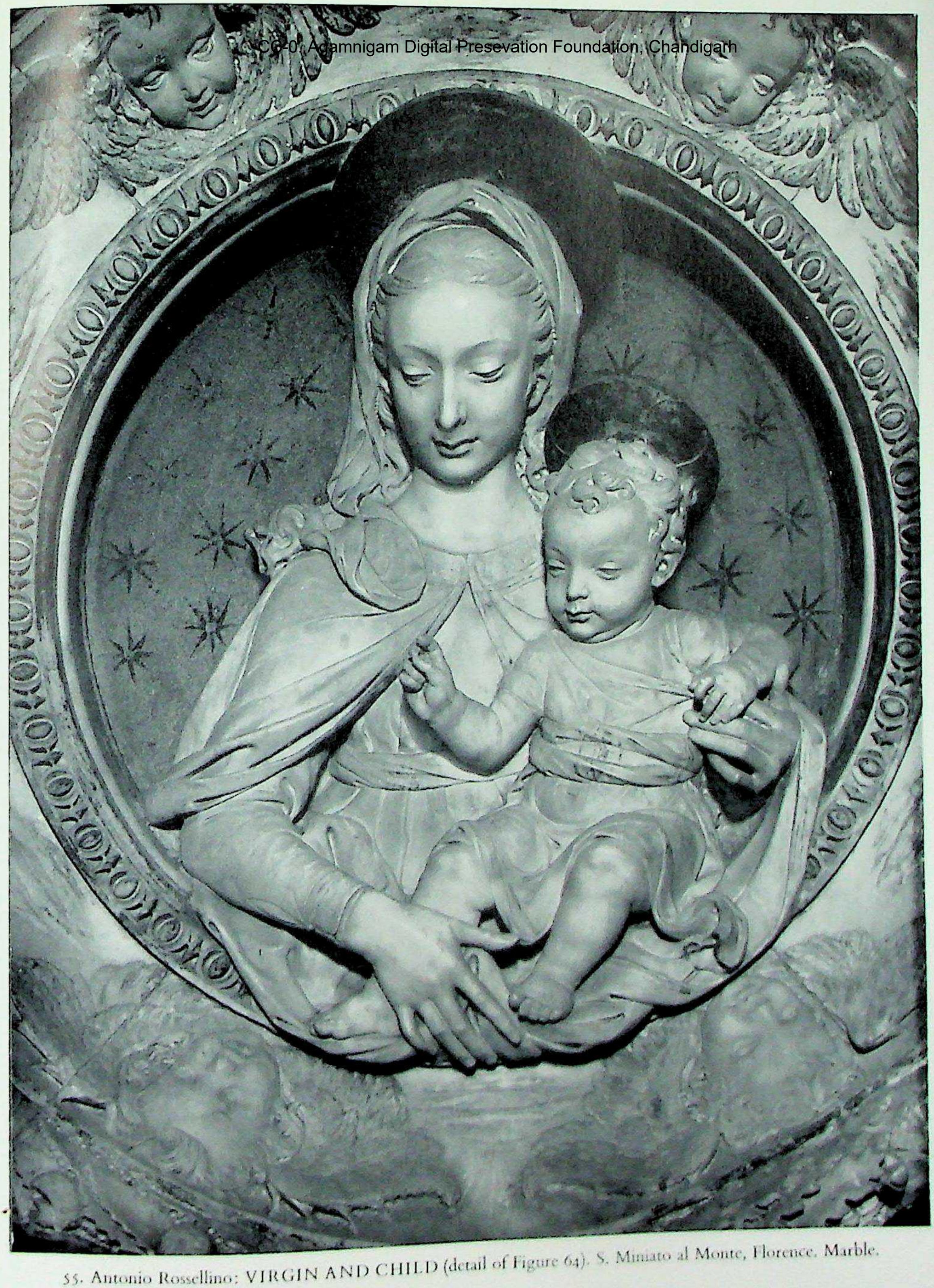
52. Bernardo Rossellino: HEAD OF LEONARDI BRUNI (detail of Figure 60). S. Croce, Florence. Marble



53. Bernardo Rossellino: ANGEL DRAWING BACK A CURTAIN (detail of Figure 43). S. Maria Novella, Florence. Marble.



54. Bernardo Rossellino: VIRGIN AND CHILD (detail of Figure 60). S. Croce, Florence. Marble.



55. Antonio Rossellino: VIRGIN AND CHILD (detail of Figure 64). S. Miniato al Monte, Florence. Marble.

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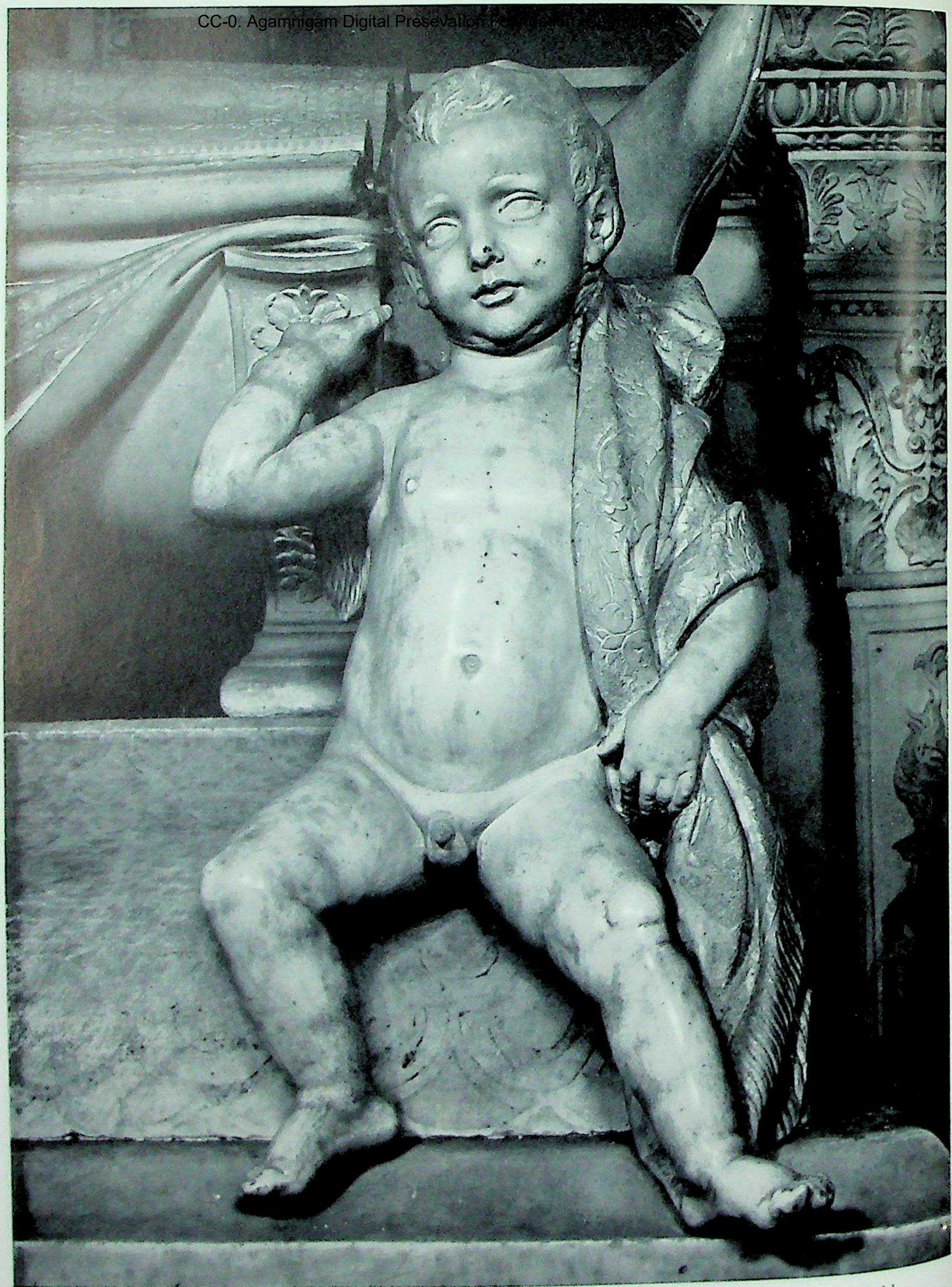
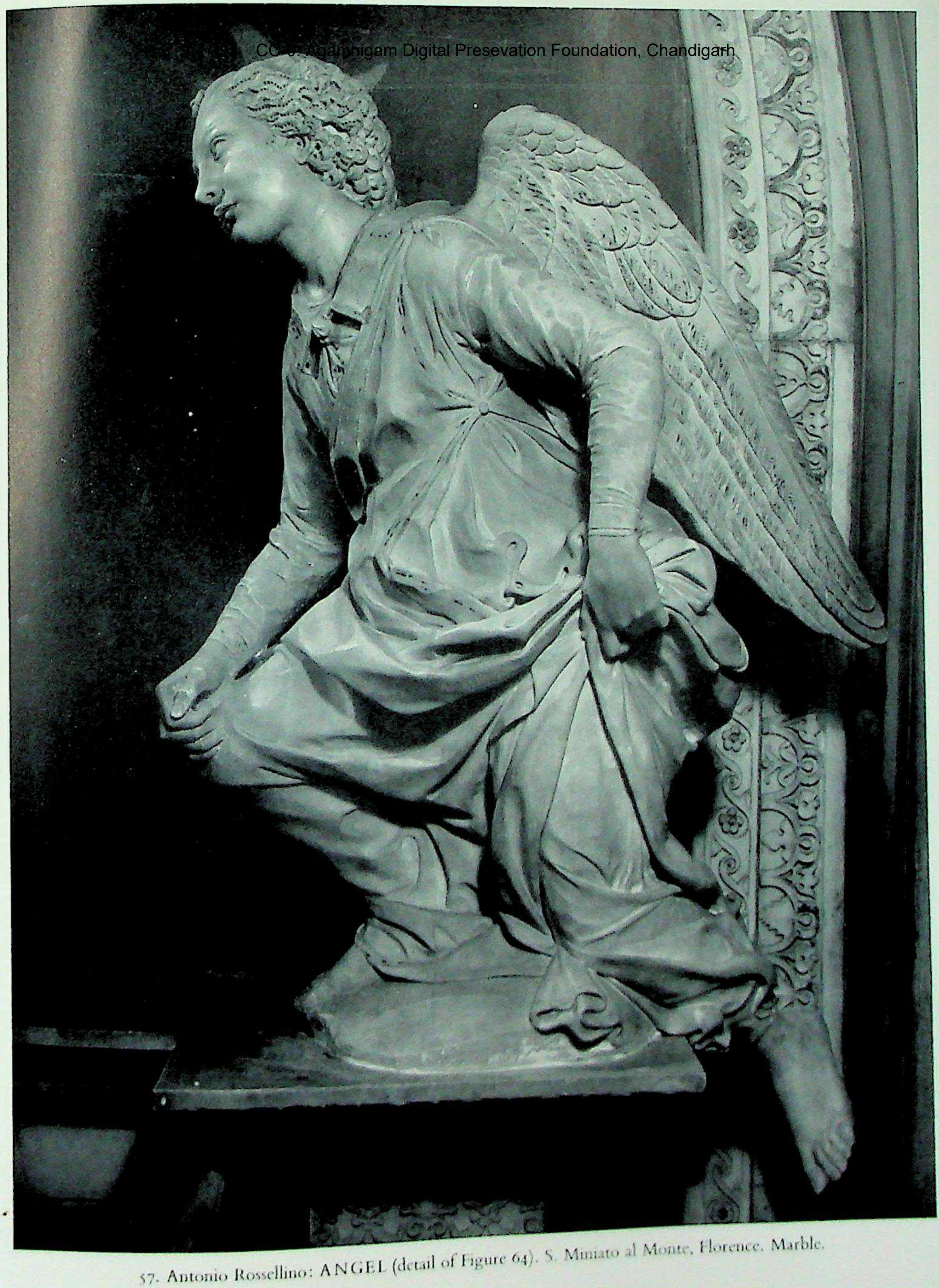
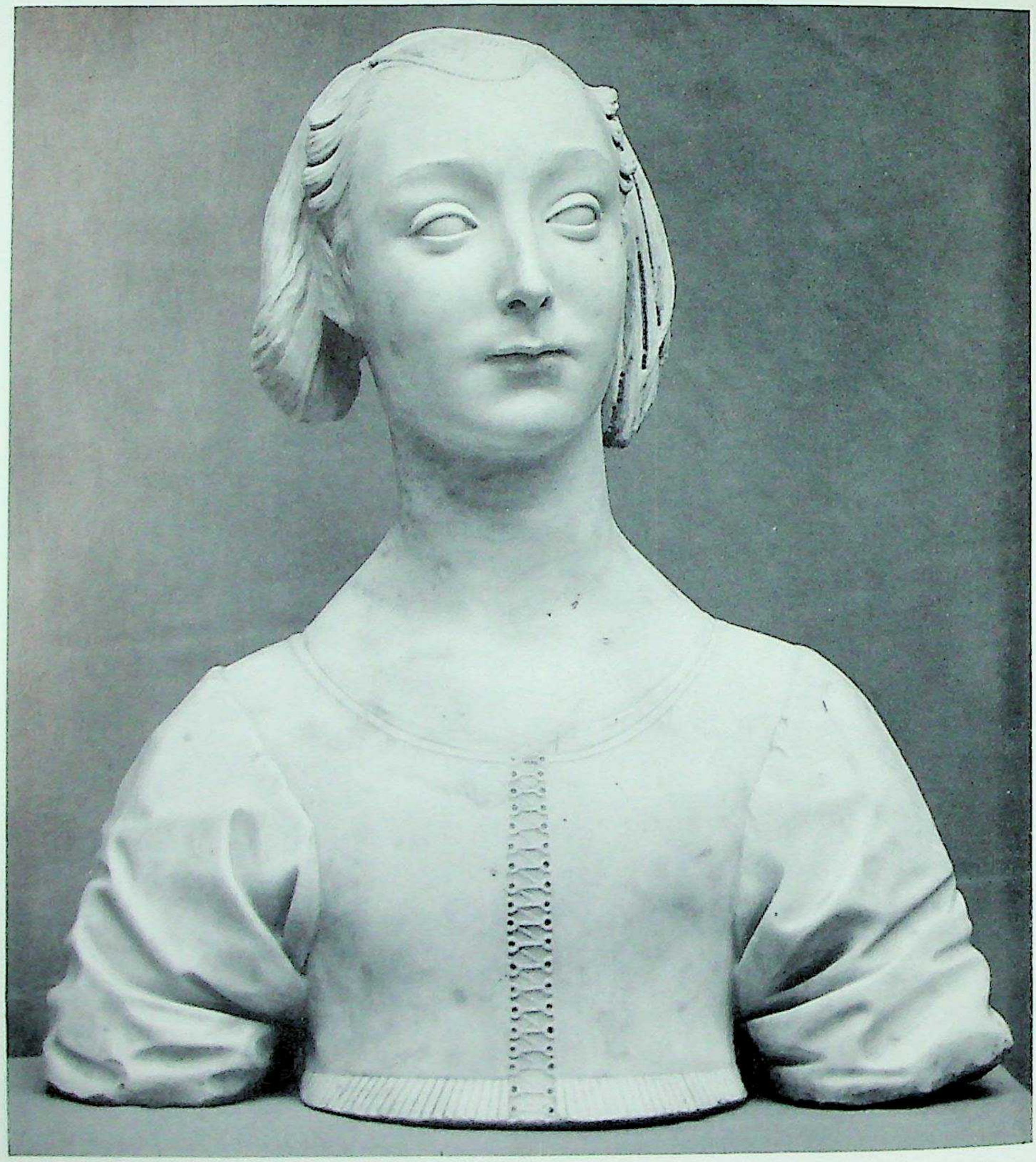


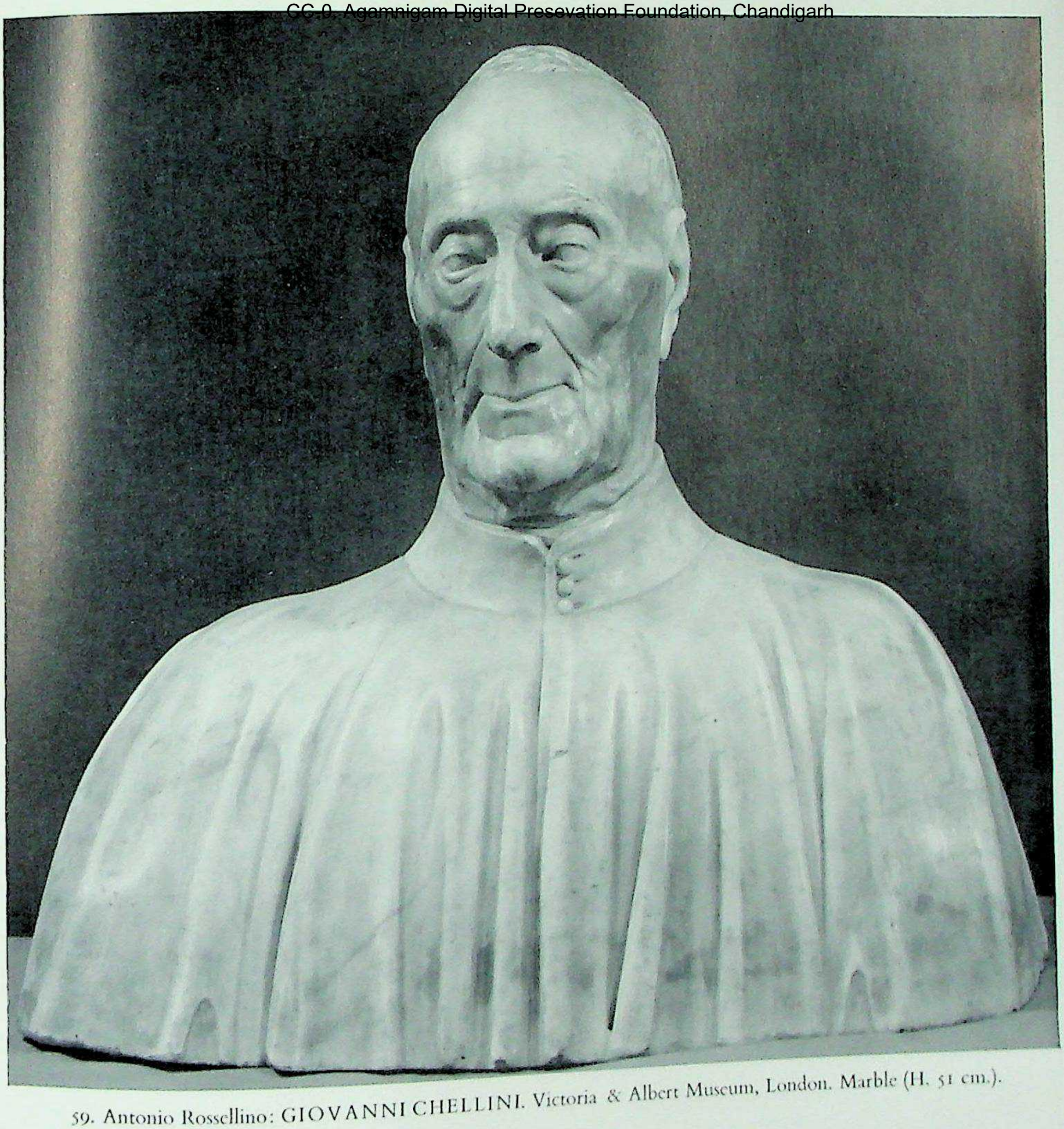
56. Antonio Rossellino: SEATED CHILD (detail of Figure 64). S. Miniato al Monte, Florence. Marble.



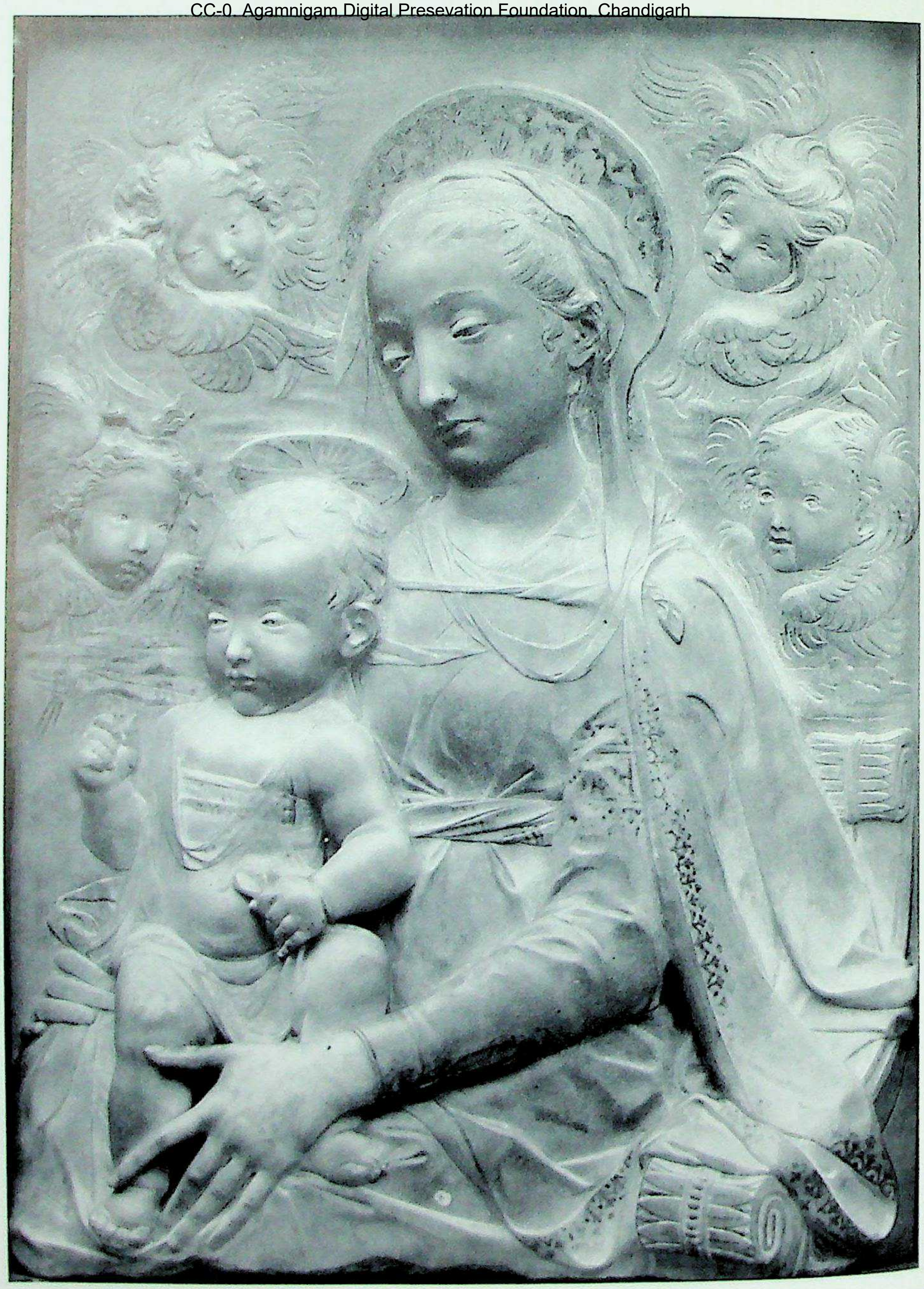
57. Antonio Rossellino: ANGEL (detail of Figure 64). S. Miniato al Monte, Florence. Marble.



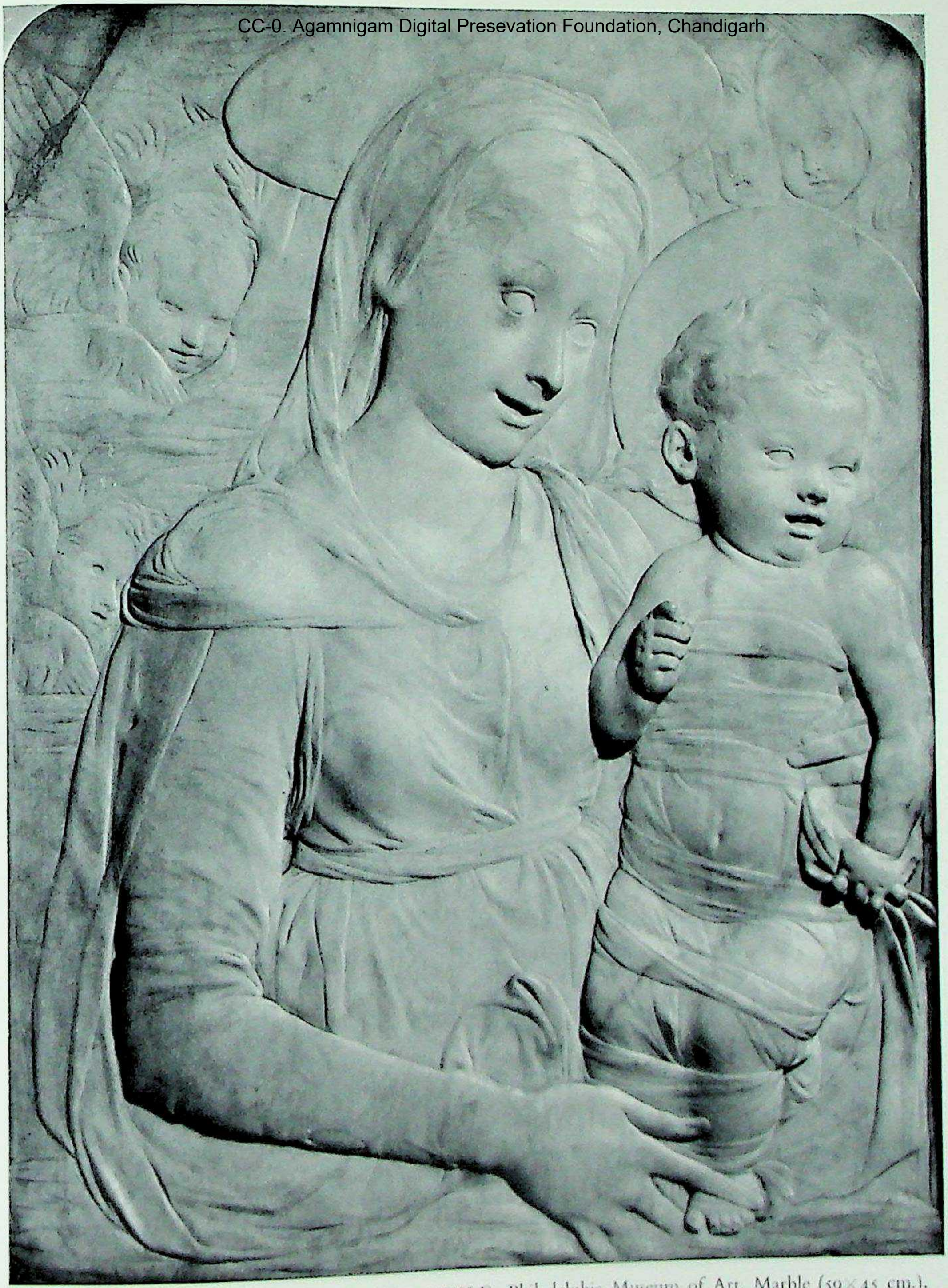
58. Antonio Rossellino: BUST OF A LADY. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Marble (H. 53 cm.).



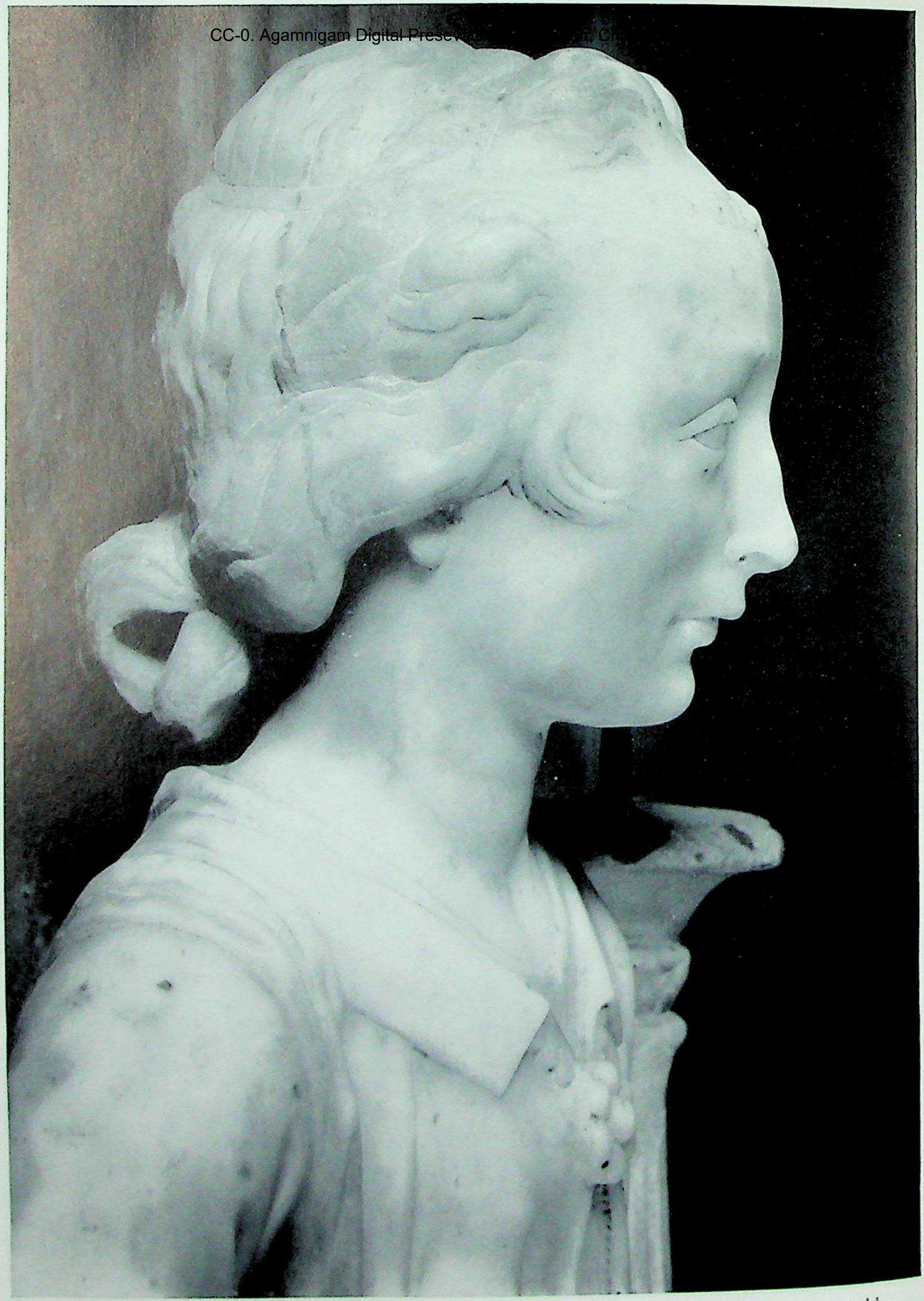
59. Antonio Rossellino: GIOVANNI CHELLINI. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Marble (H. 51 cm.).



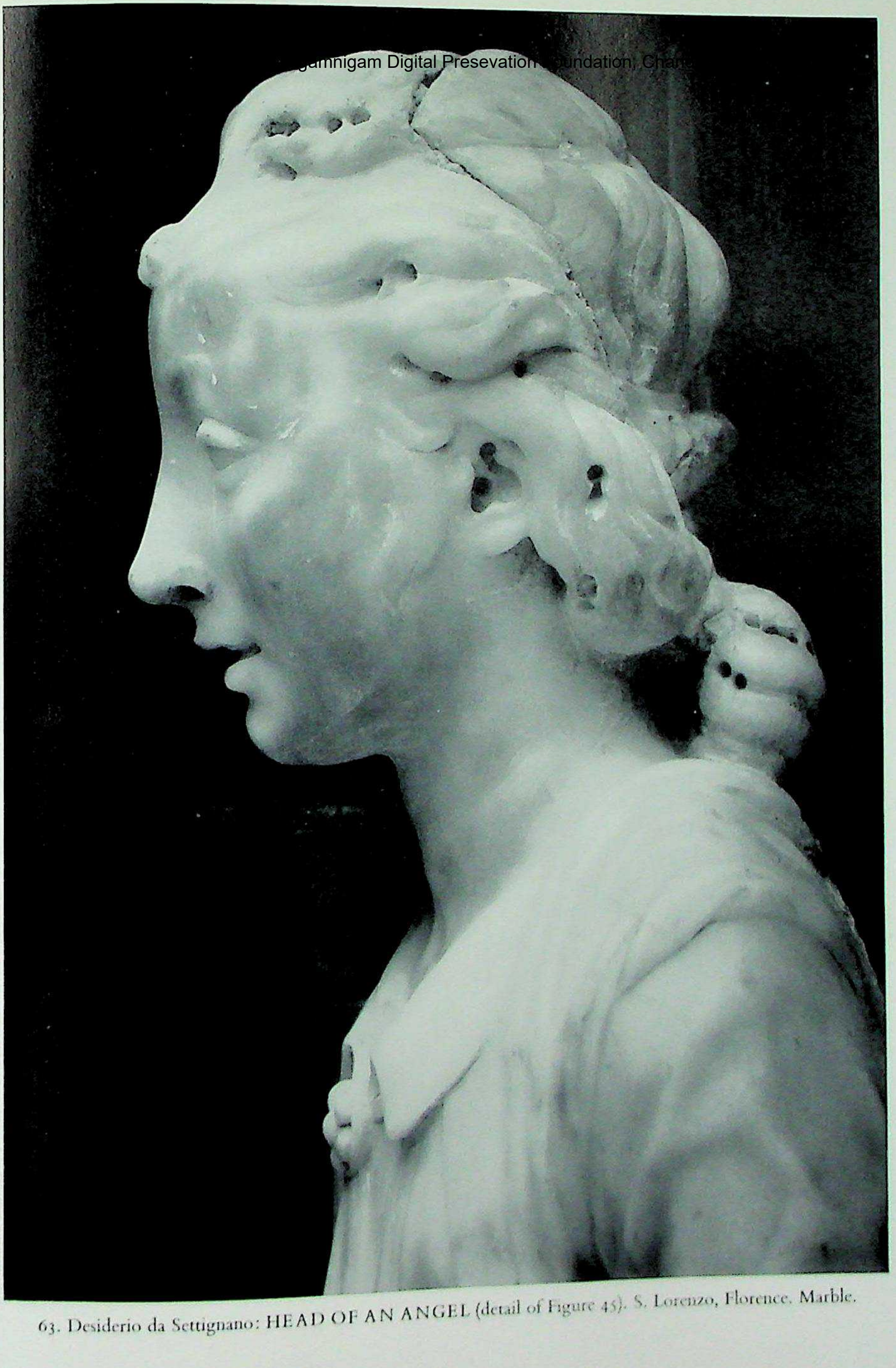
60. Antonio Rossellino: VIRGIN AND CHILD. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Marble (74×55 cm.).



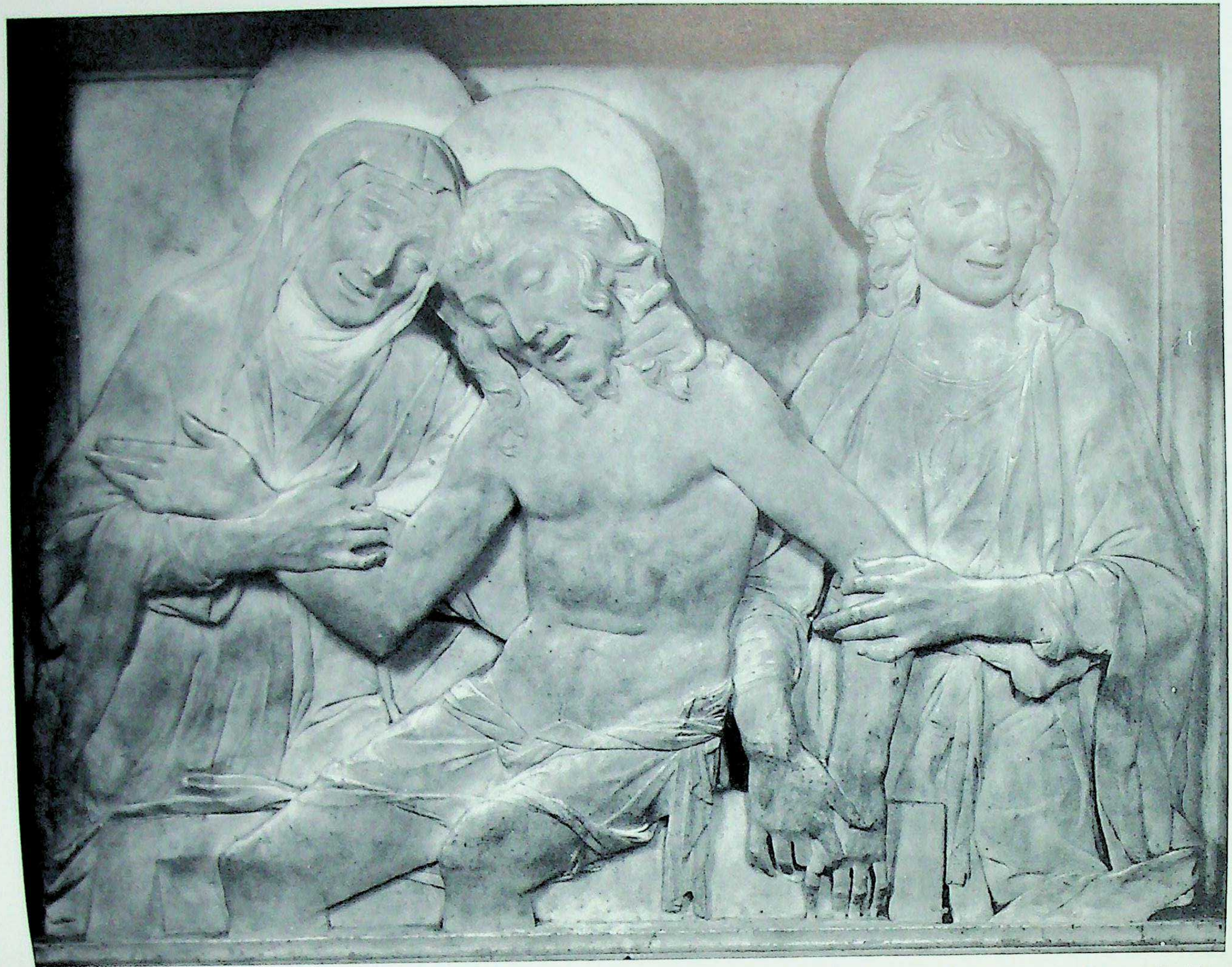
61. Desiderio da Settignano: VIRGIN AND CHILD. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Marble (59×45 cm.).



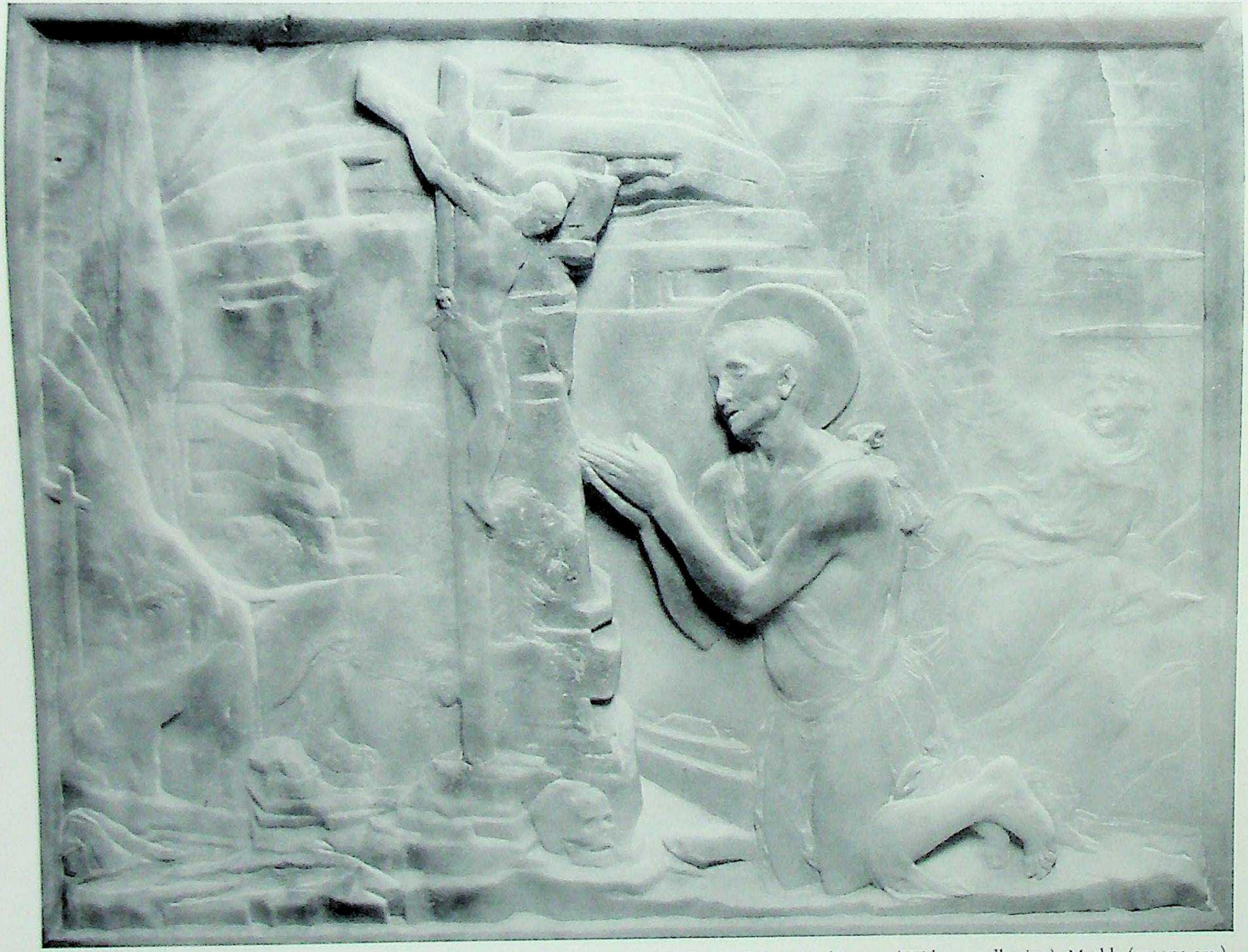
62. Desiderio da Settignano: HEAD OF AN ANGEL (detail of Figure 45). S. Lorenzo, Florence. Marble.



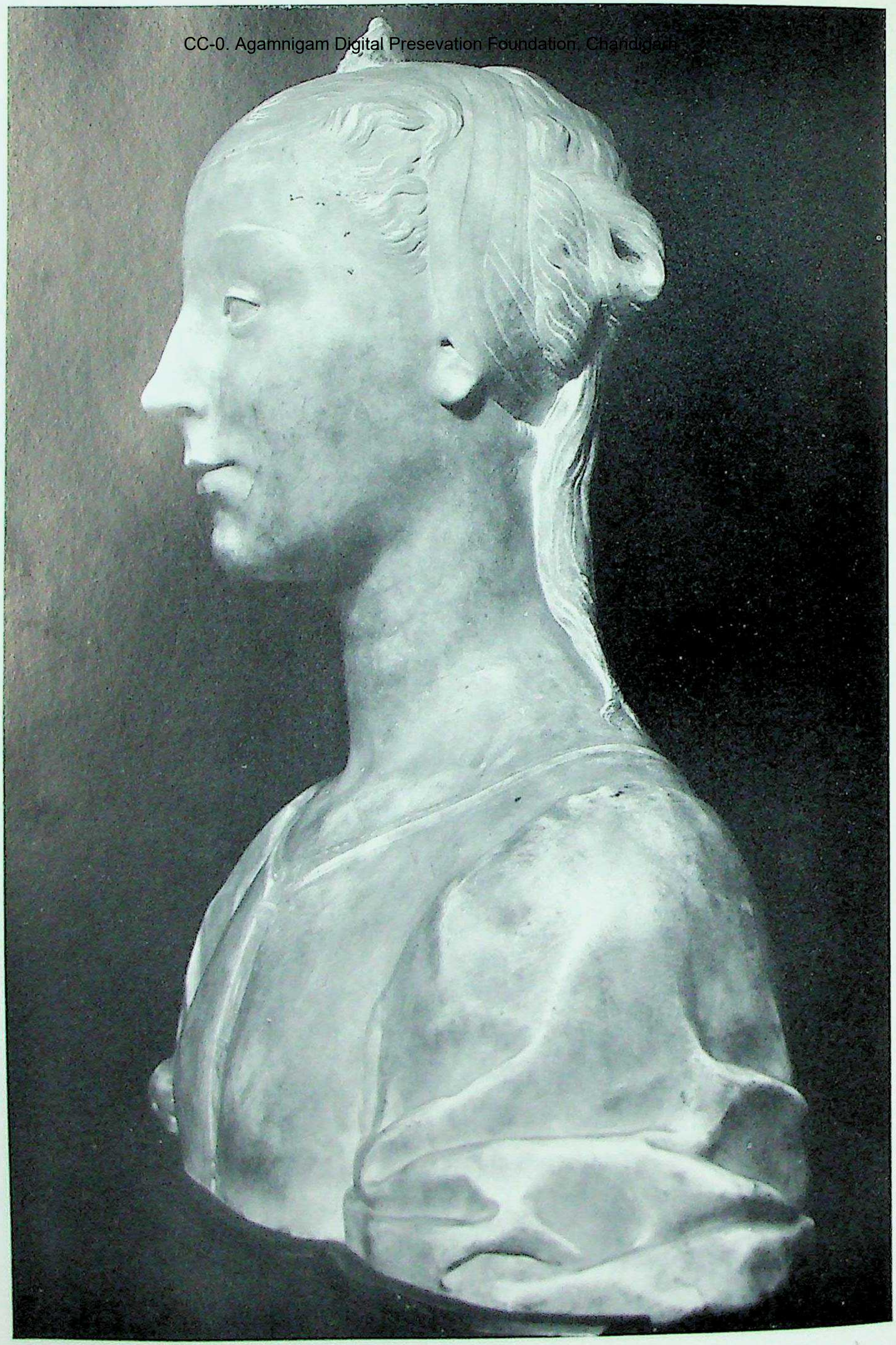
63. Desiderio da Settignano: HEAD OF AN ANGEL (detail of Figure 45). S. Lorenzo, Florence. Marble.



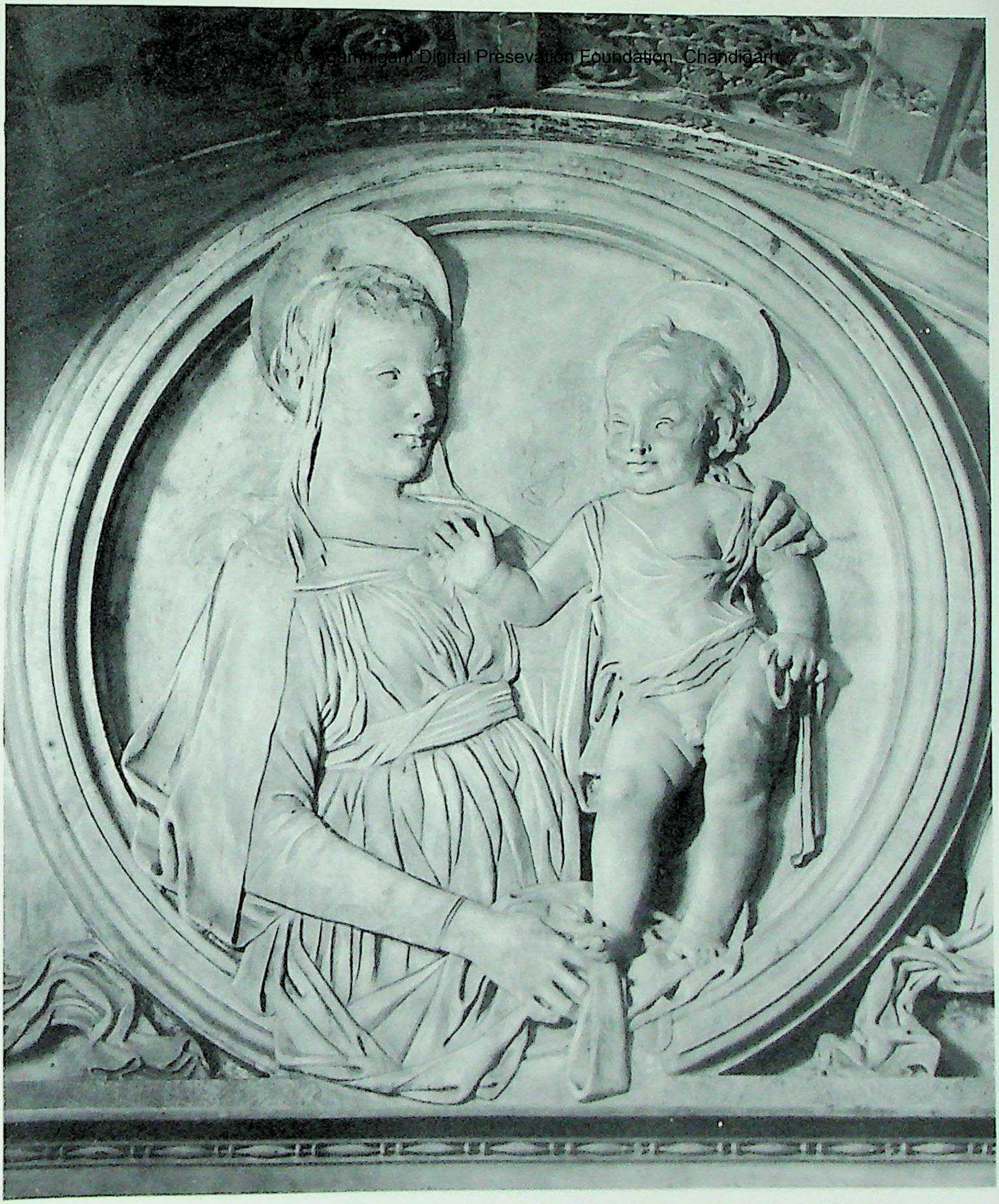
64. Desiderio da Settignano: THE DEAD CHRIST WITH THE VIRGIN AND ST. JOHN (detail of Figure 45). S. Lorenzo, Florence. Marble.



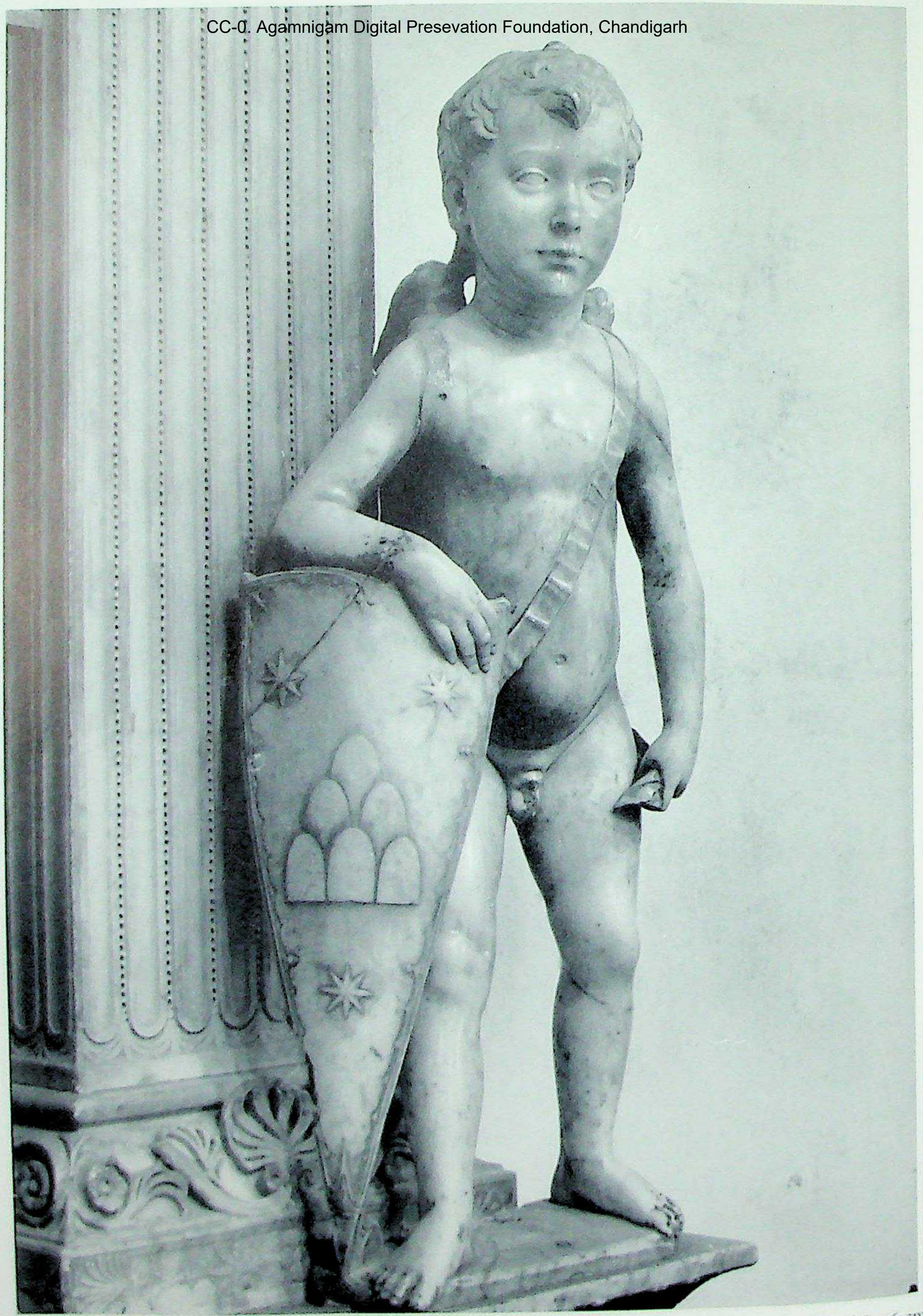
65. Desiderio da Settignano: ST. JEROME AND THE LION. National Gallery of Art, Washington (Widener collection). Marble (43 × 55 cm.).



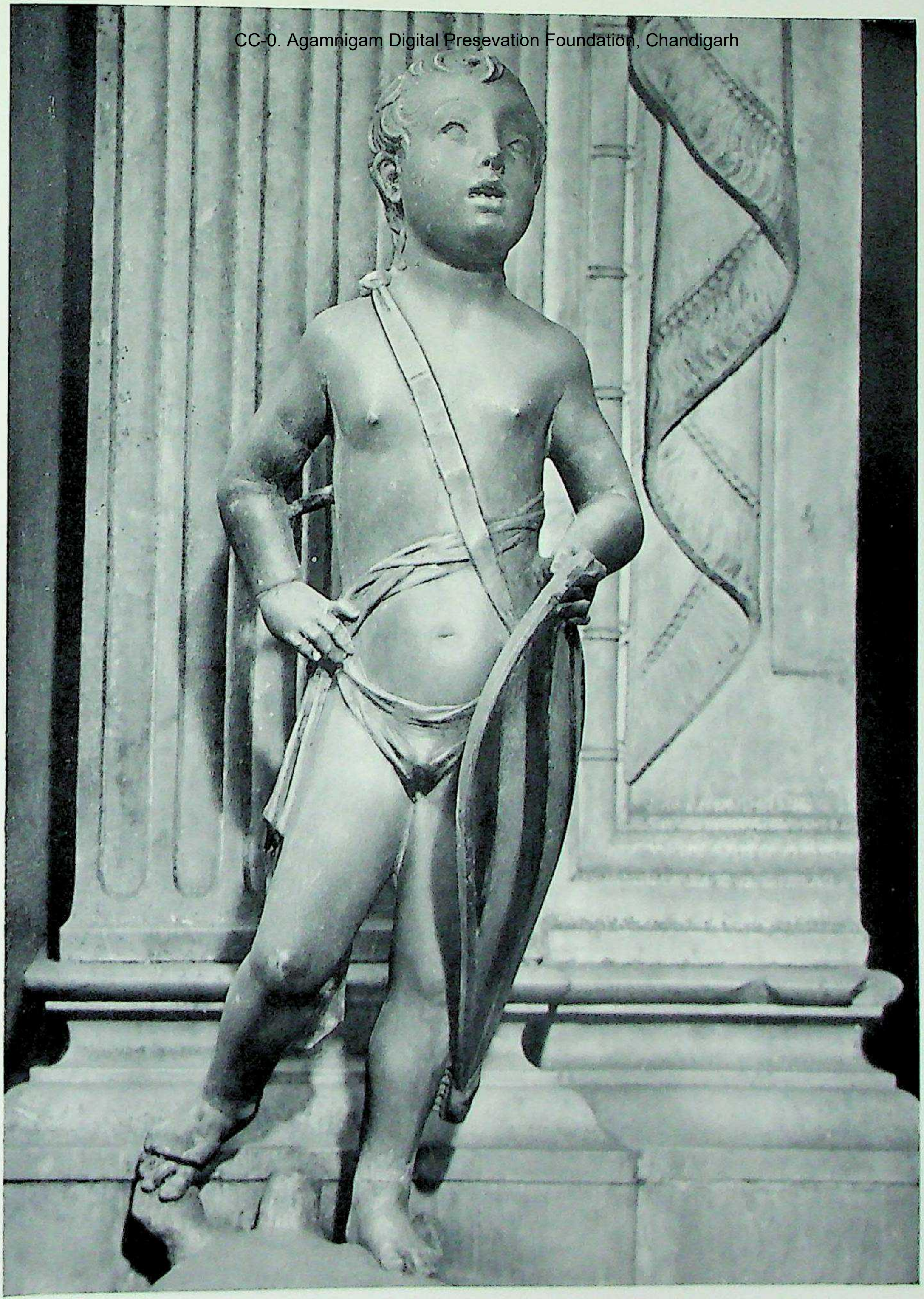
66. Desiderio da Settignano: BUST OF A LADY. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Marble (H. 46 cm.).



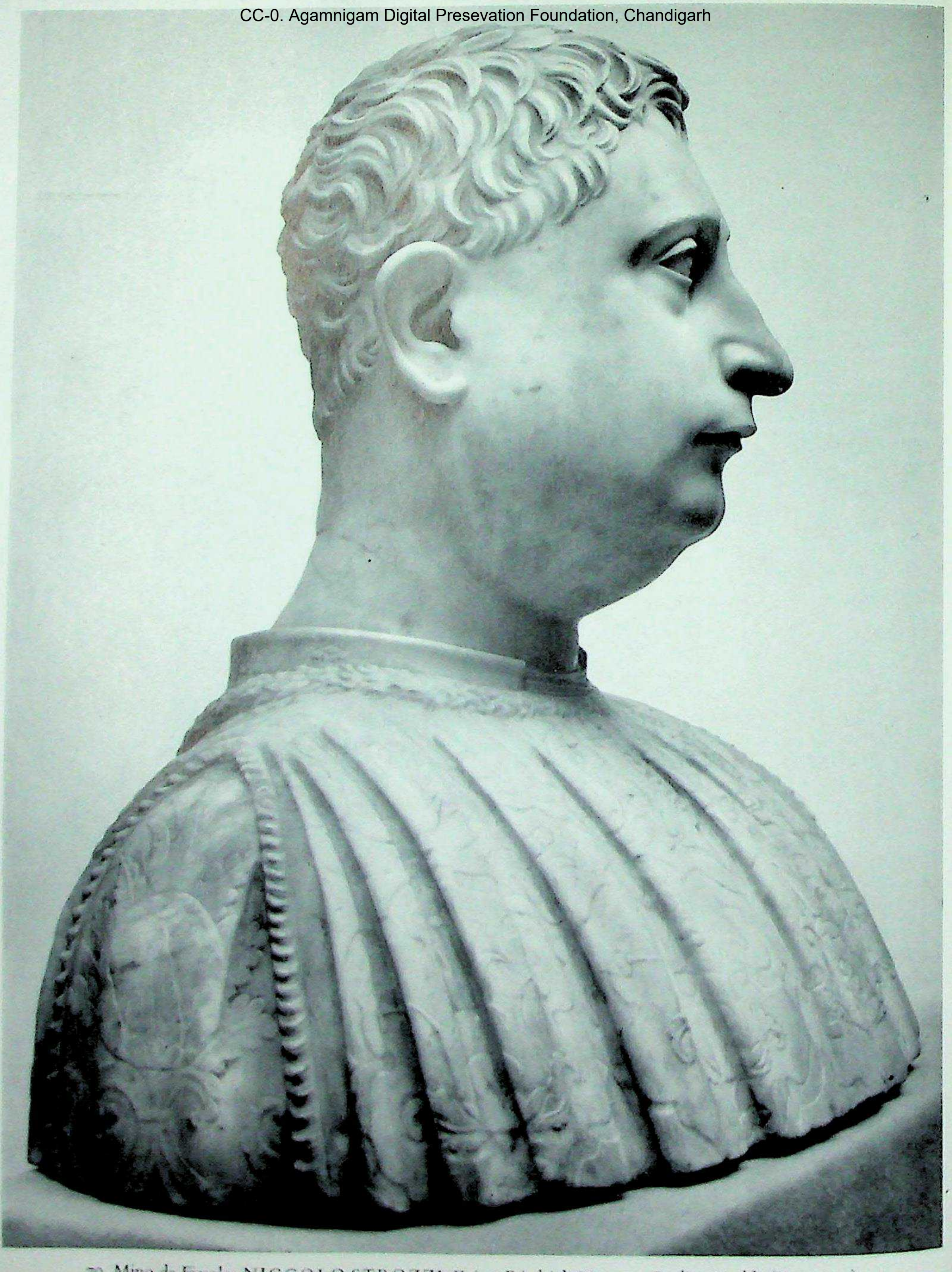
67. Desiderio da Settignano: VIRGIN AND CHILD (detail of Figure 61). S. Croce, Florence. Marble (diameter of roundel 117 cm.).



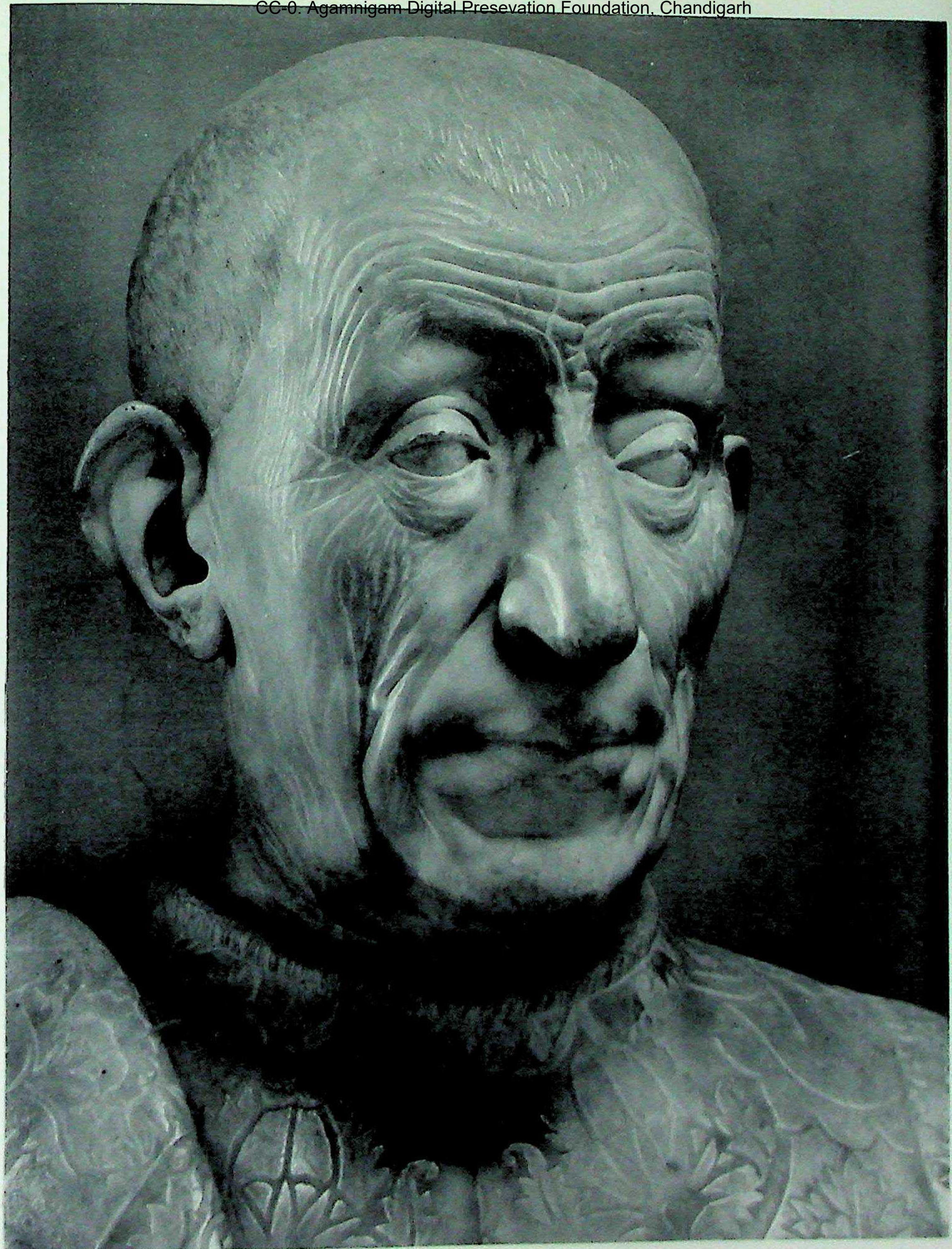
68. Desiderio da Settignano: PUTTO WITH SHIELD (detail of Figure 61). S. Croce, Florence. Marble (H. 96 cm.).



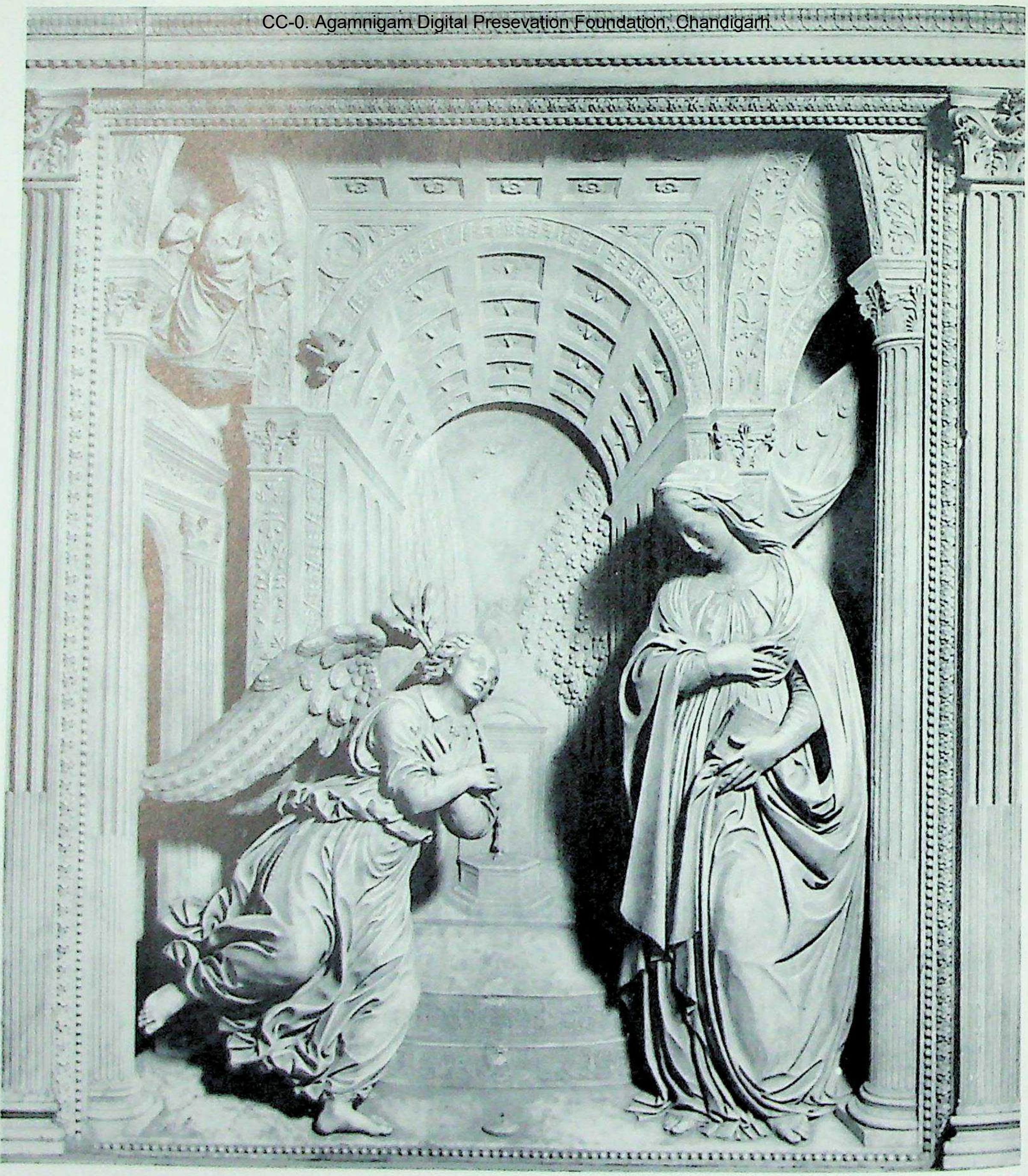
69. Mino da Fiesole: PUTTO WITH SHIELD (detail of Figure 62). Badia, Florence. Marble.



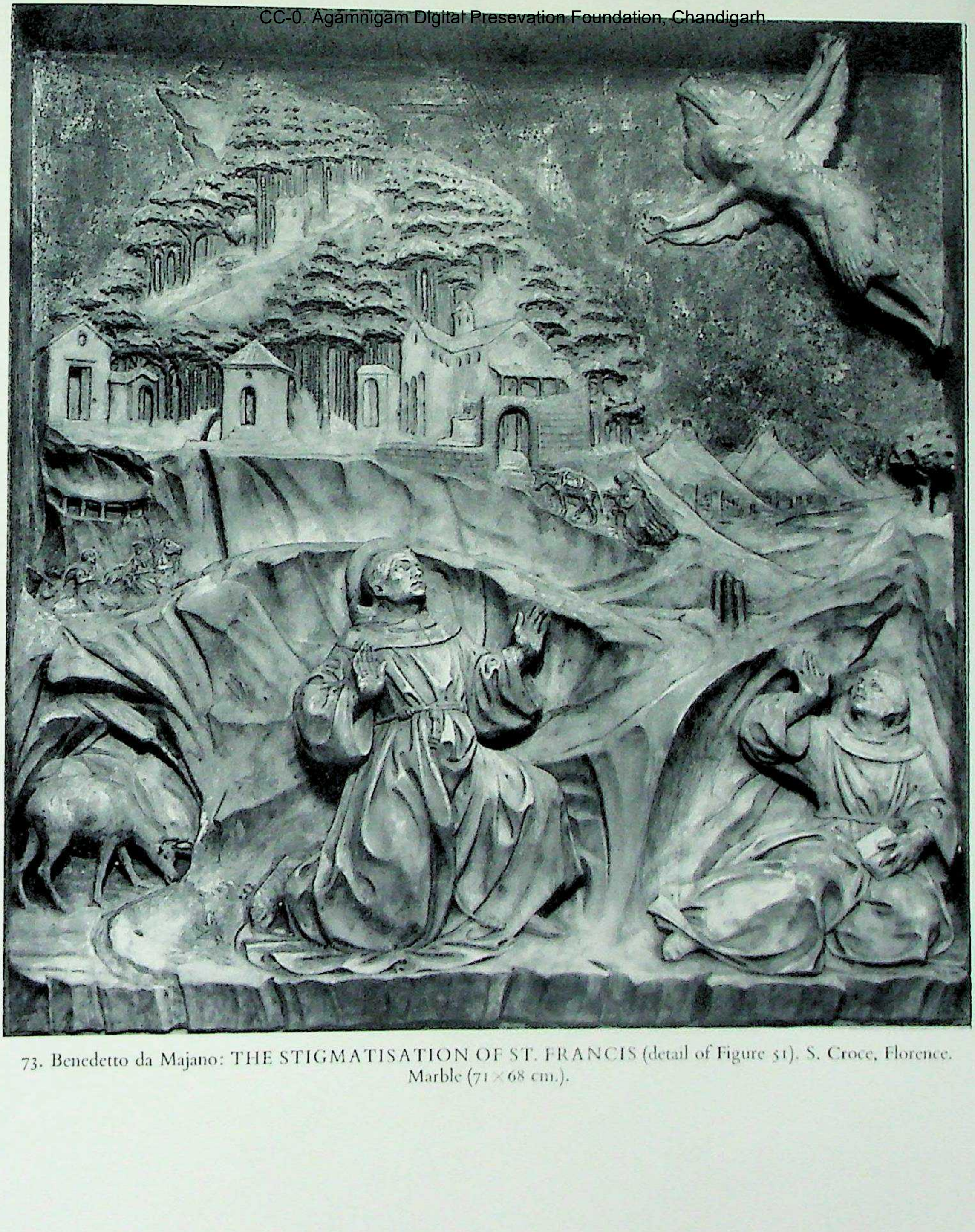
70. Mino da Fiesole: NICCOLO STROZZI. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Marble (H. 49 cm.).



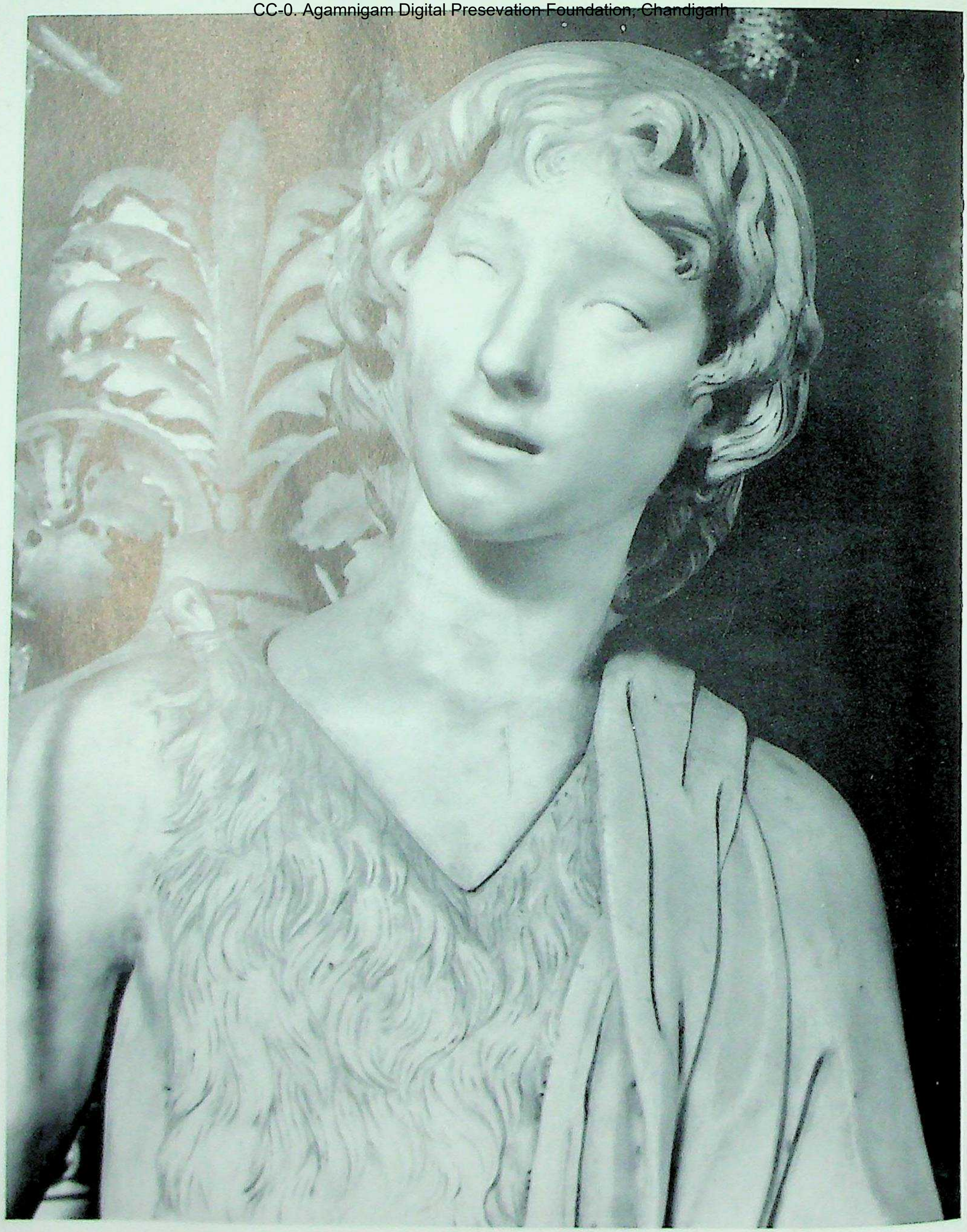
71. Benedetto da Majano: PIETRO MELLINI (detail of Figure 80). Museo Nazionale, Florence. Marble (H. overall 53 cm.).



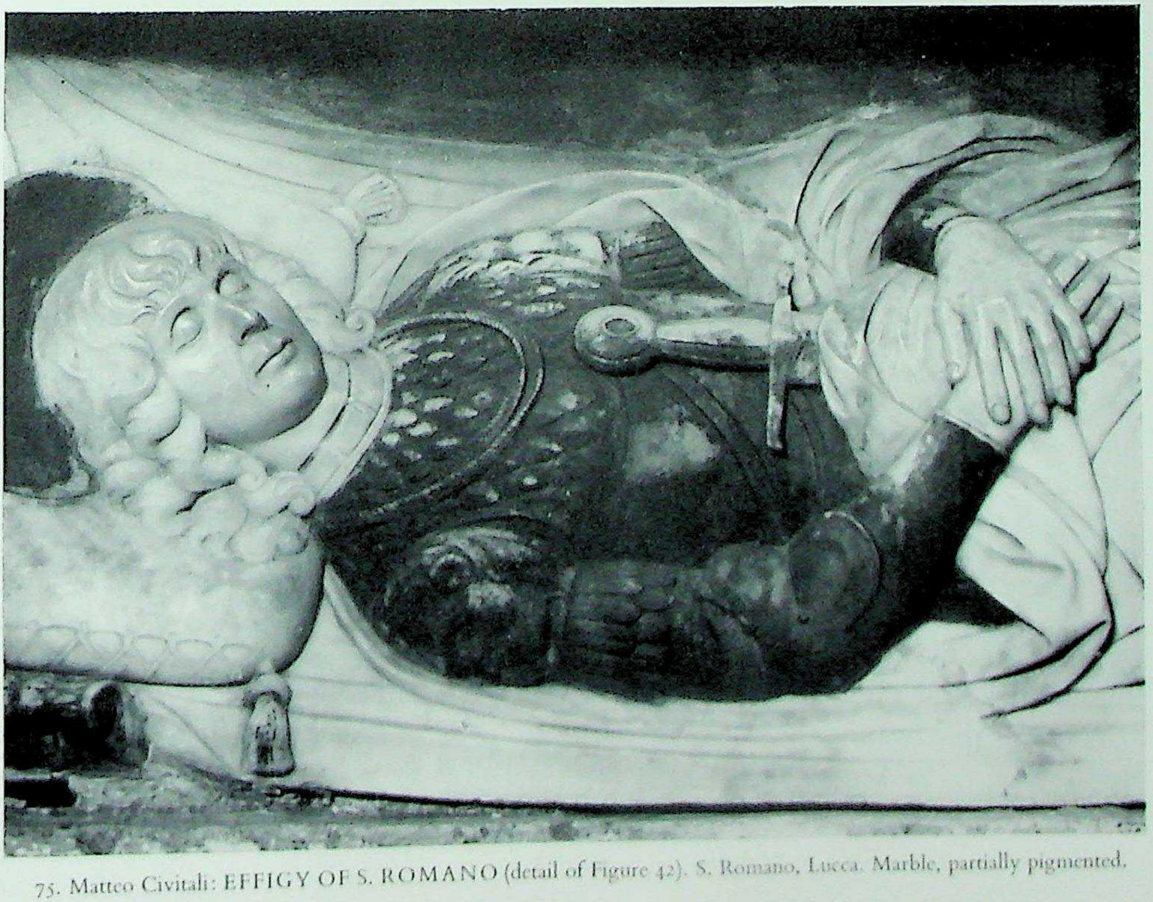
72. Benedetto da Majano: THE ANNUNCIATION (detail of Figure 47). S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples. Marble.



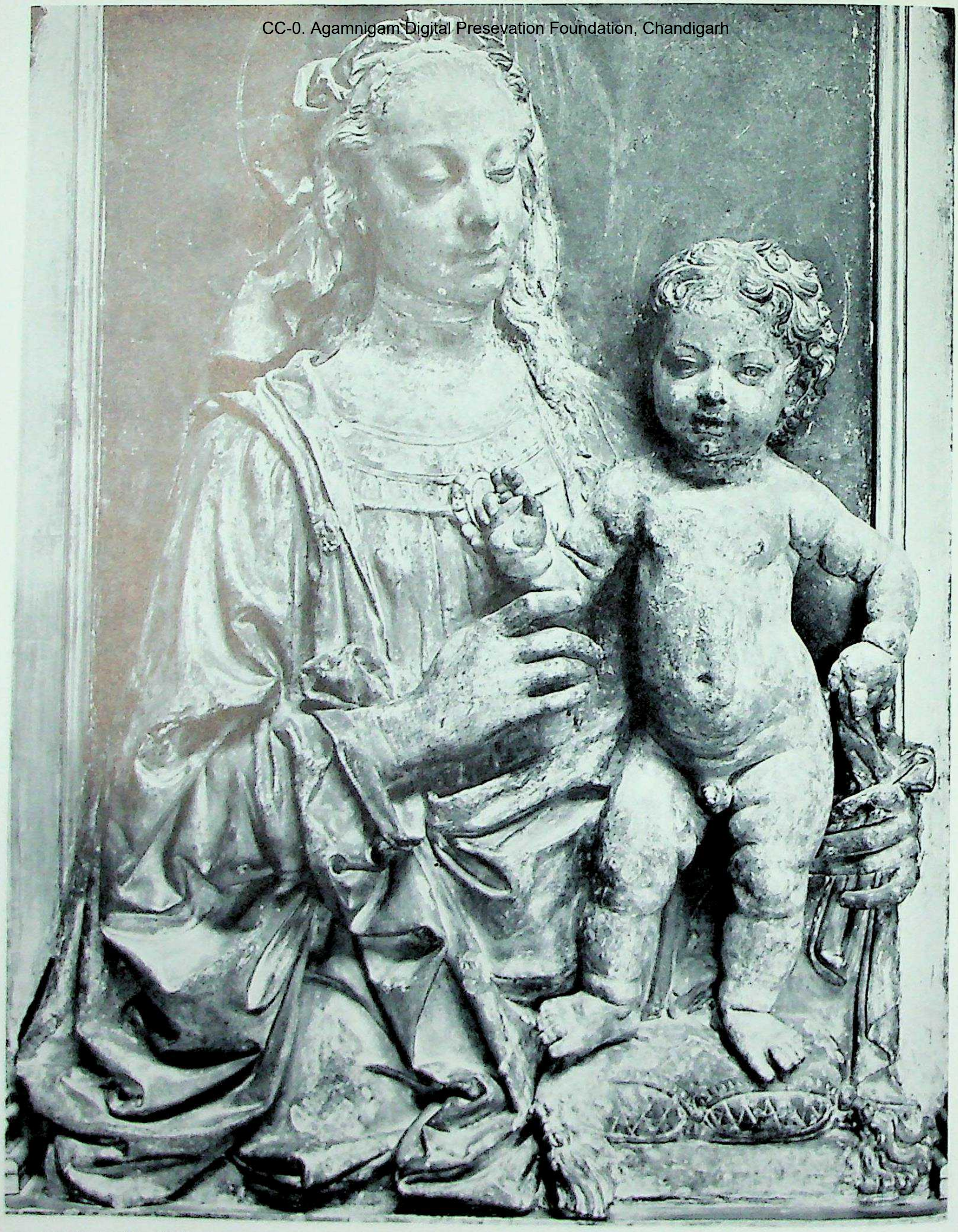
73. Benedetto da Majano: THE STIGMATISATION OF ST. FRANCIS (detail of Figure 51). S. Croce, Florence. Marble (71 × 68 cm.).



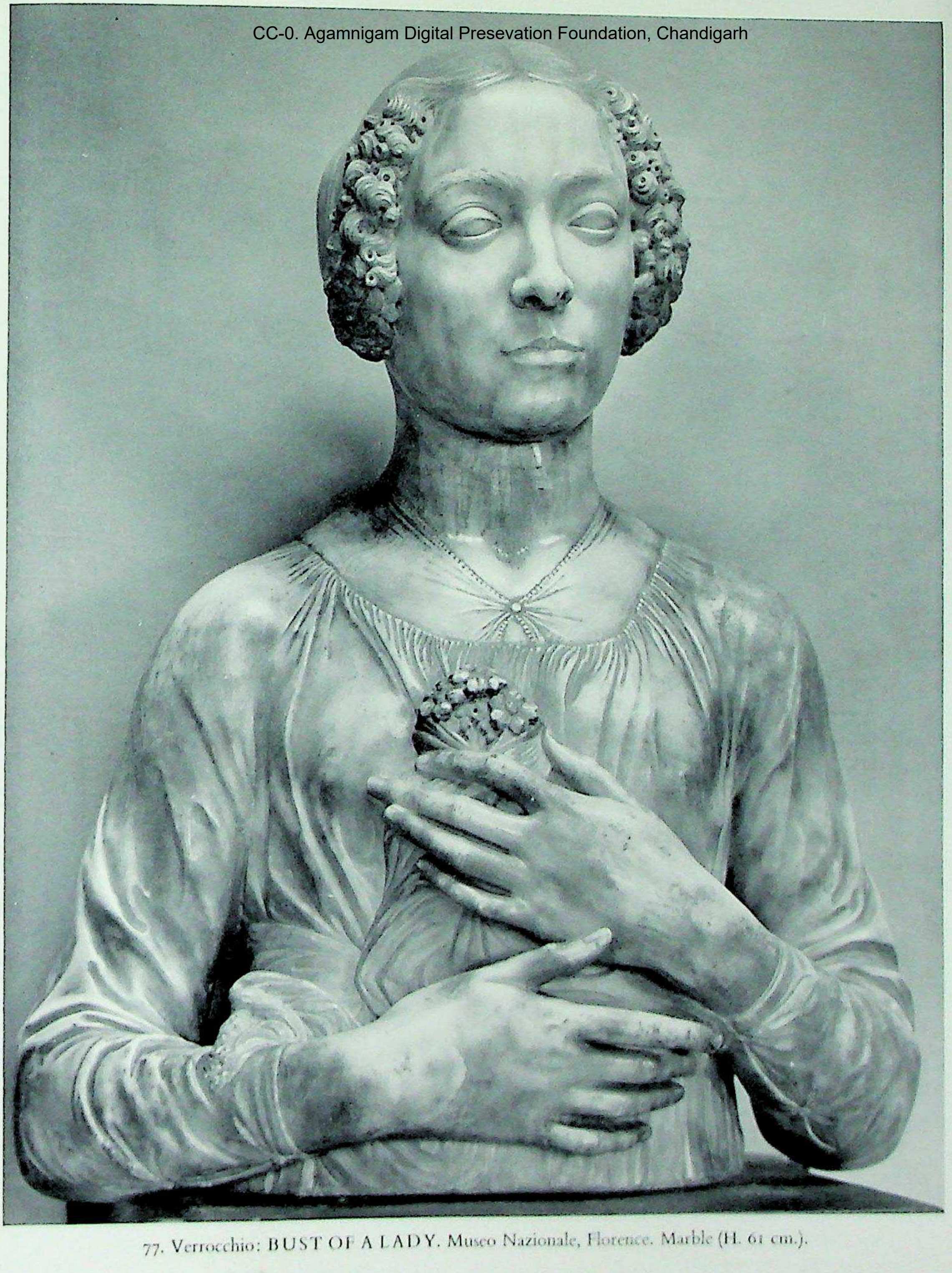
74. Benedetto da Majano: ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (detail of Figure 54). Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Marble (H. overall 134 cm.).



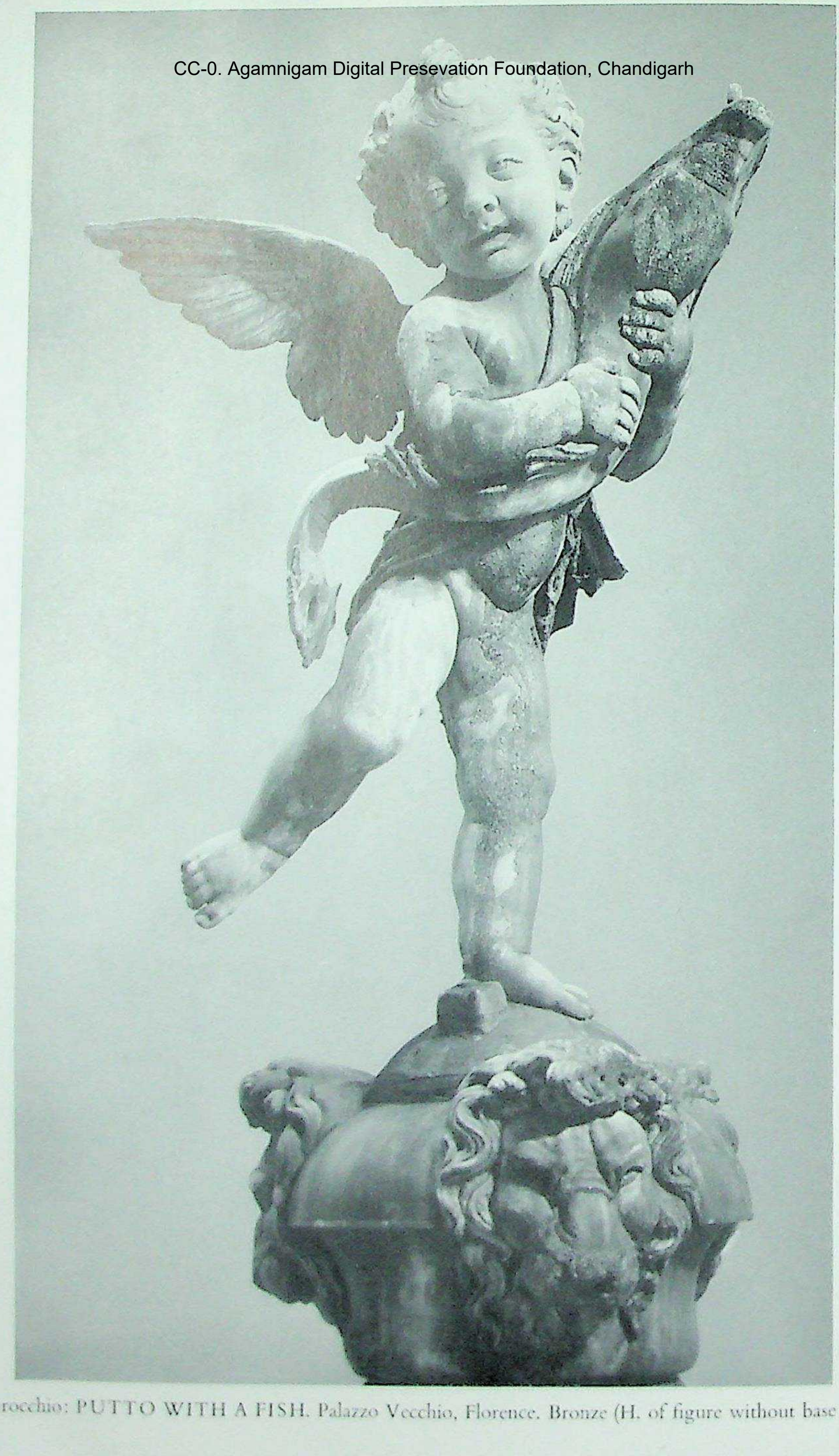
75. Matteo Civitali: EFFIGY OF S. ROMANO (detail of Figure 42). S. Romano, Lucca. Marble, partially pigmented.



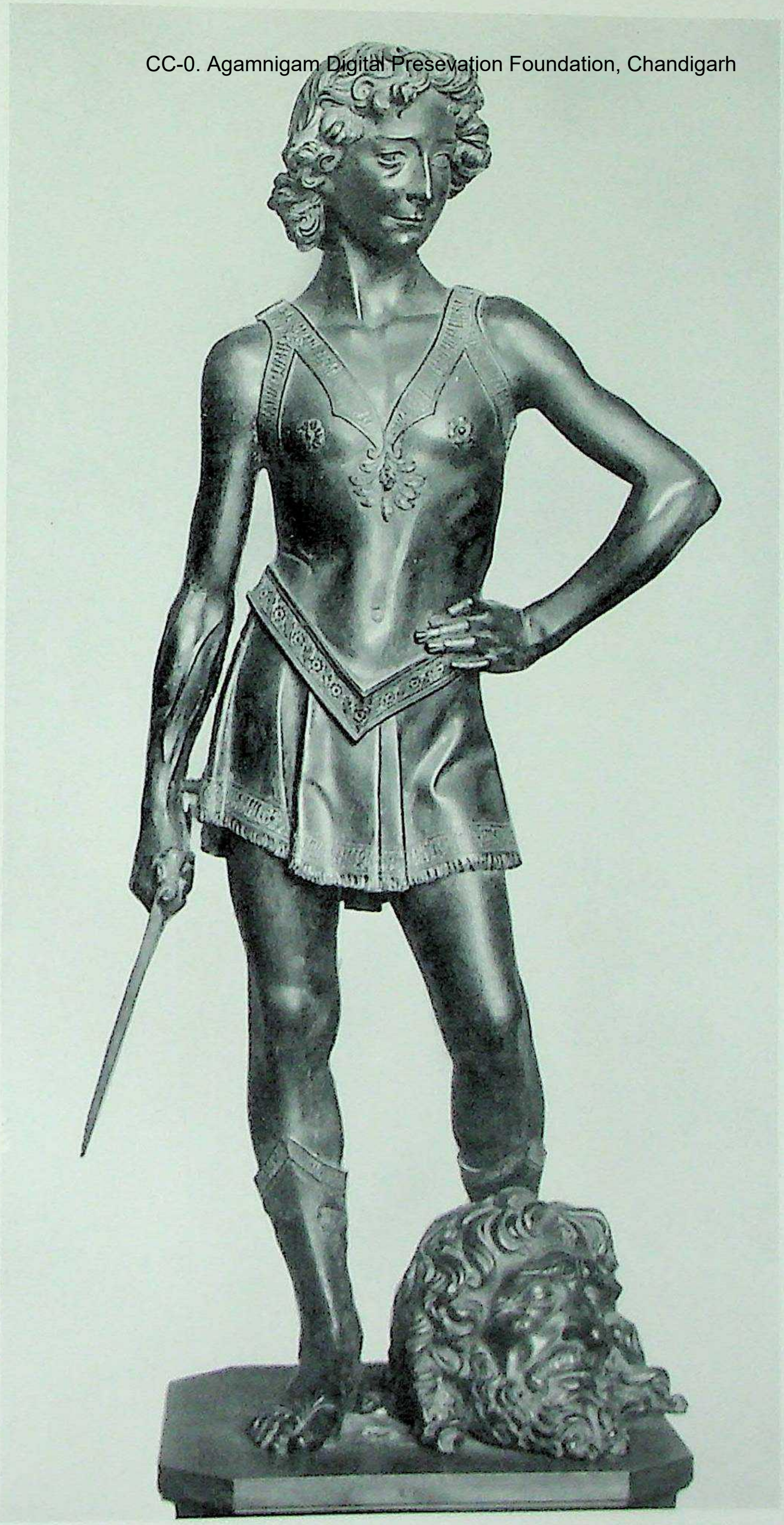
76. Verrocchio: VIRGIN AND CHILD. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Terracotta, partially pigmented (86 × 66 cm.).



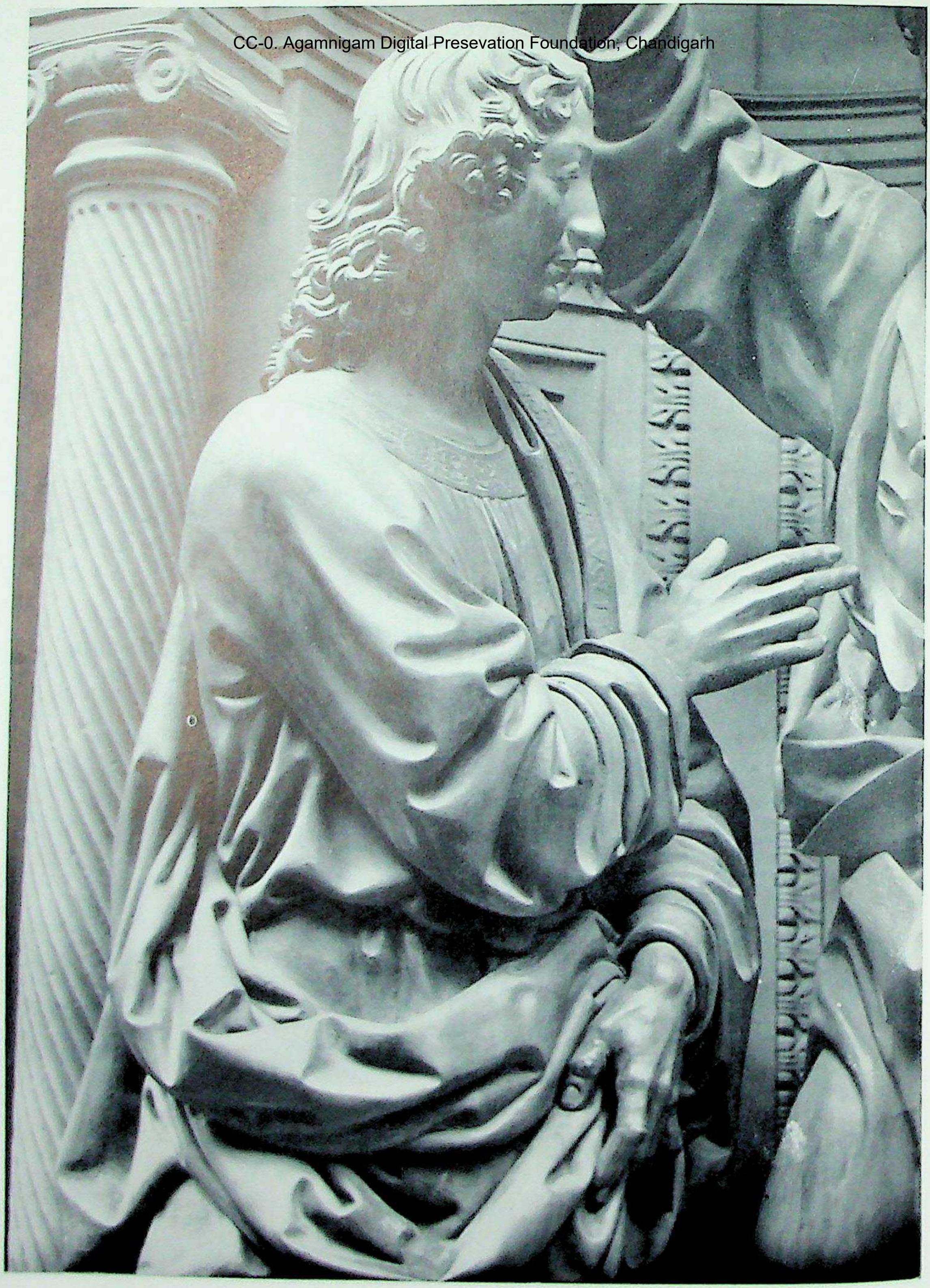
77. Verrocchio: BUST OF A LADY. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Marble (H. 61 cm.).



78. Verrocchio: PUTTO WITH A FISH. Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. Bronze (H. of figure without base 69 cm.).



79. Verrocchio: DAVID. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze (H. 126 cm.).



80. Verrocchio: ST. THOMAS (detail of Figure 57). Or San Michele, Florence. Bronze.

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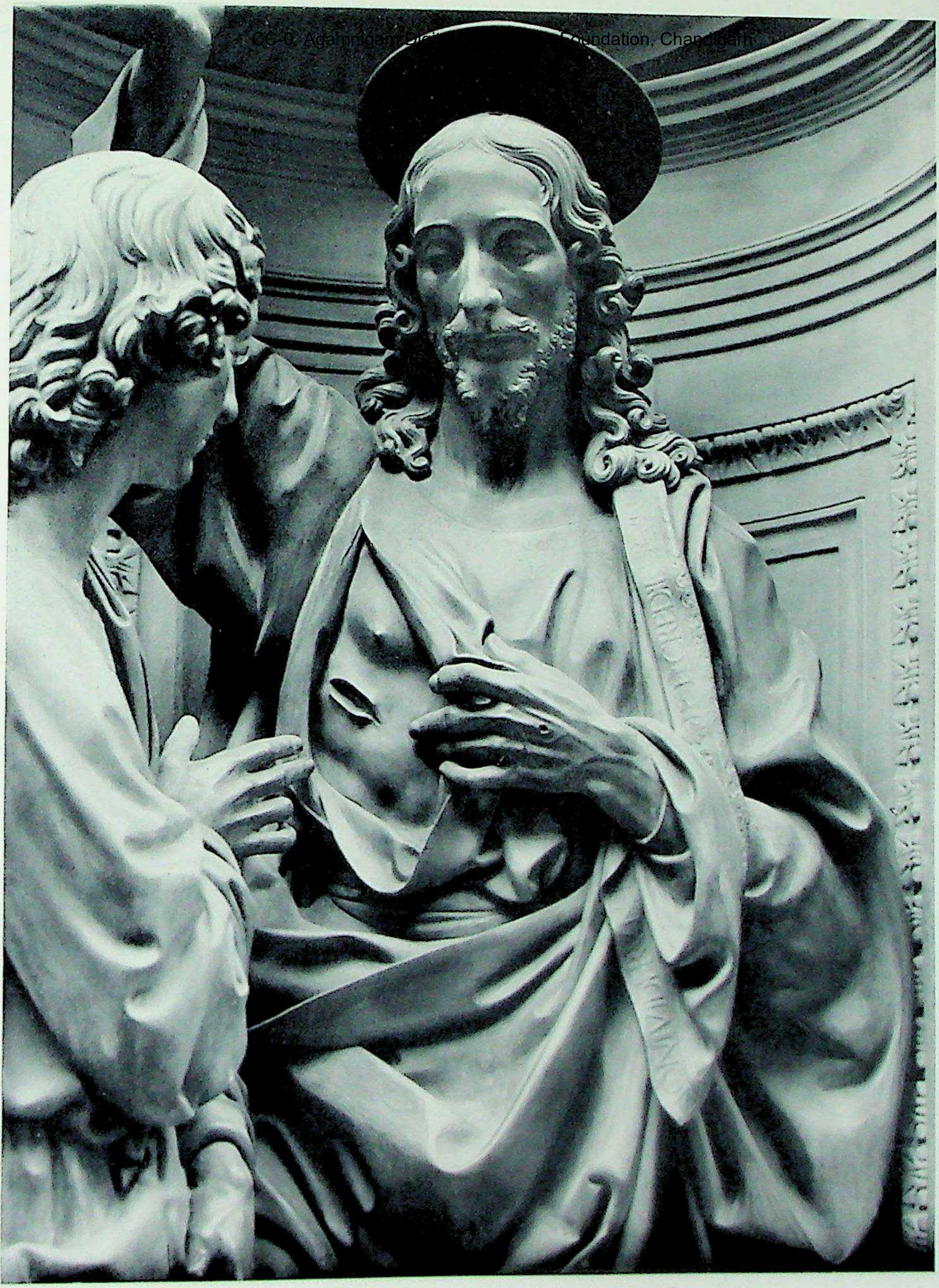
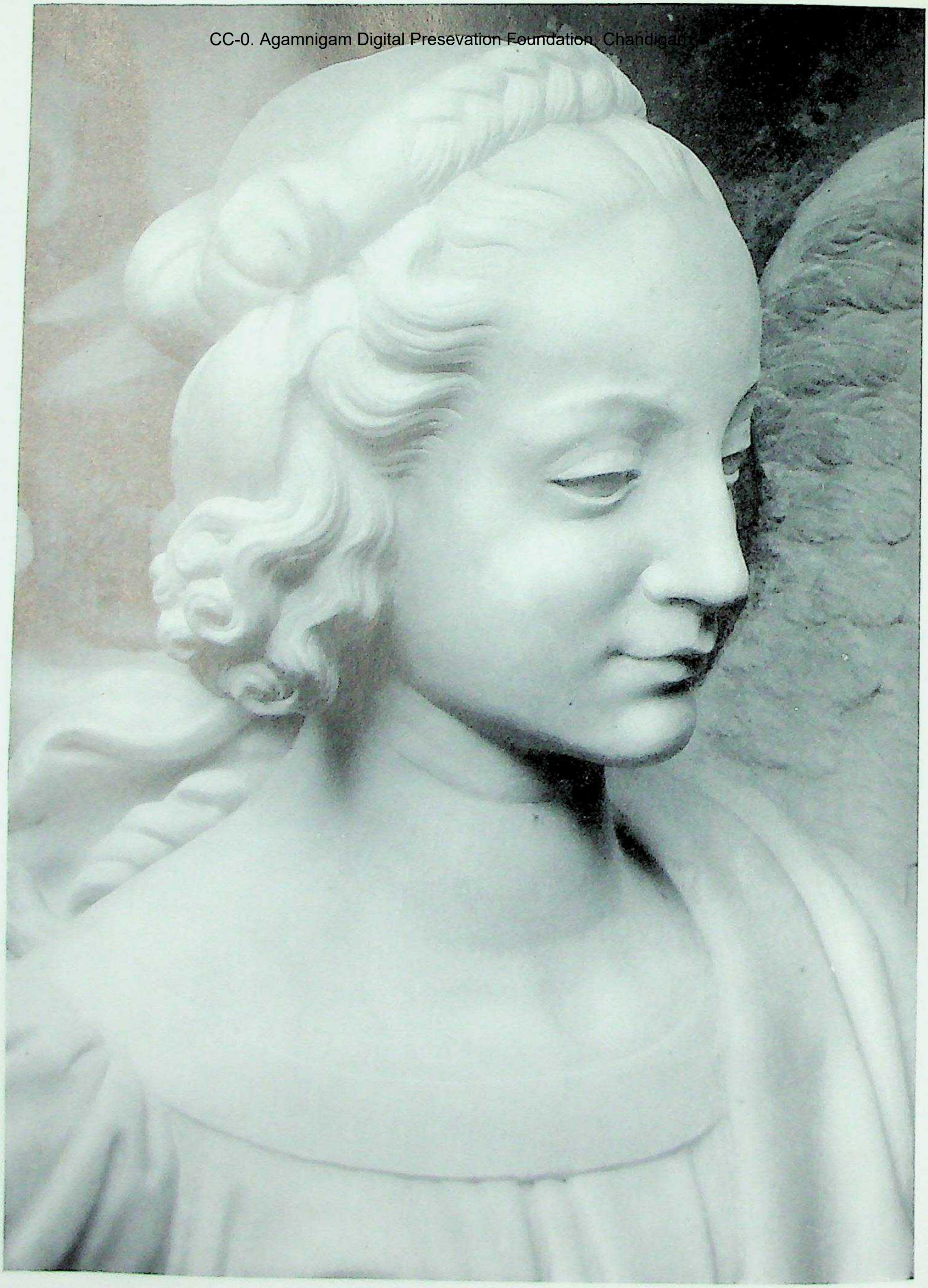
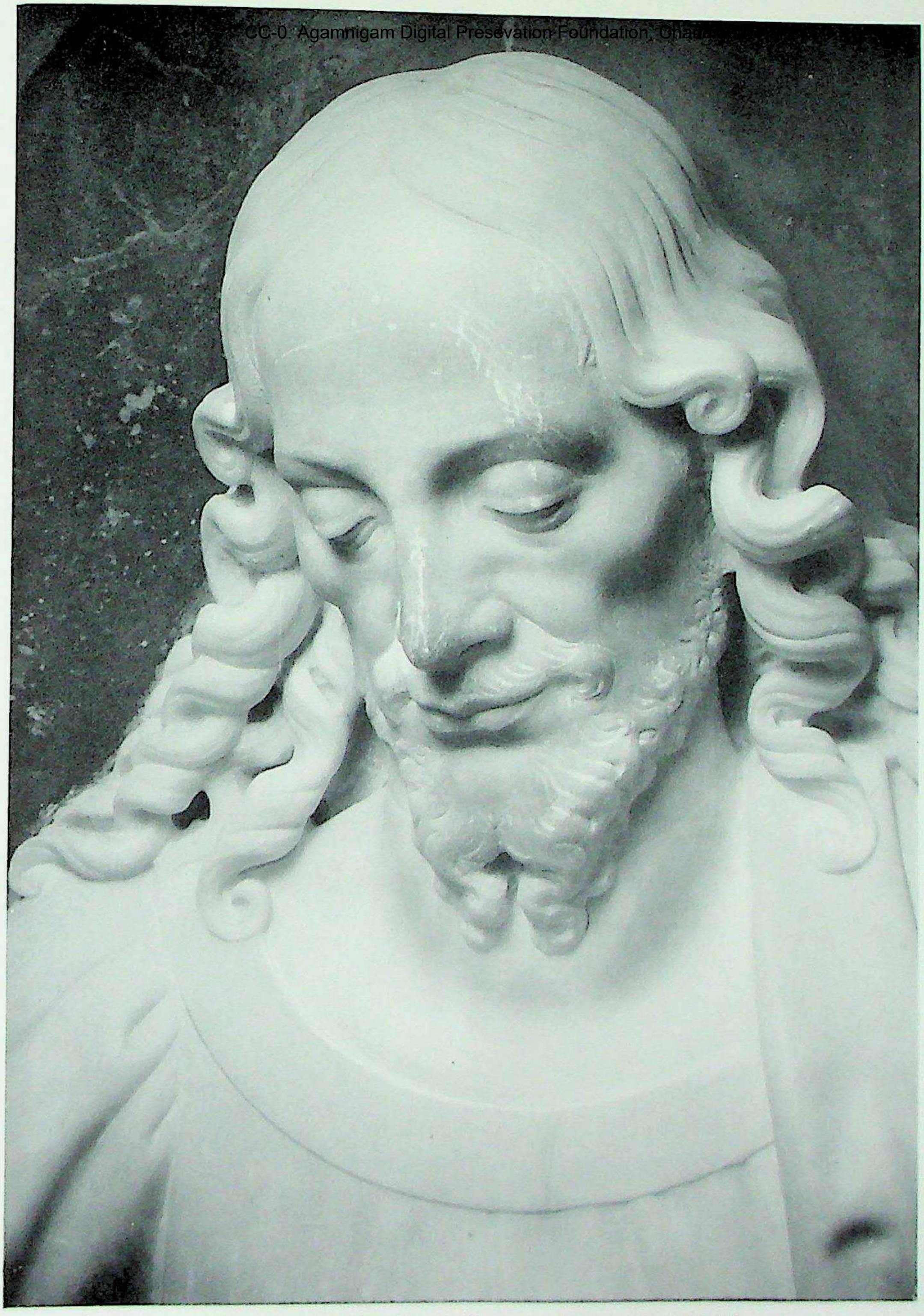


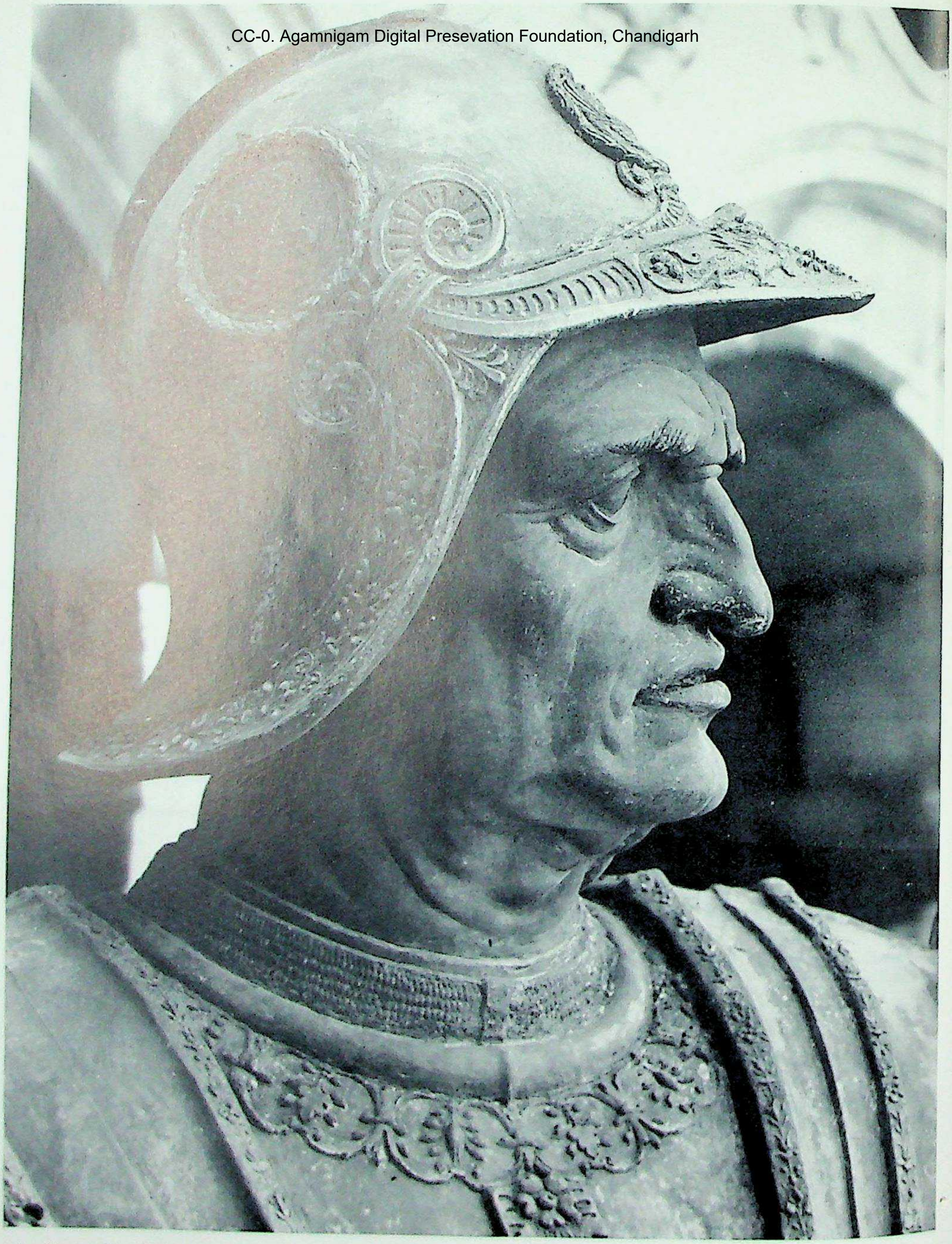
81. Verrocchio: CHRIST (detail of Figure 57). Or San Michele, Florence. Bronze.



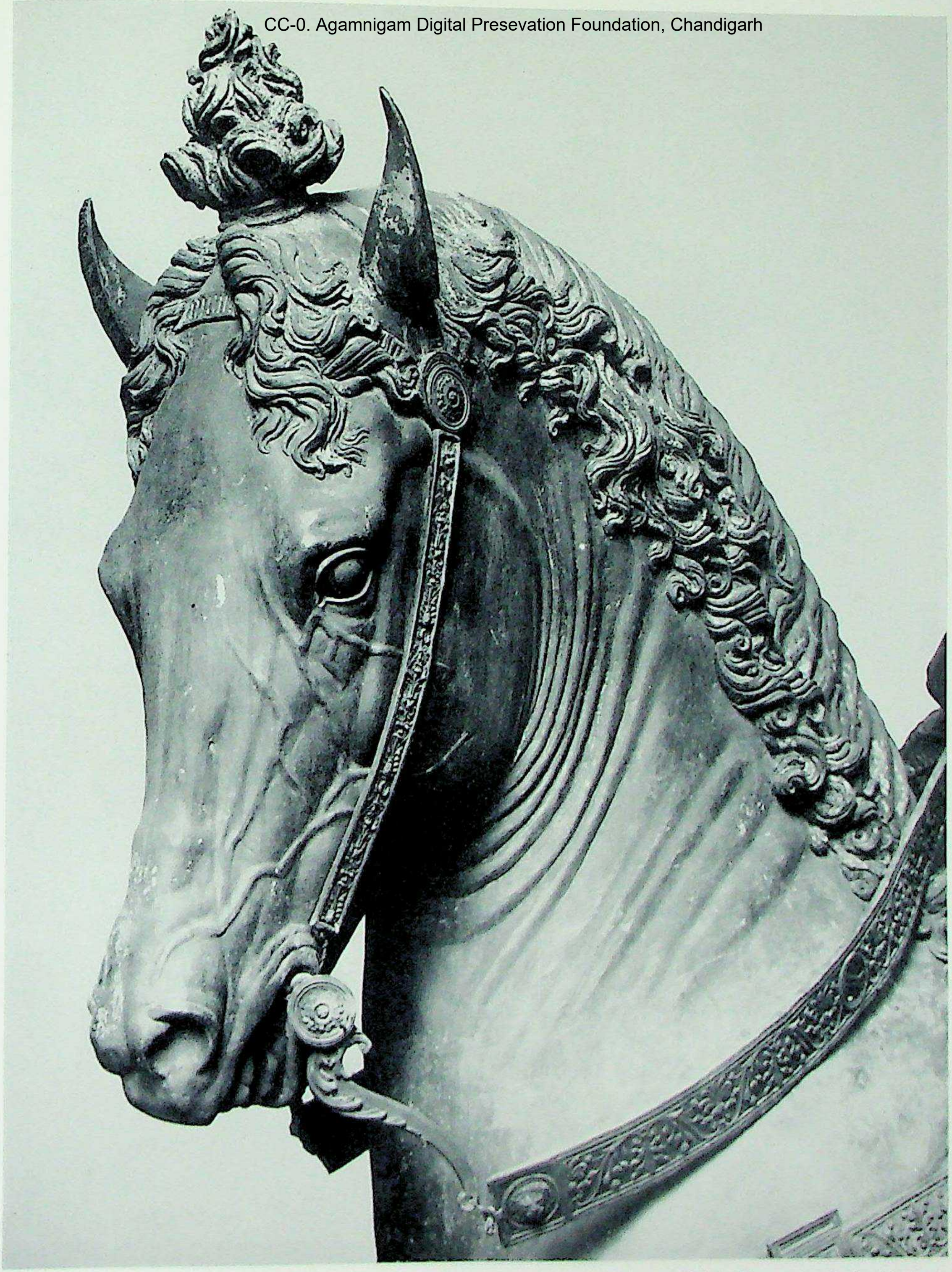
82. Verrocchio: VIRTUE (detail of Figure 67). Duomo, Pistoia. Marble.



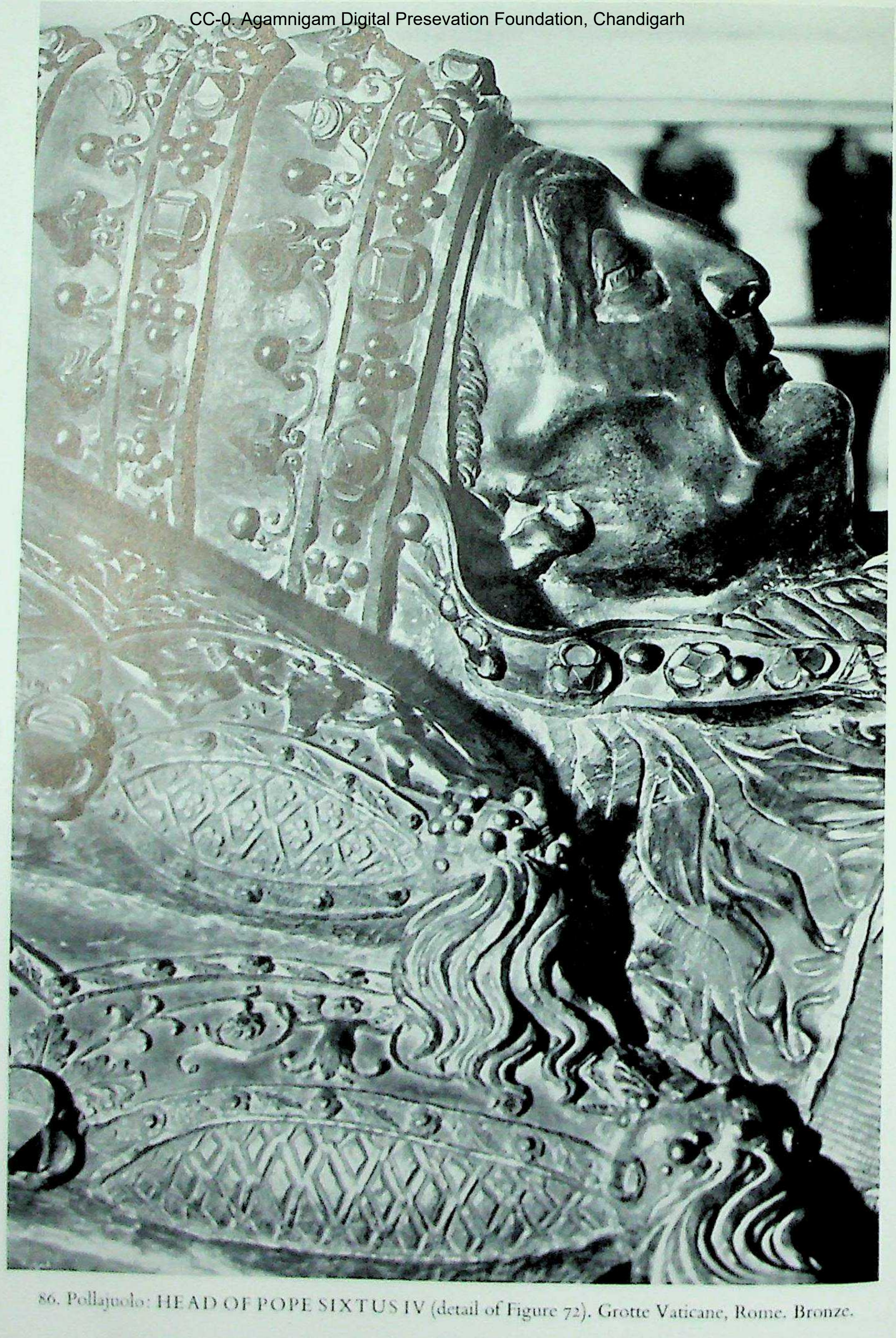
83. Verrocchio: CHRIST (detail of Figure 67). Duomo, Pistoia. Marble.



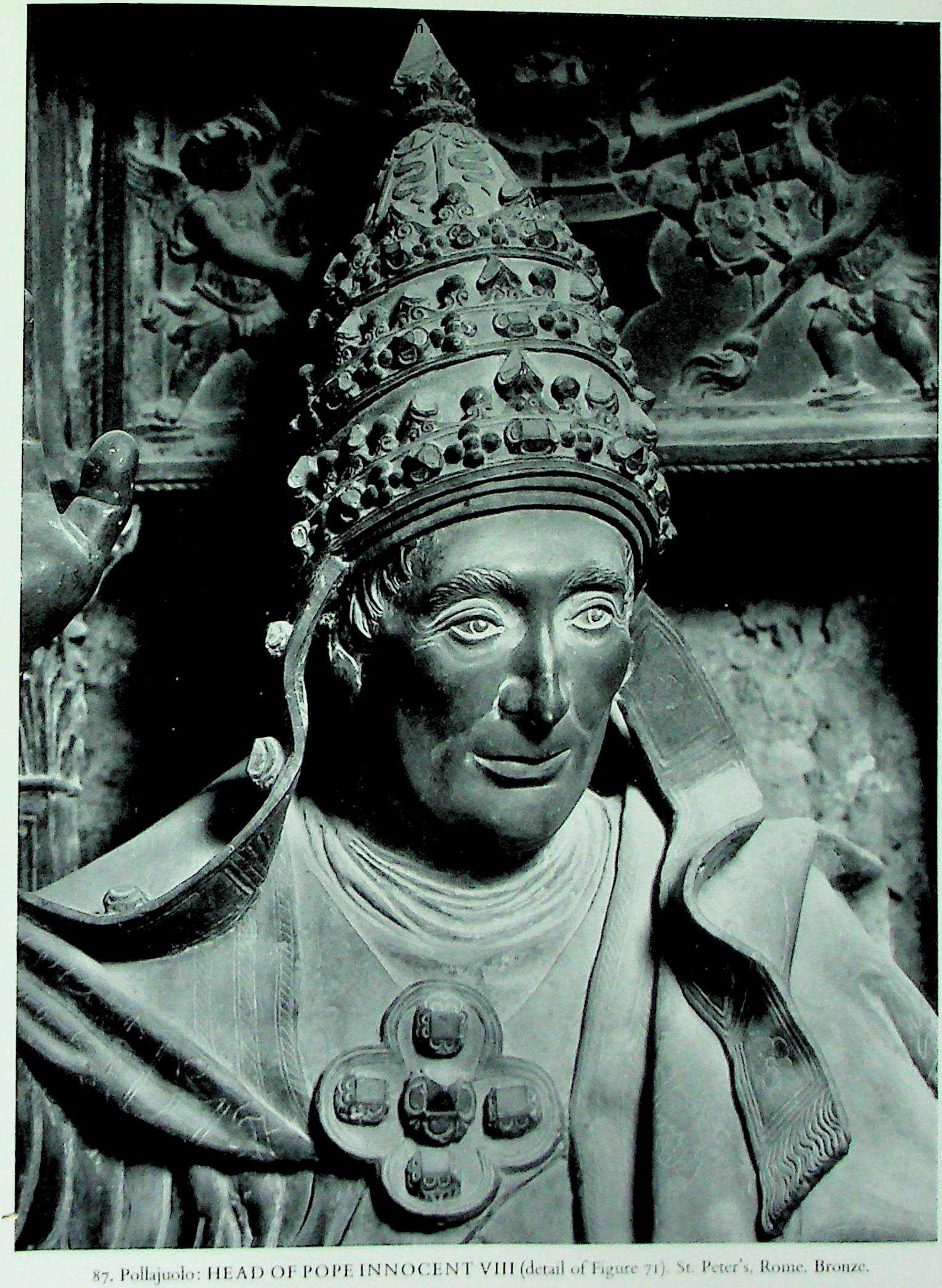
84. Verrocchio: THE COLLEONI MONUMENT (detail of Figure 89). Campo di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Bronze.



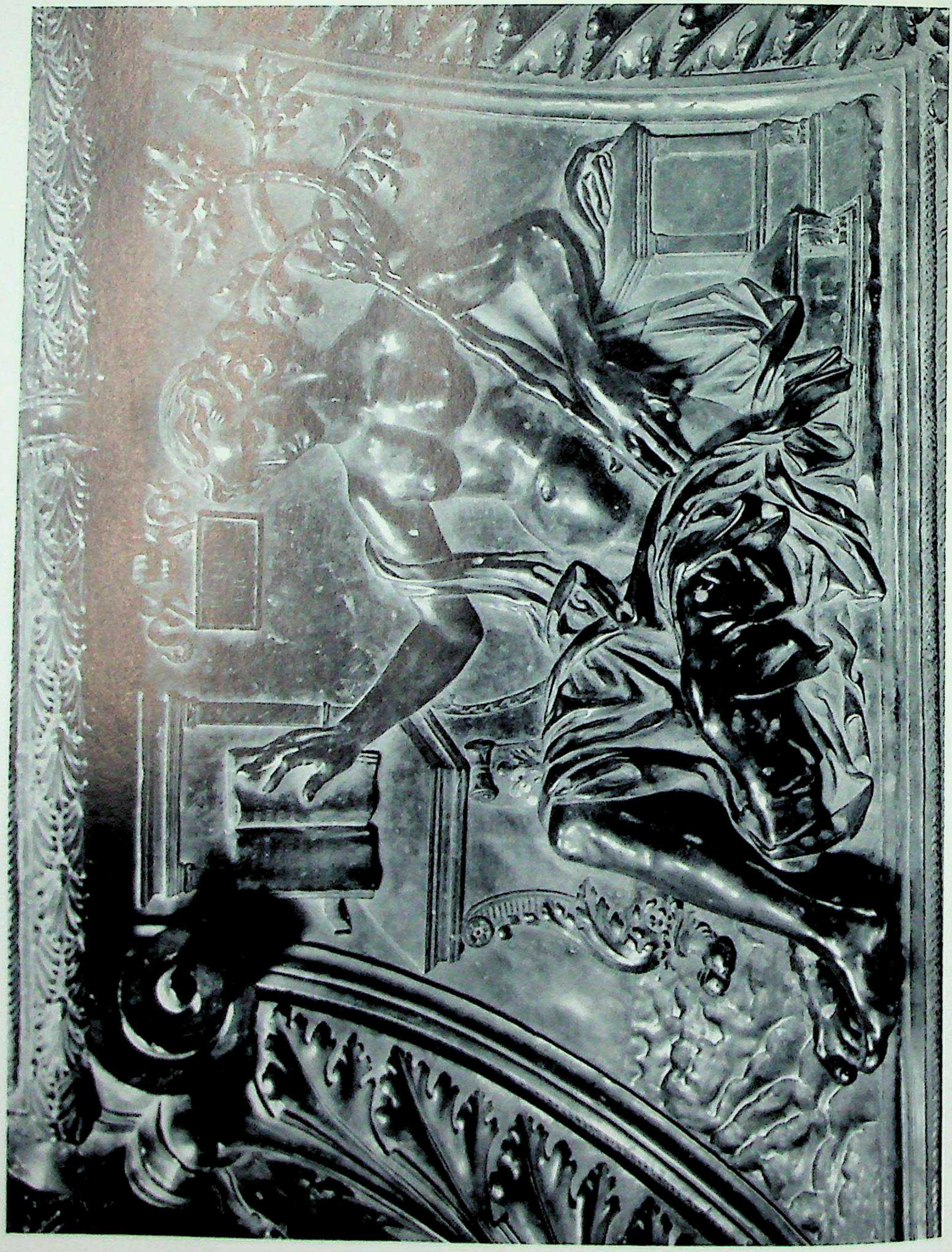
85. Verrocchio: THE COLLEONI MONUMENT (detail of Figure 89). Campo di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Bronze.



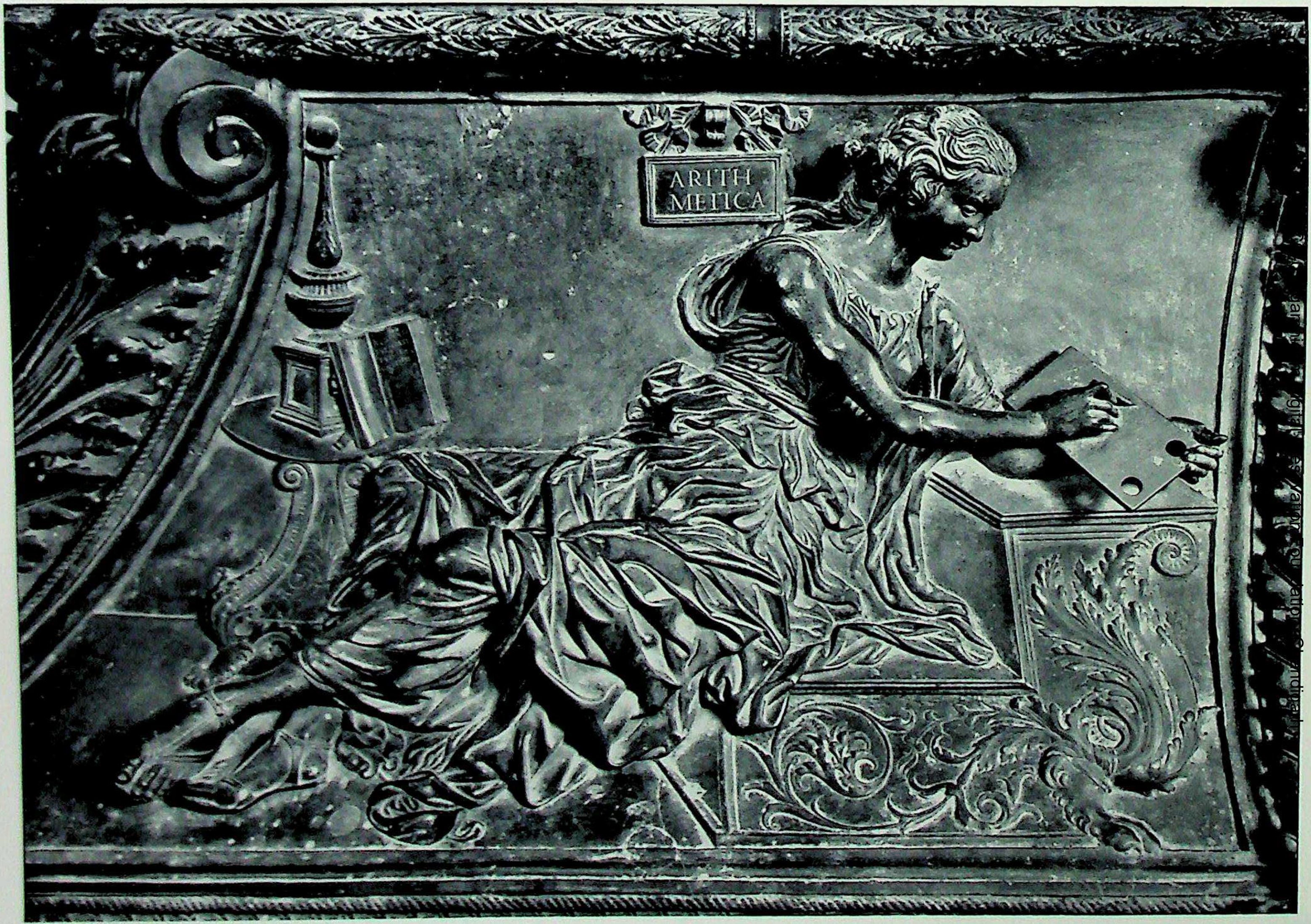
86. Pollajuolo: HEAD OF POPE SIXTUS IV (detail of Figure 72). Grotte Vaticane, Rome. Bronze.



87. Pollajuolo: HEAD OF POPE INNOCENT VIII (detail of Figure 71). St. Peter's, Rome. Bronze.



88. Pollajuolo: RHETORIC (detail of Figure 72). Grotte Vaticane, Rome. Bronze.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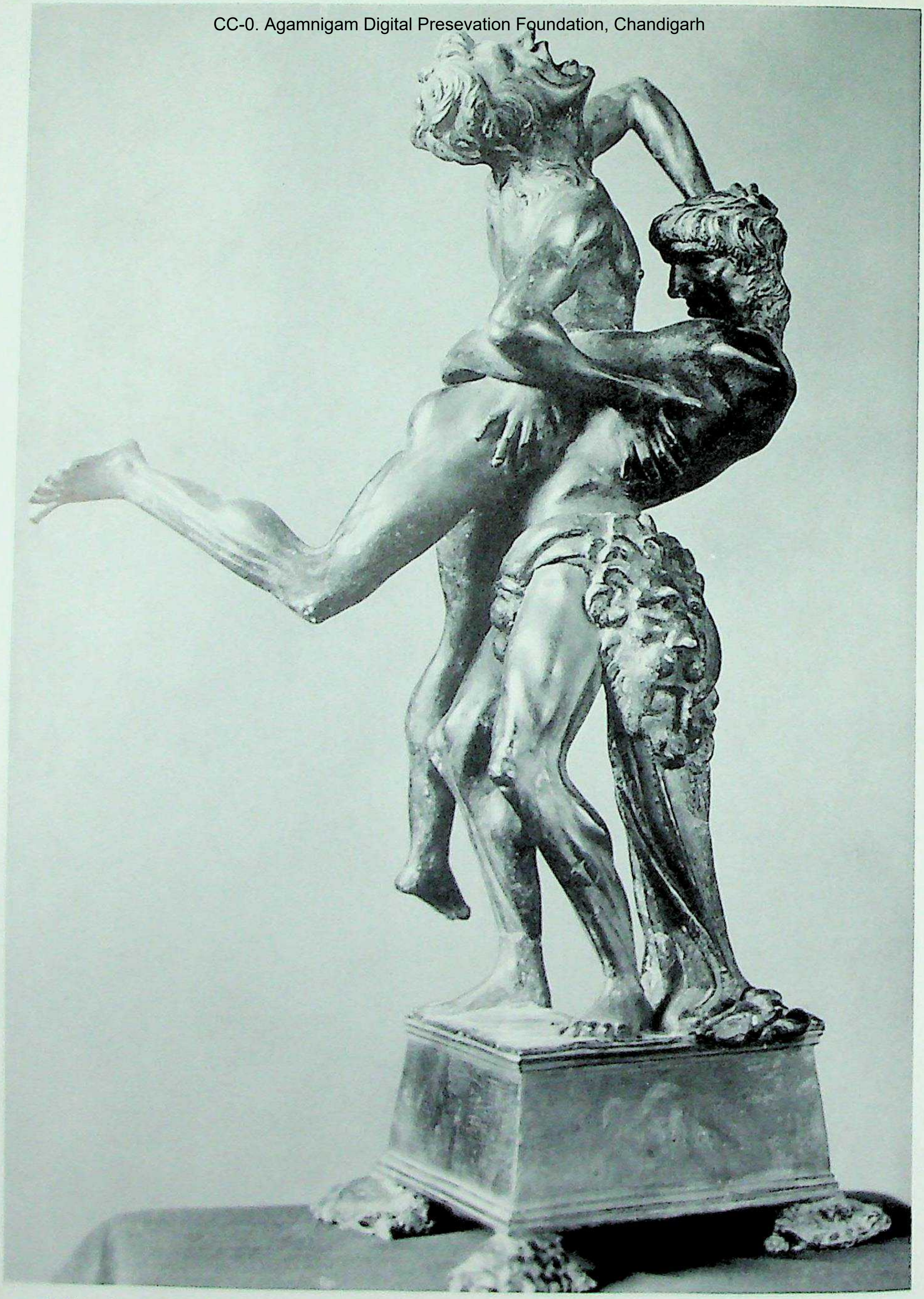
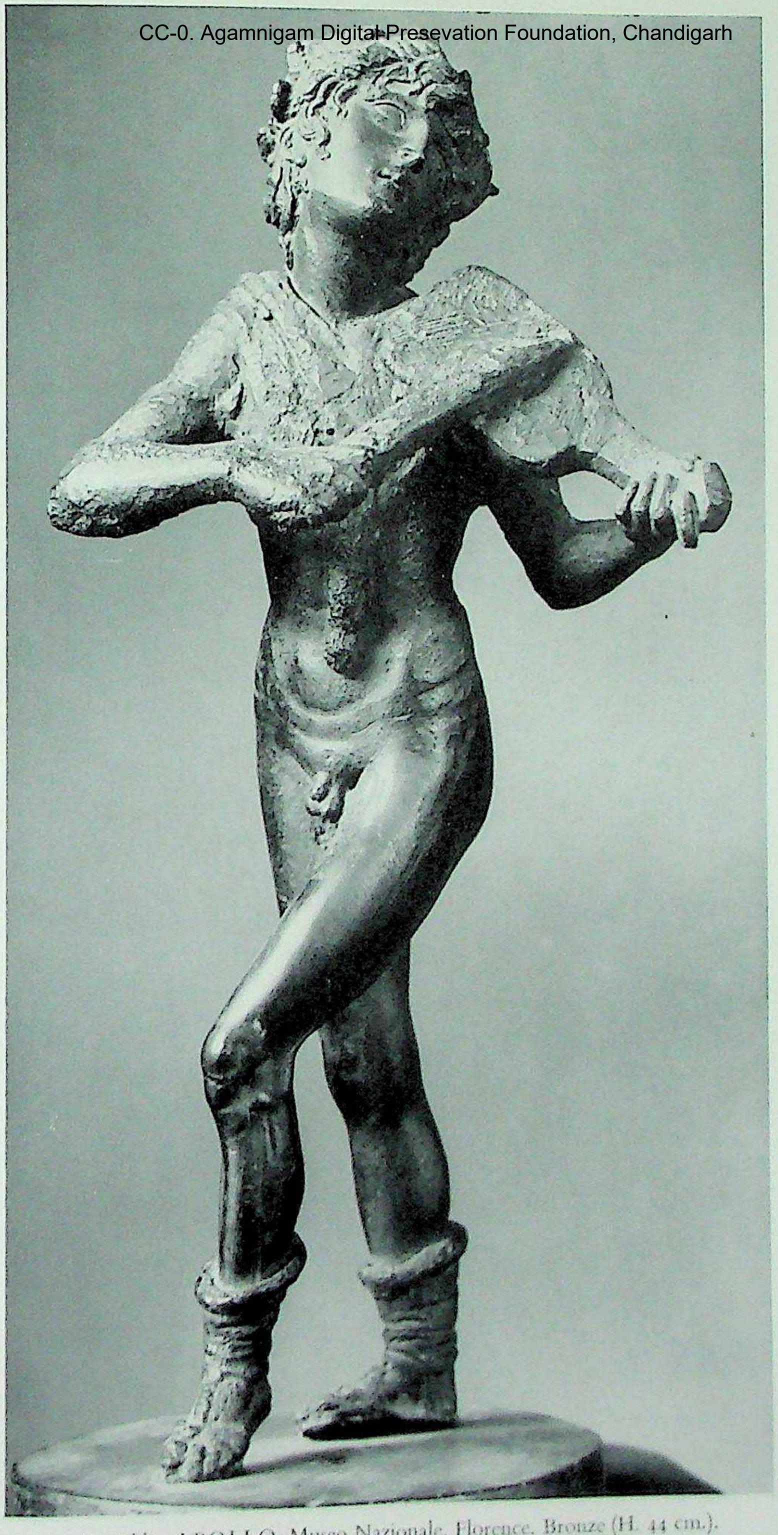
METICA

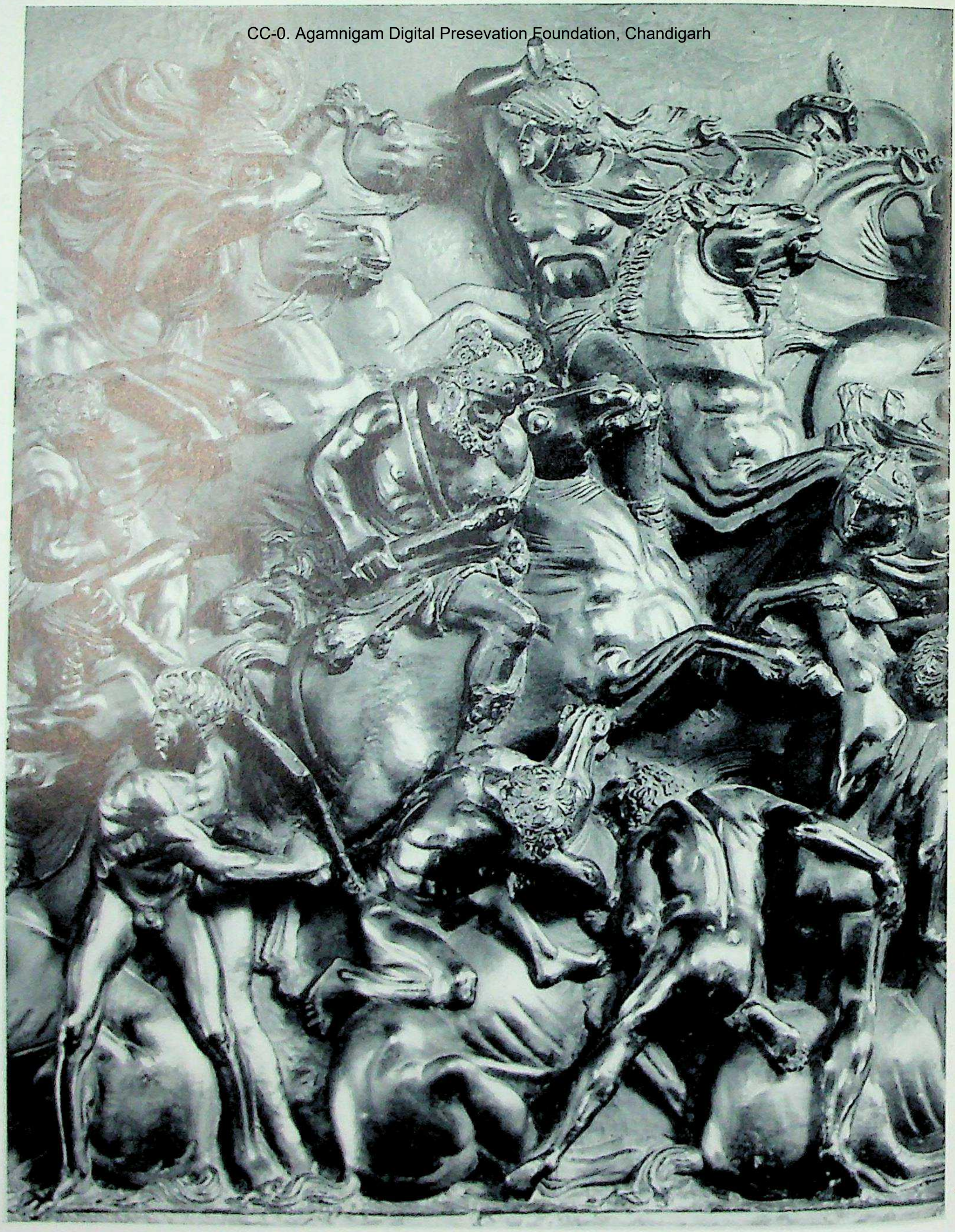
89. Pollajuolo: ARITHMETIC (detail of Figure 72). Grotte Vaticane, Rome. Bronze.



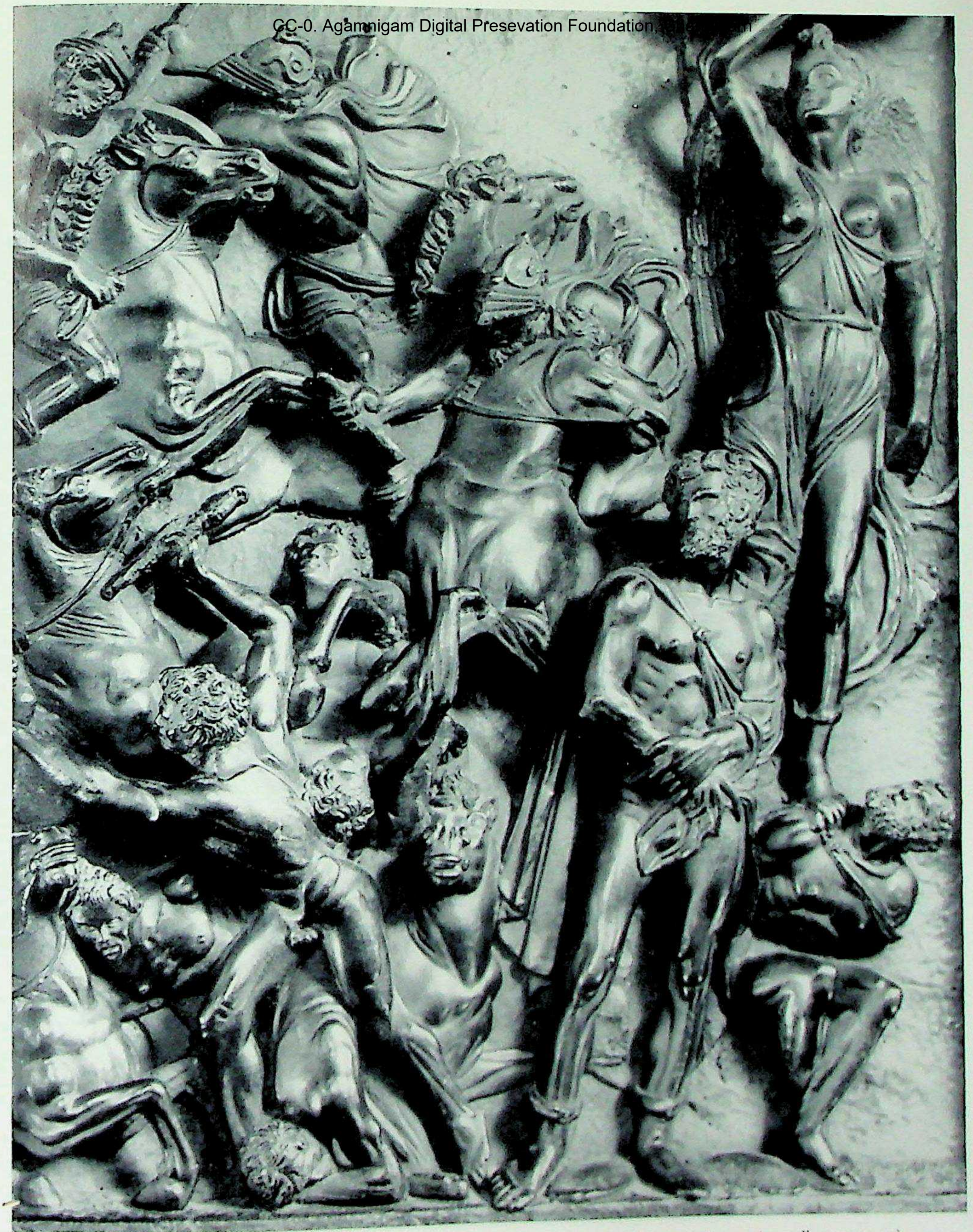
90. Pollajuolo: HERCULES AND ANTAEUS. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze (H. with base 45 cm.).



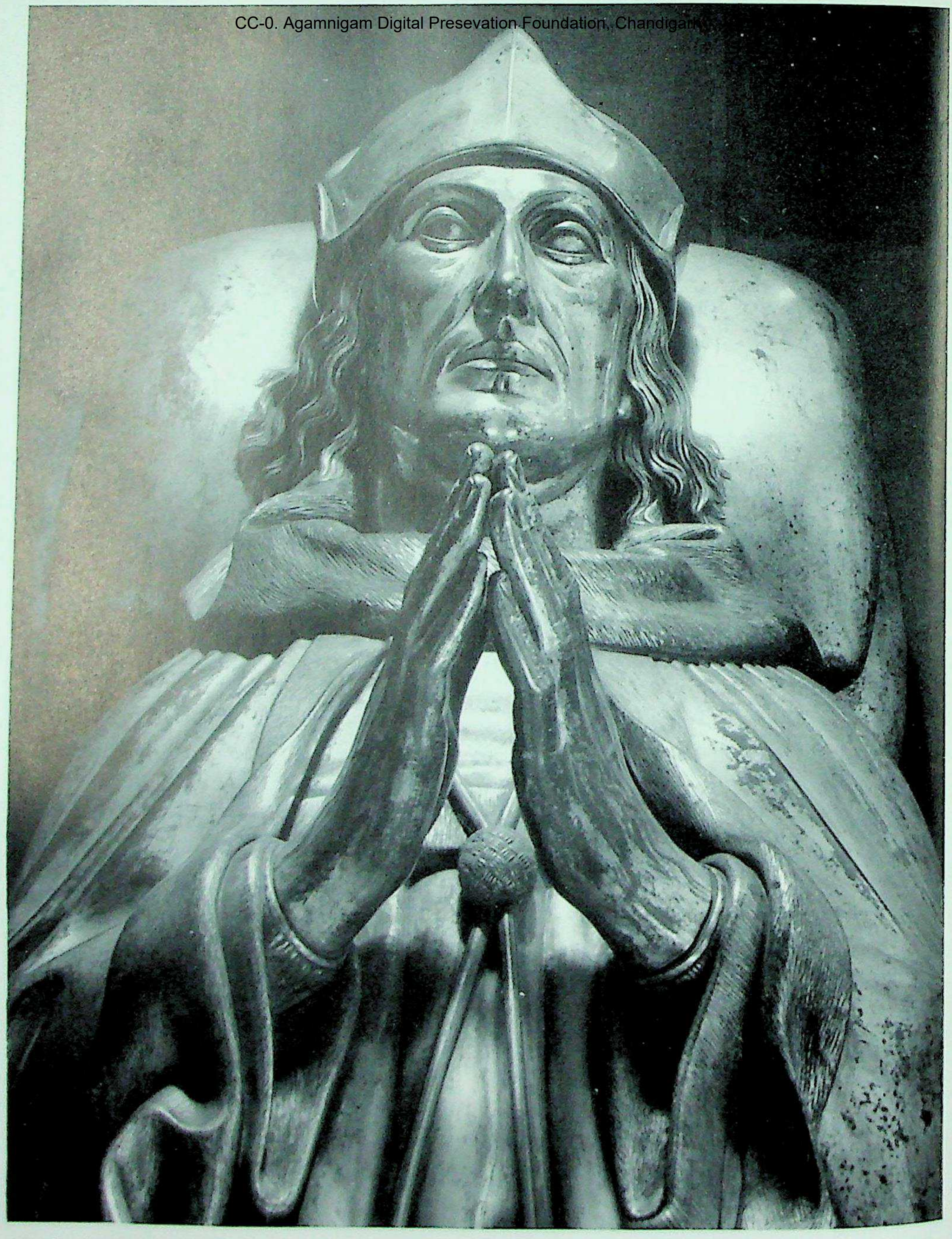
91. Bertoldo: APOLLO. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze (H. 44 cm.).



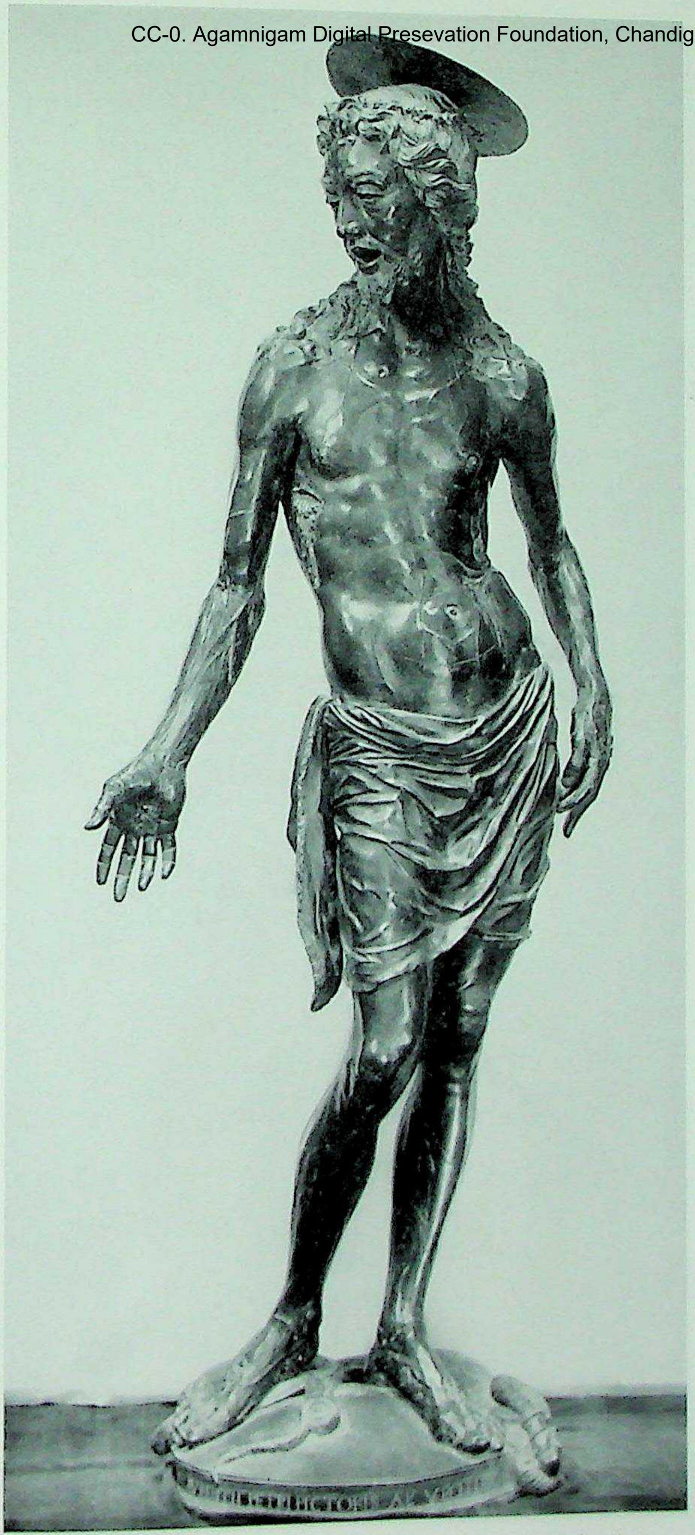
92. Bertoldo: BATTLE SCENE (detail of Figure 139). Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze (overall 43 × 99 cm.).



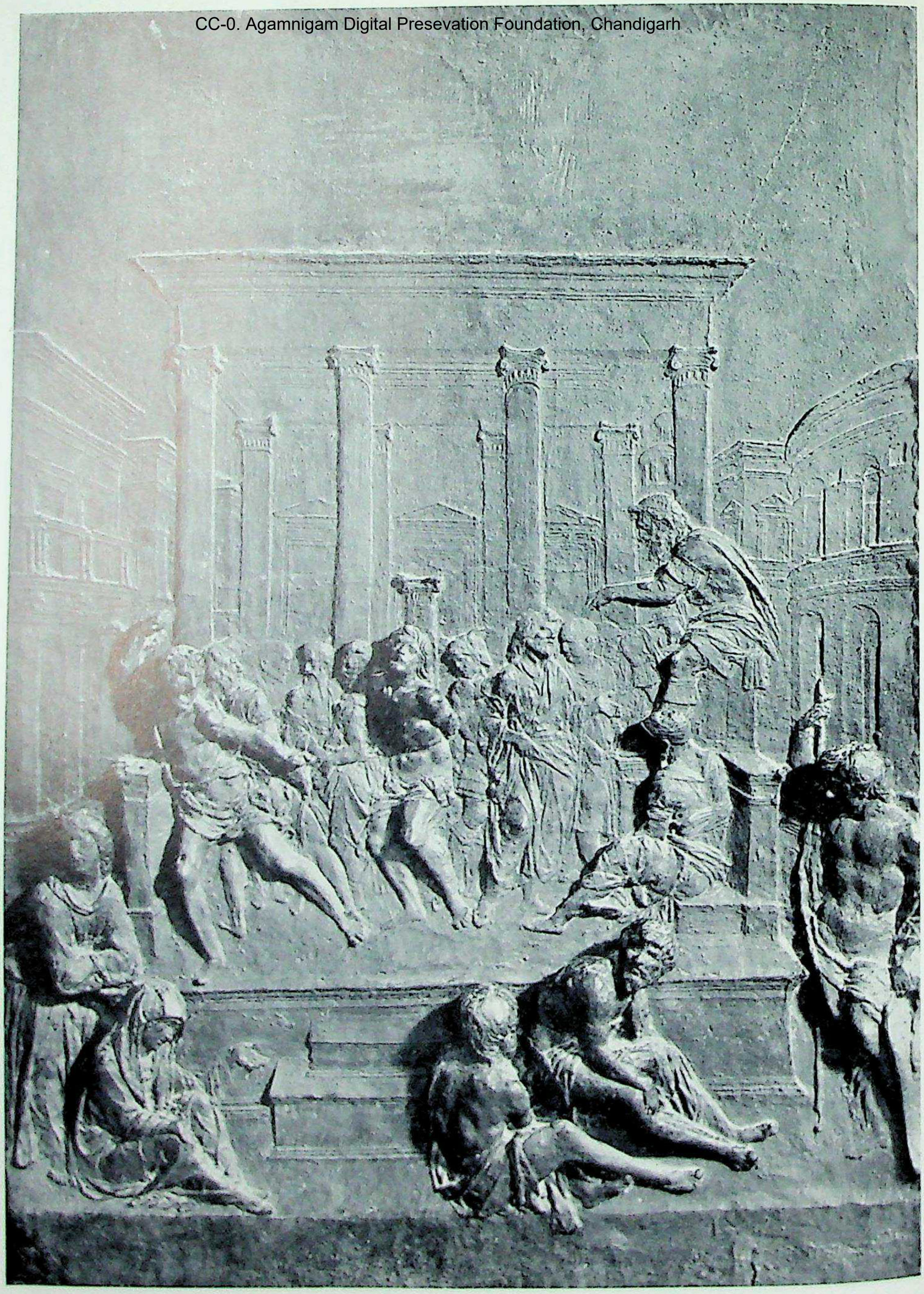
93. Bertoldo: BATTLE SCENE (detail of Figure 139). Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze (overall 43 × 99 cm.).



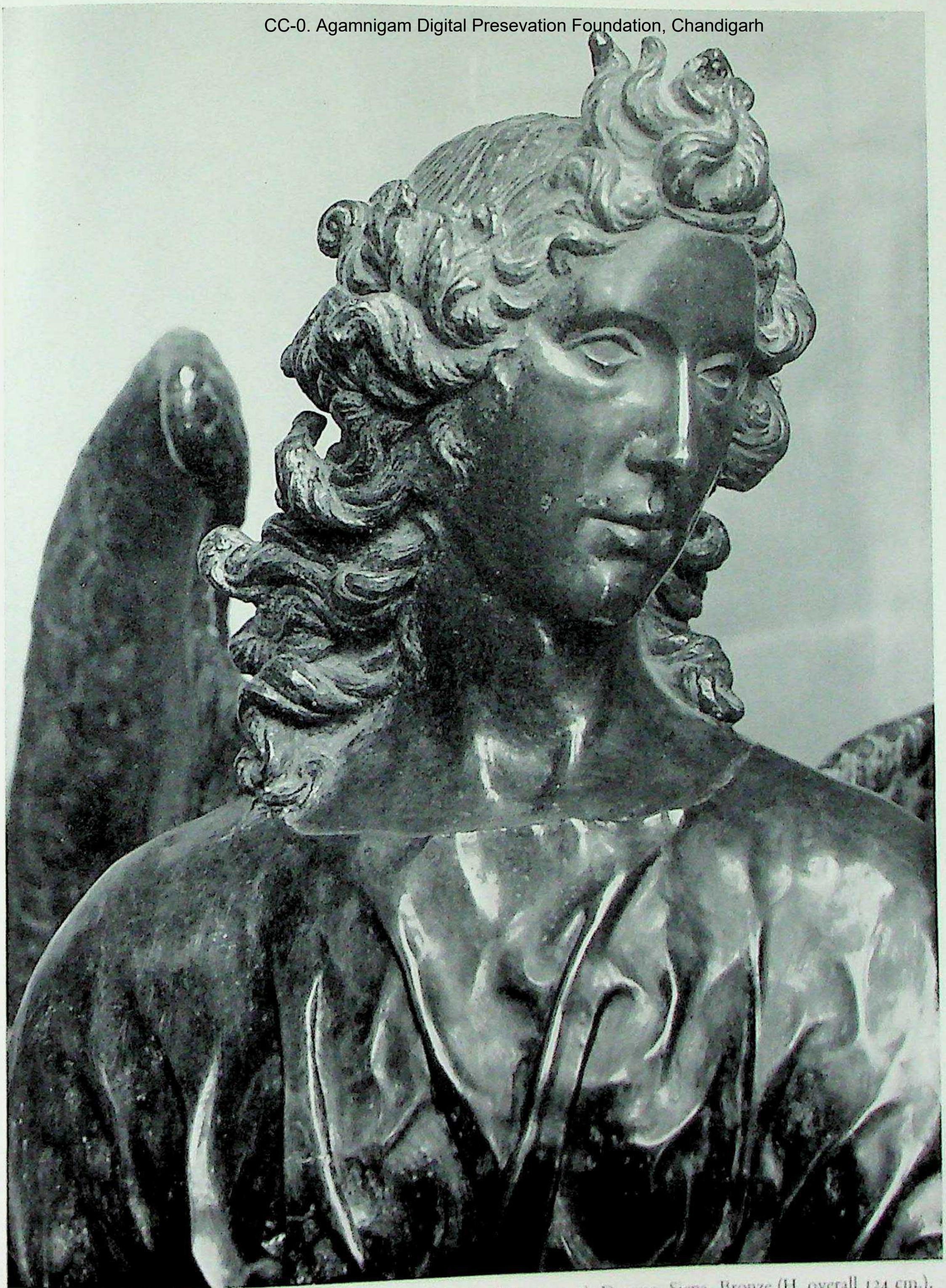
94. Torrigiano: EFFIGY OF KING HENRY VII (detail of Figure 74). Westminster Abbey, London. Gilt bronze.



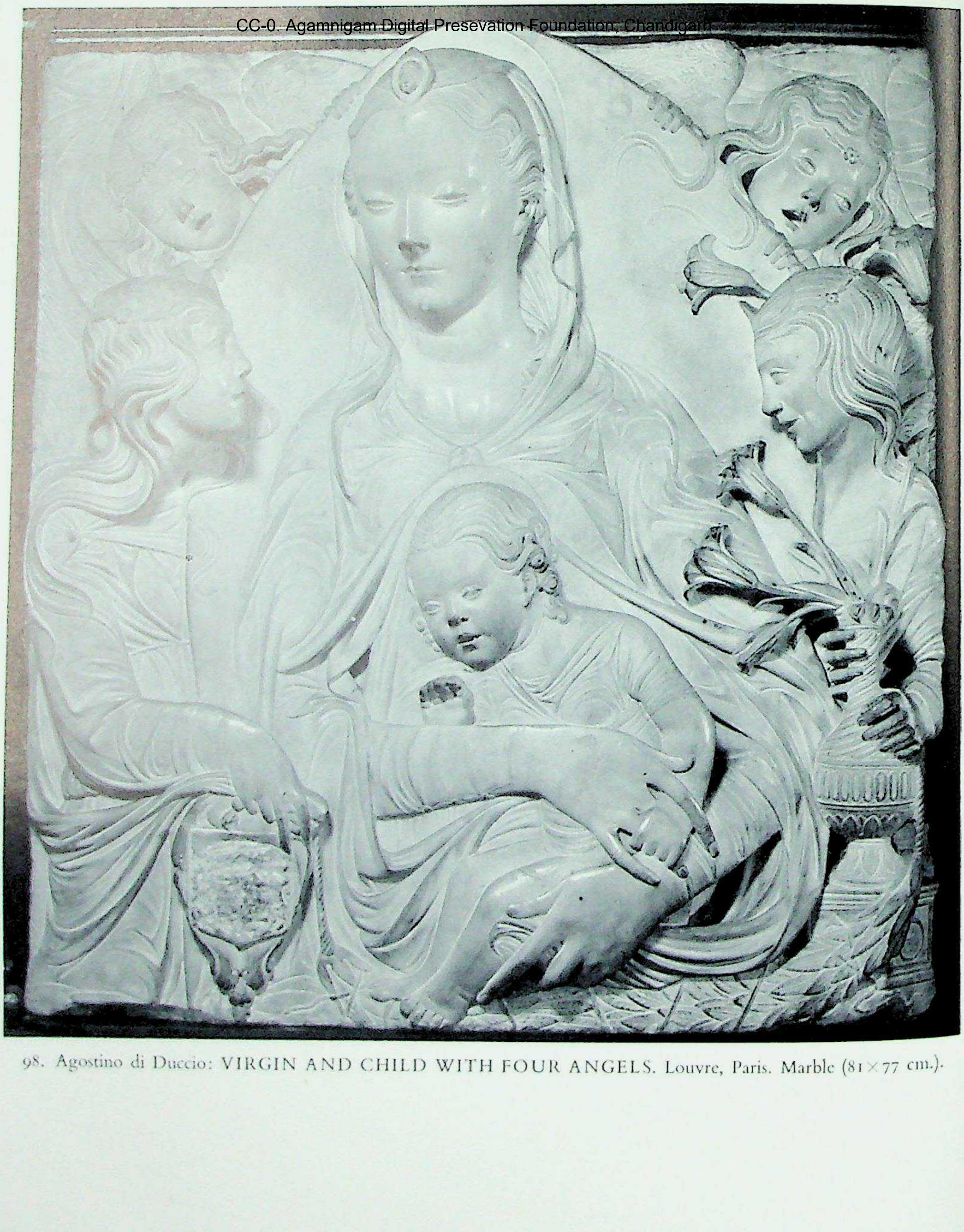
95. Vecchietta: THE RISEN CHRIST. S. Maria della Scala, Siena.
Bronze (H. 183 cm.).



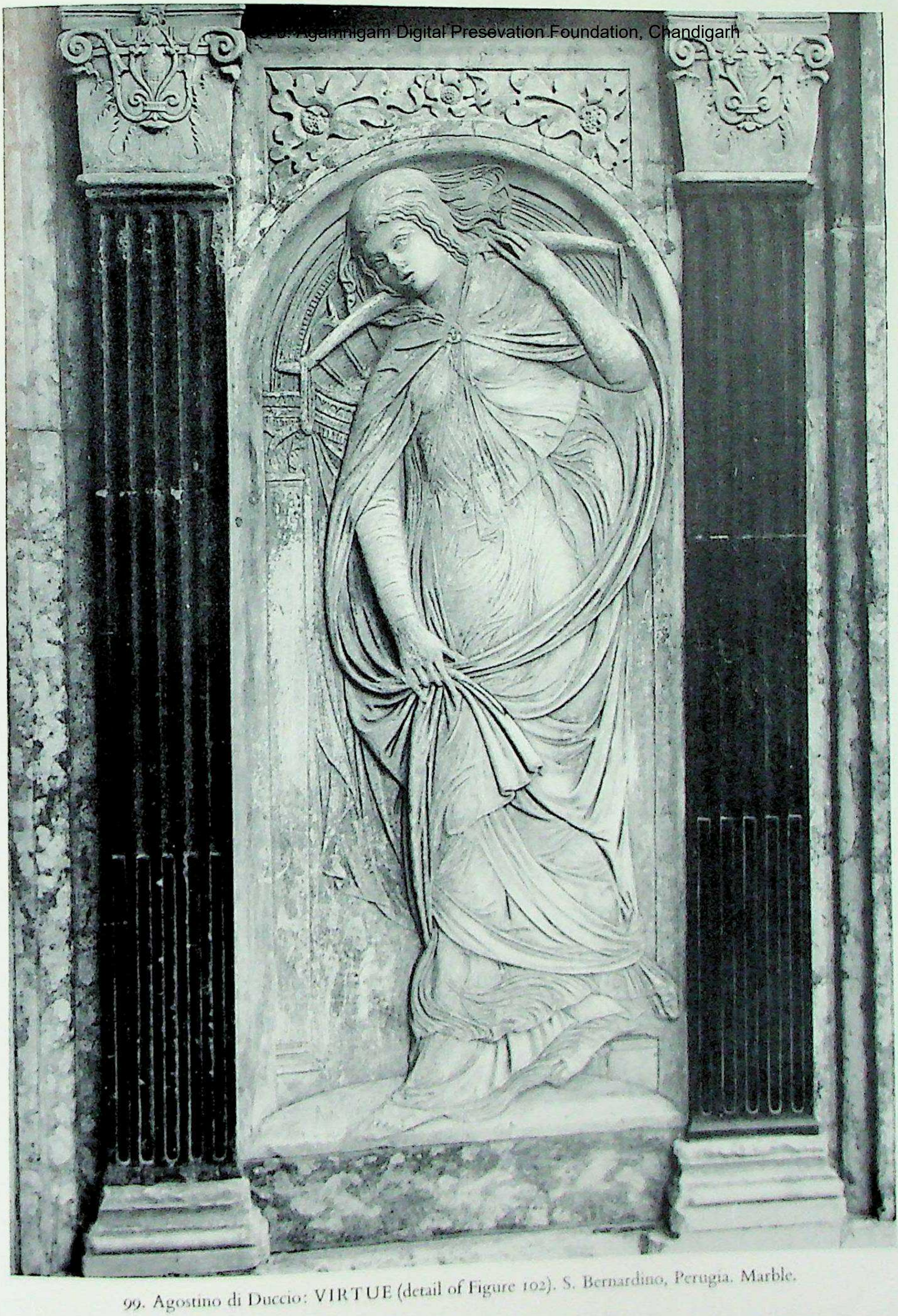
96. Francesco di Giorgio: THE FLAGELLATION OF CHRIST. Pinacoteca Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. Bronze (56×41 cm.).



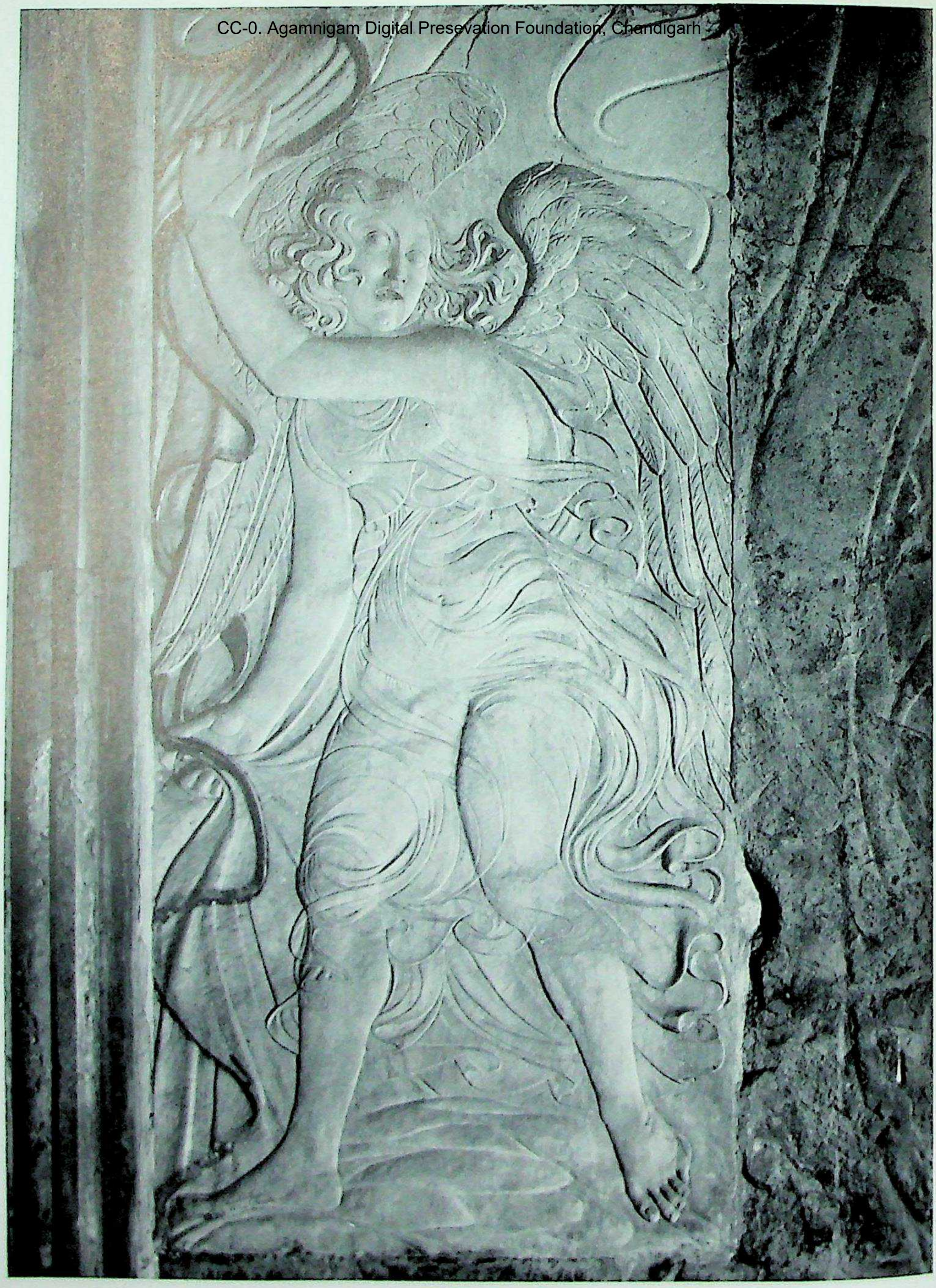
97. Francesco di Giorgio: HEAD OF AN ANGEL (detail of Figure 101). Duomo, Siena. Bronze (H. overall 124 cm.).



98. Agostino di Duccio: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH FOUR ANGELS. Louvre, Paris. Marble (81×77 cm.).



99. Agostino di Duccio: VIRTUE (detail of Figure 102). S. Bernardino, Perugia. Marble.



100. Agostino di Duccio: ANGEL DRAWING A CURTAIN. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. Marble.

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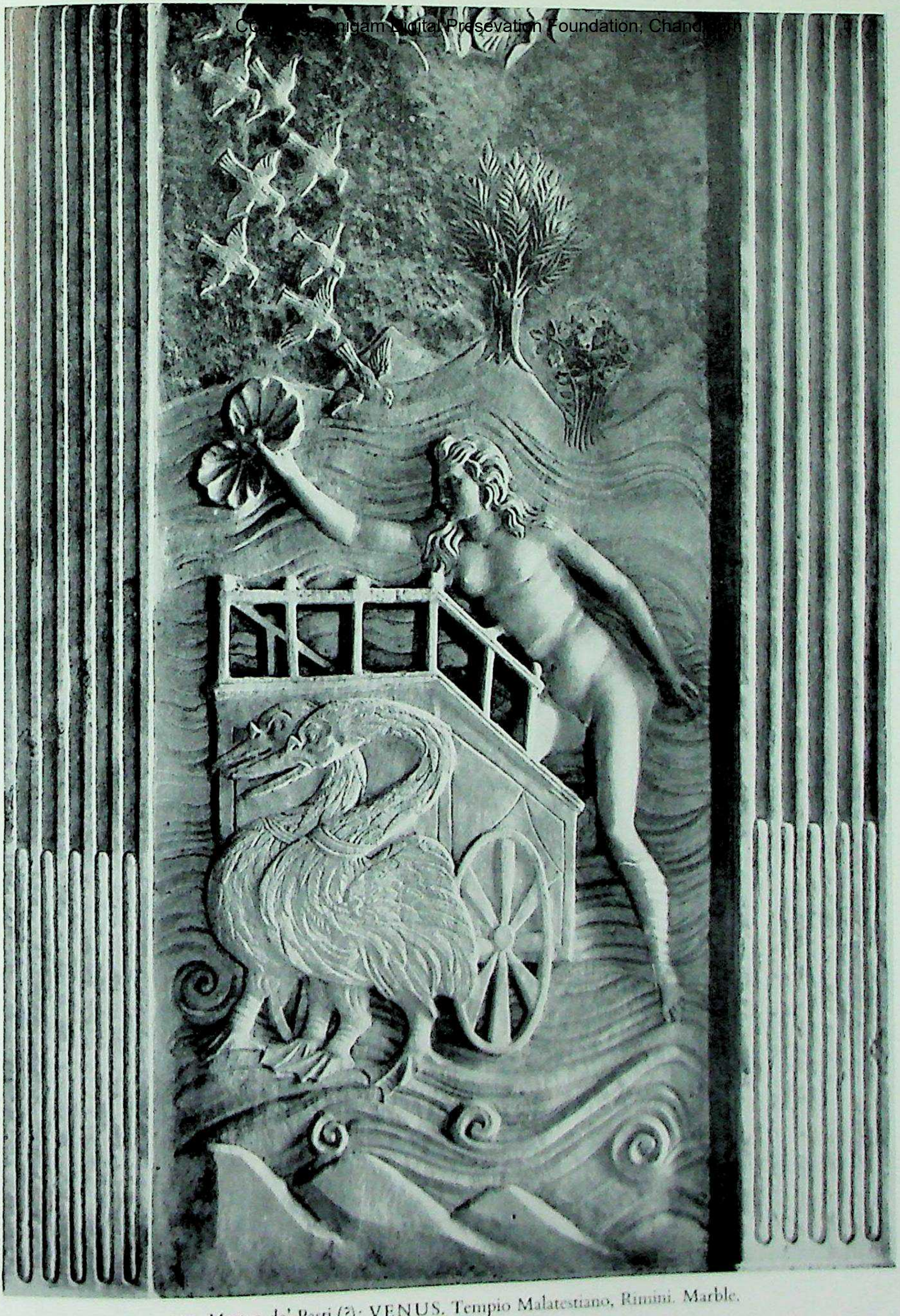
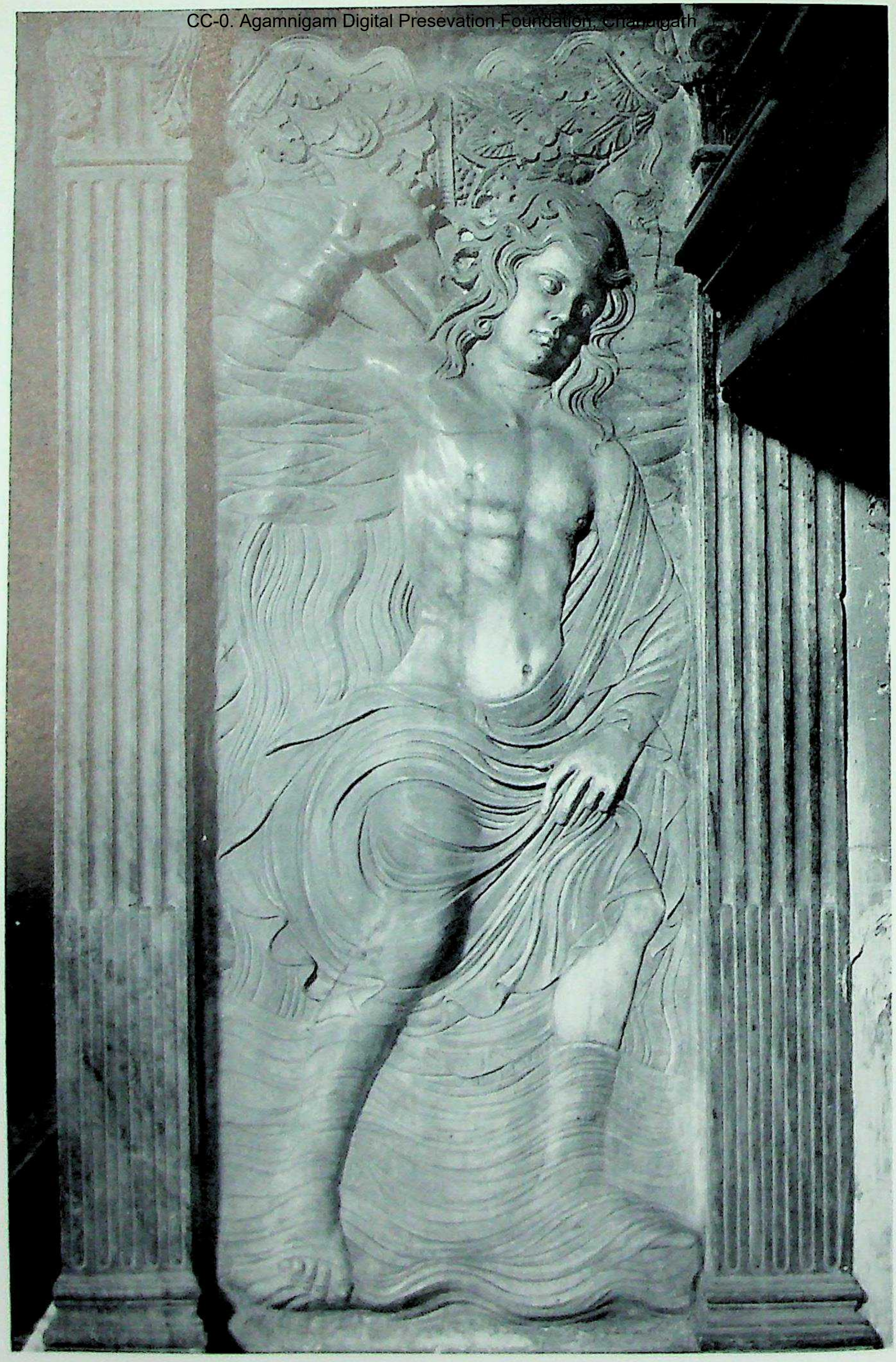
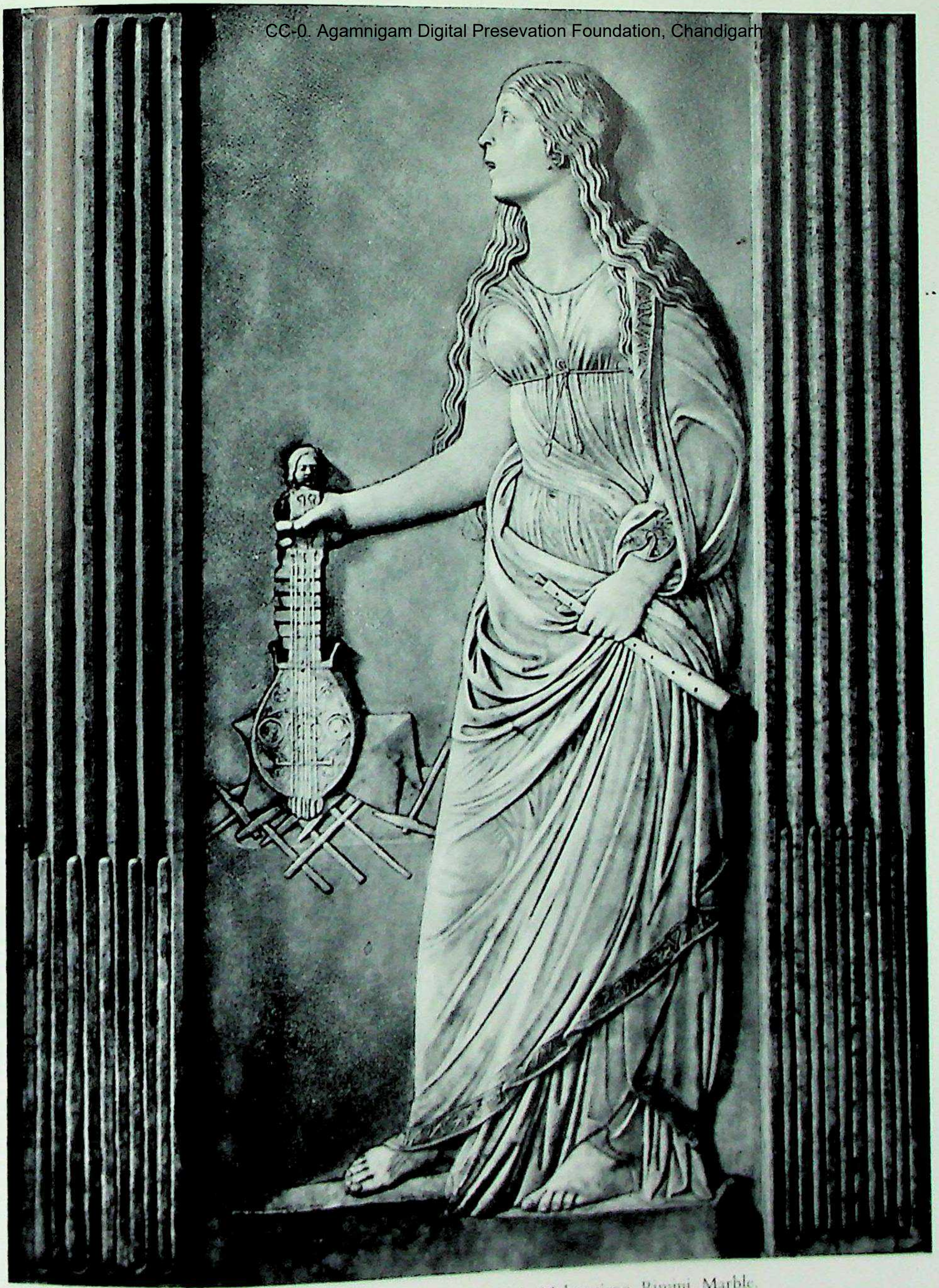


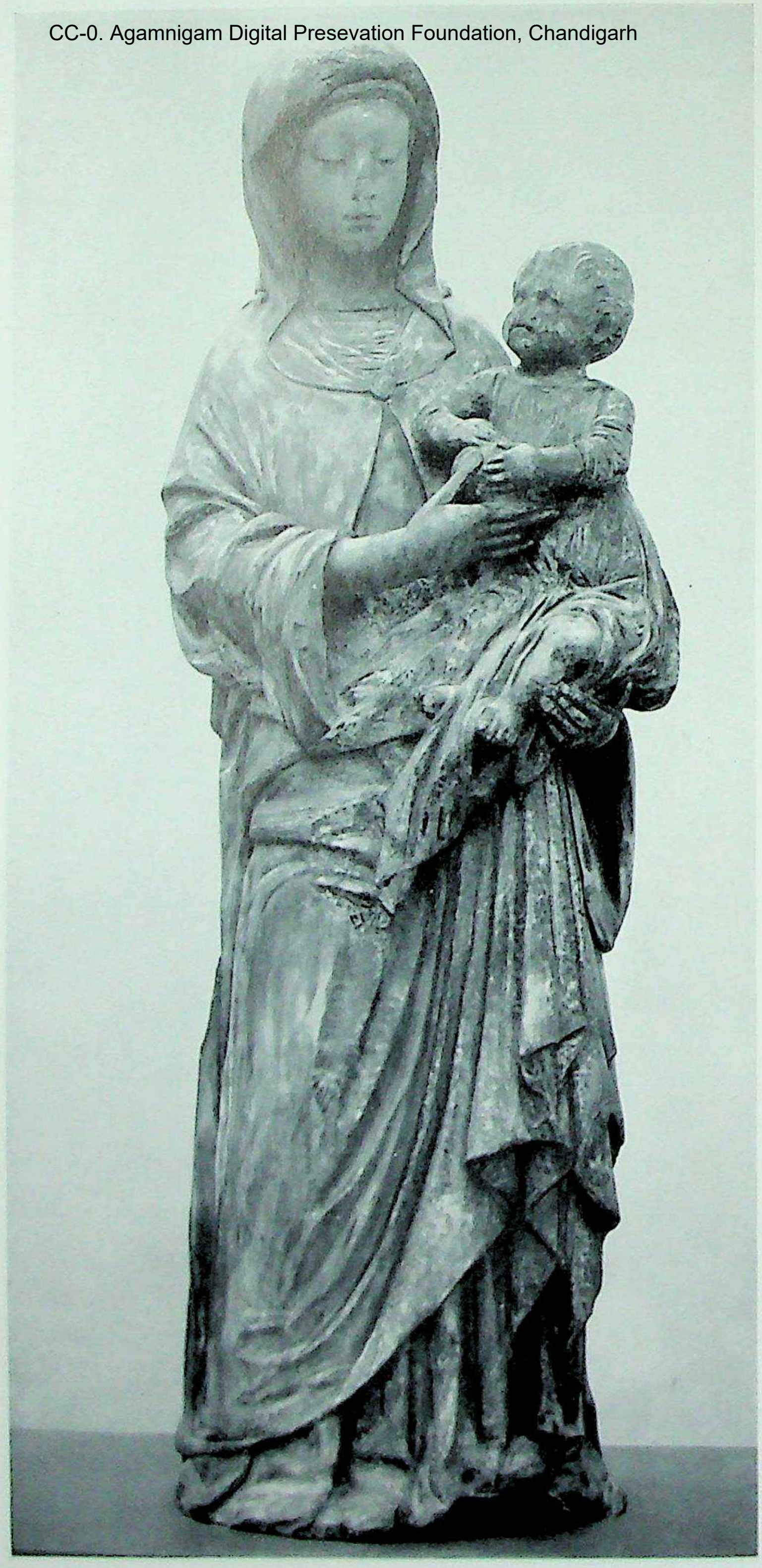
101. Matteo de' Pasti (?): VENUS. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. Marble.



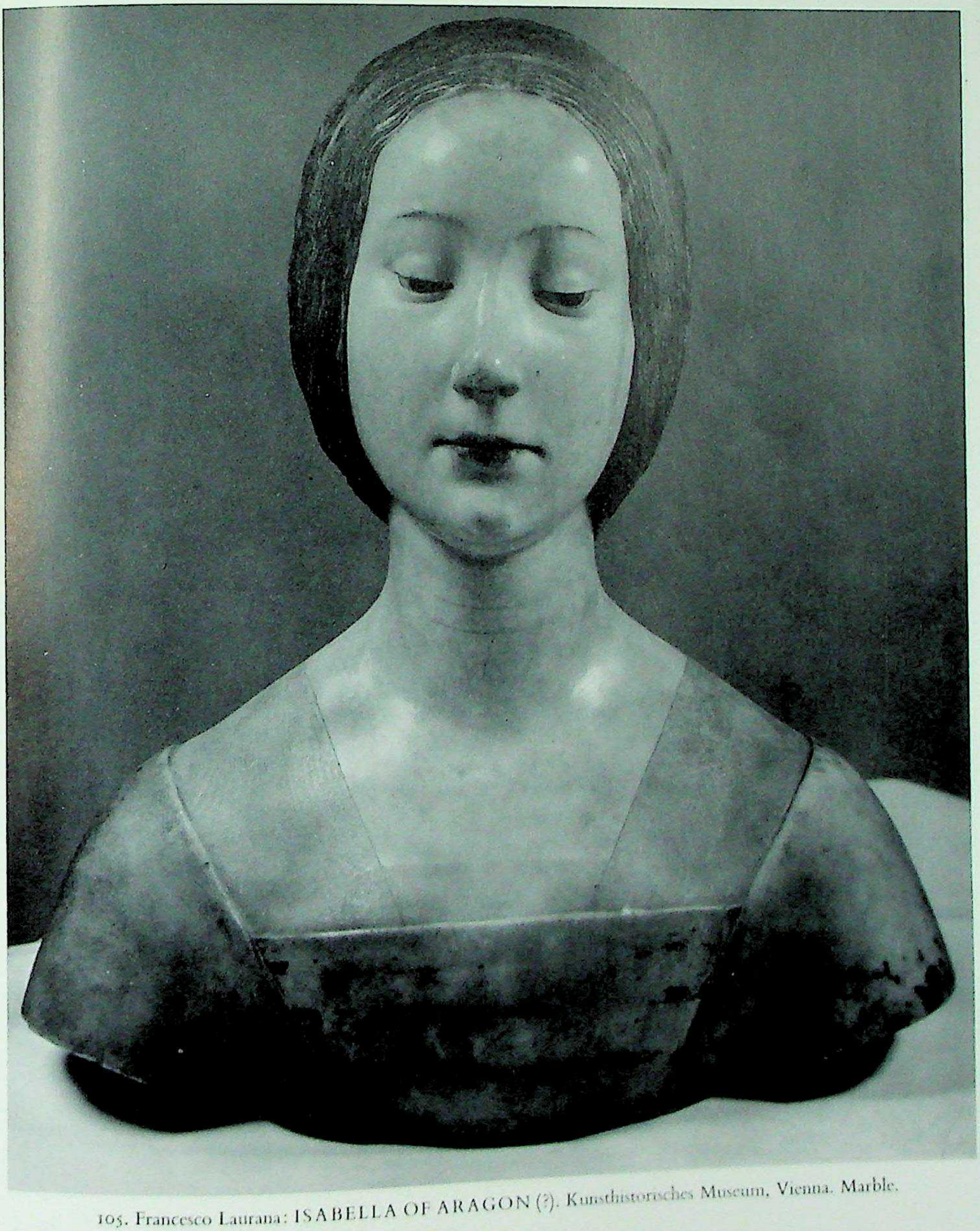
102. Matteo de' Pasti (?): AQUARIUS. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. Marble.



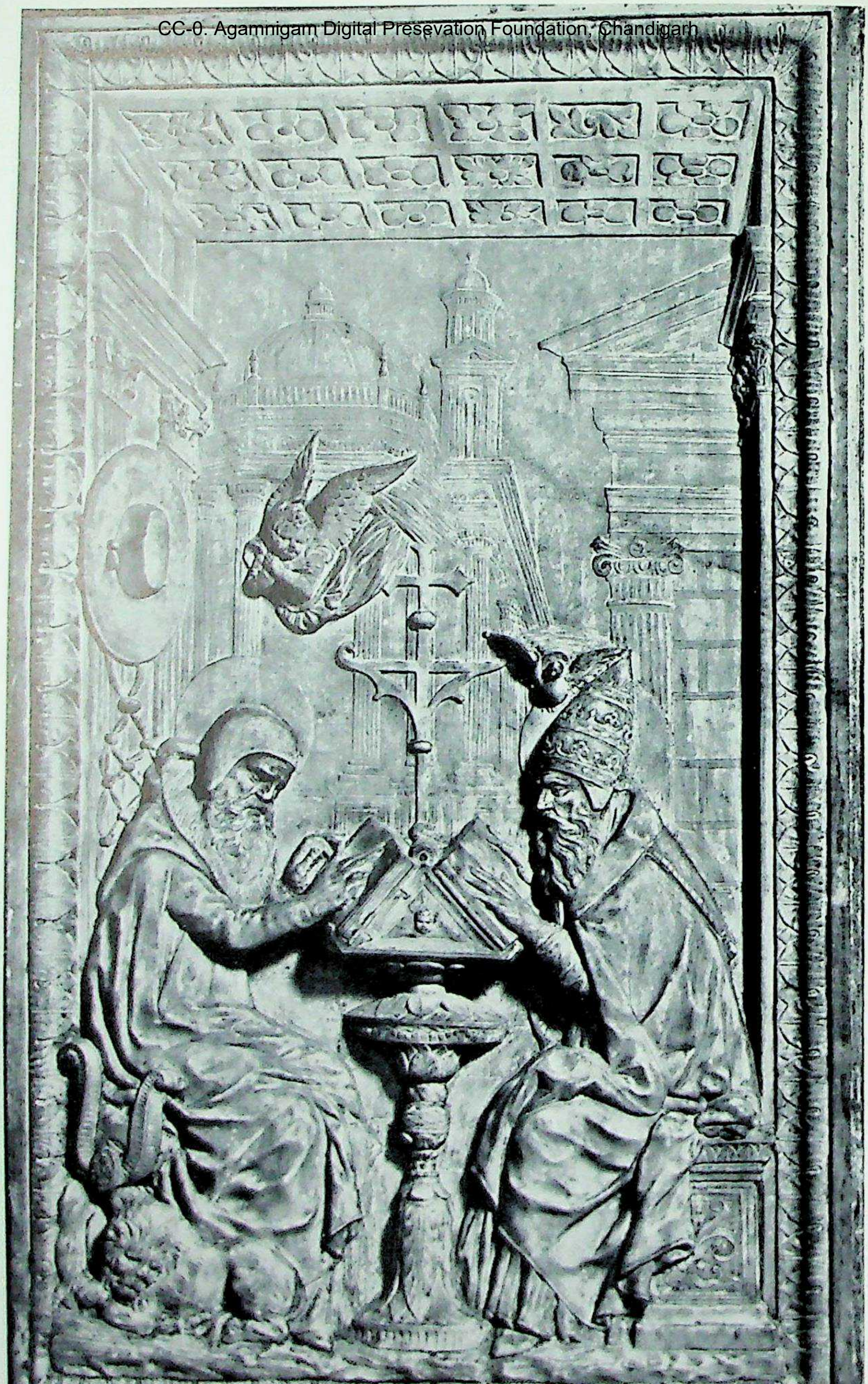
103. Matteo de' Pasti (?): MUSIC. Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. Marble.



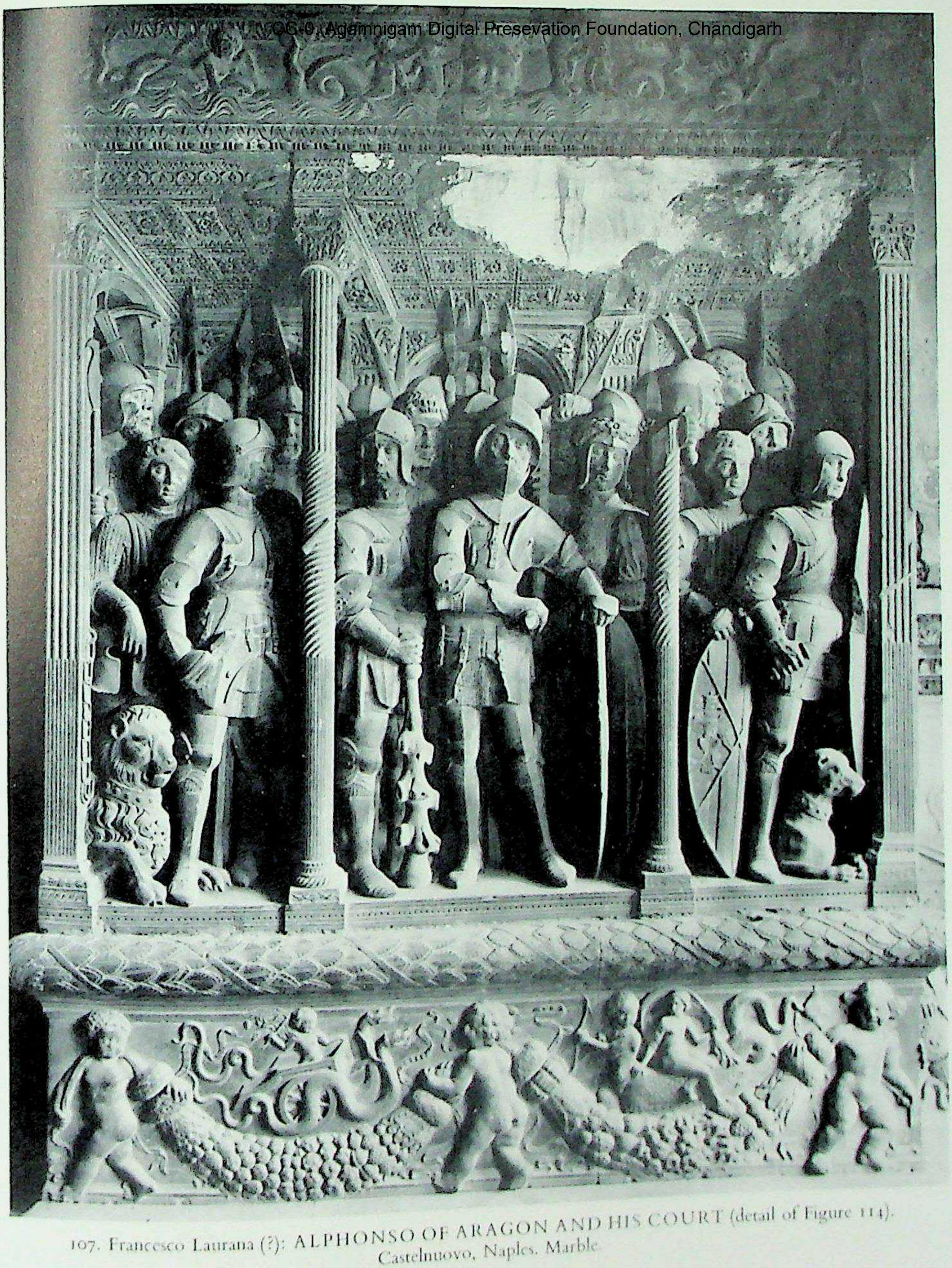
104. Francesco Laurana: VIRGIN AND CHILD. S. Maria Materdomini, Naples. Marble.



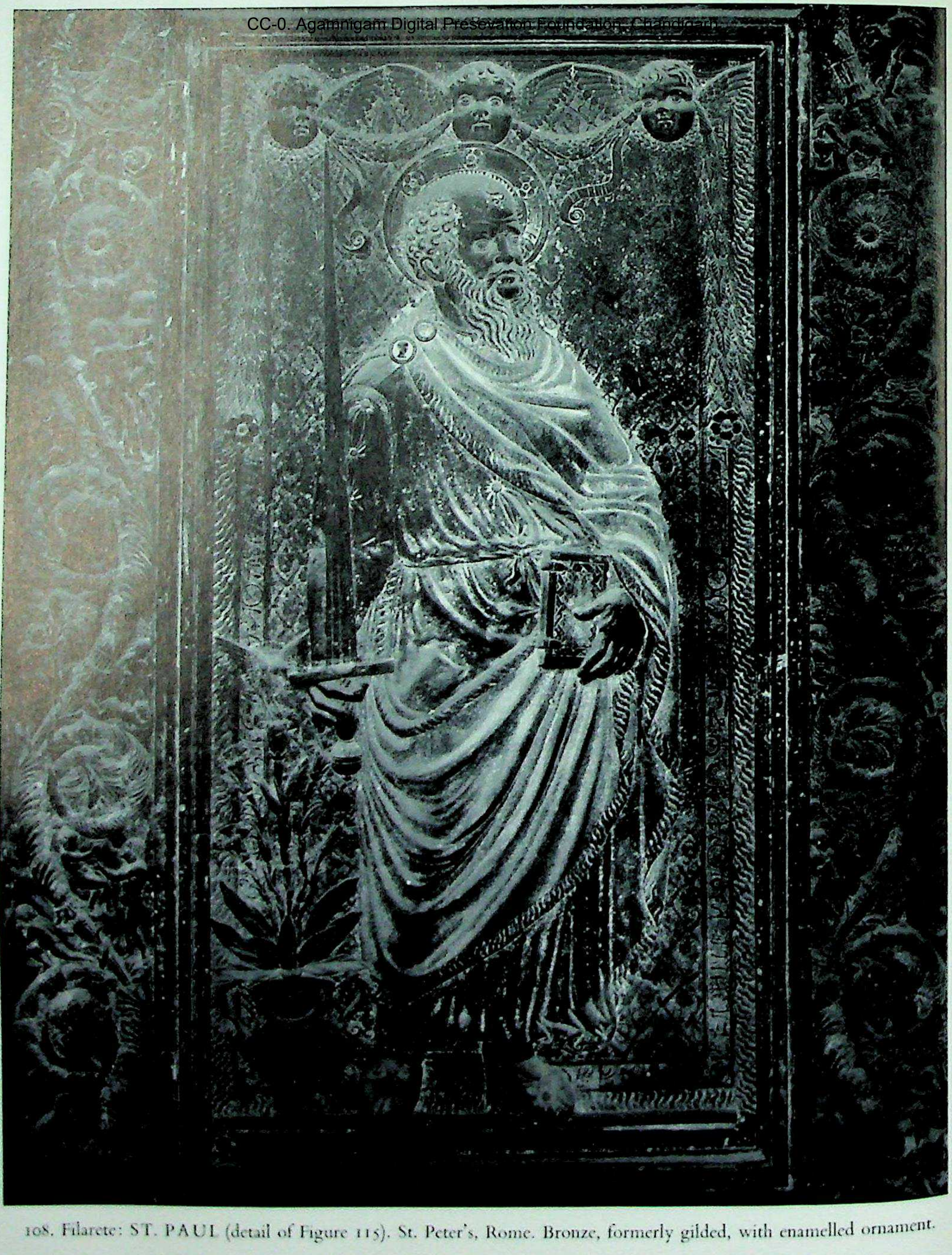
105. Francesco Laurana: ISABELLA OF ARAGON (?). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Marble.



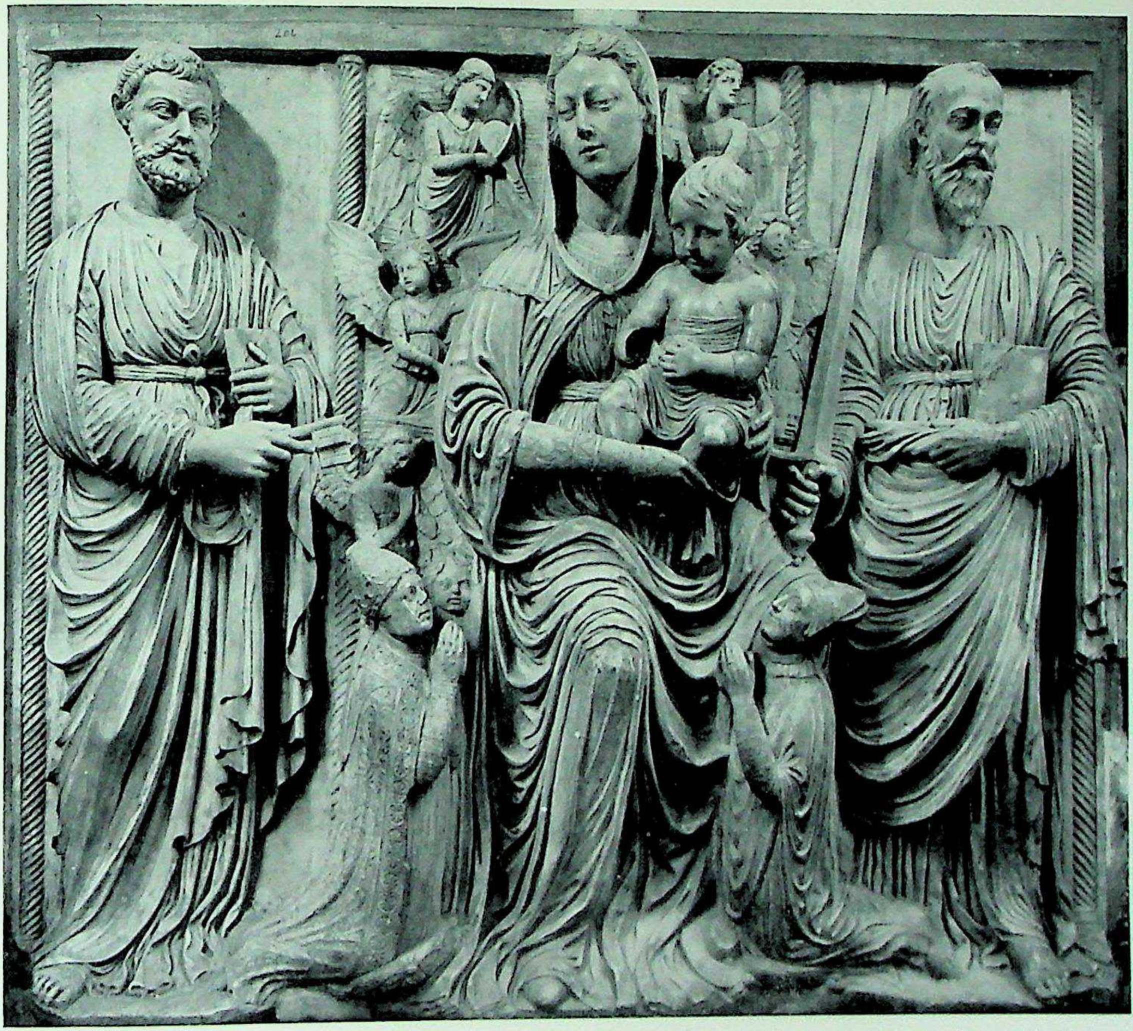
106. Francesco Laurana: SS. JEROME AND GREGORY. Mastrantonio Chapel, S. Francesco, Palermo. Marble.



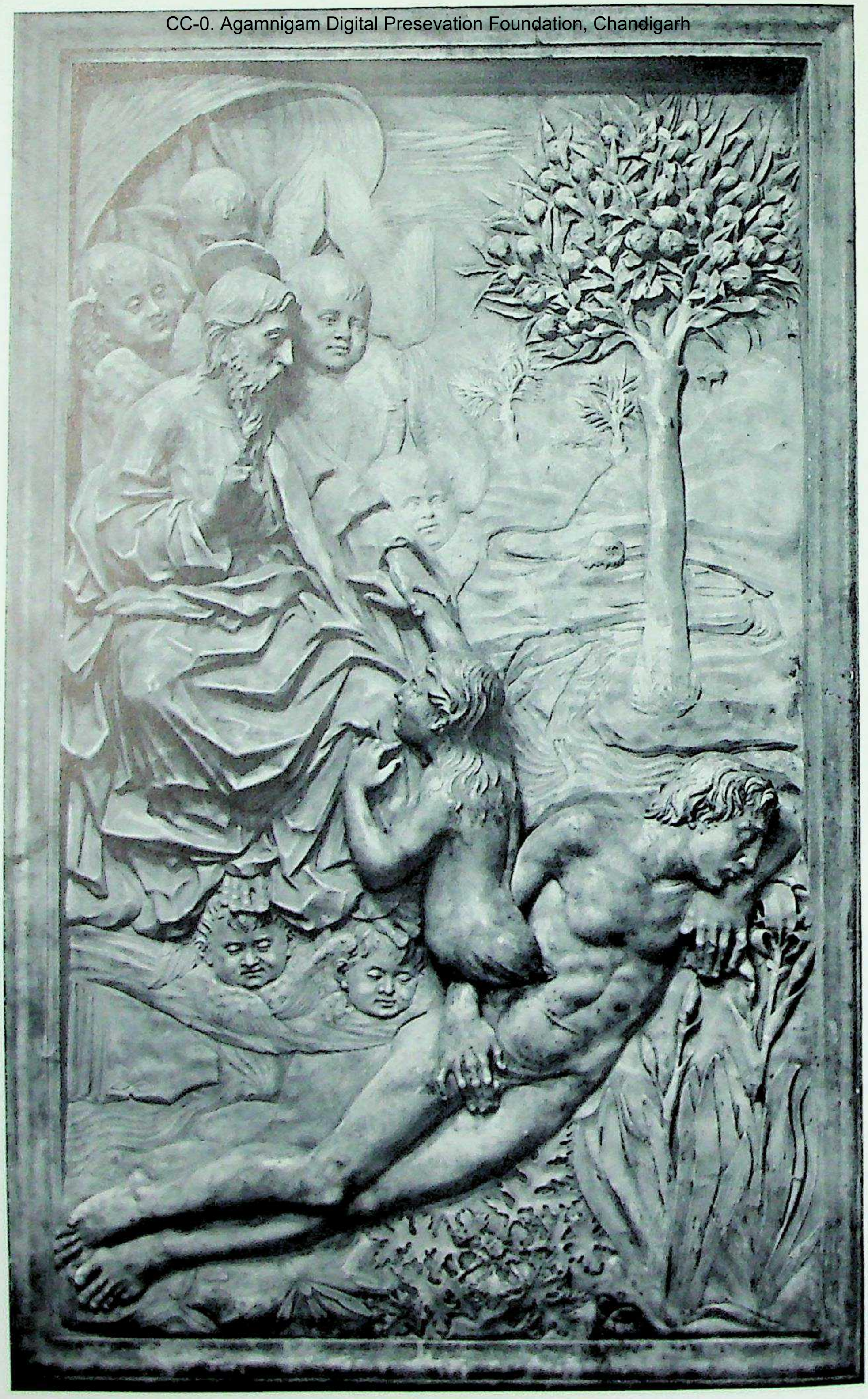
107. Francesco Laurana (?): ALPHONSO OF ARAGON AND HIS COURT (detail of Figure 114). Castelnuovo, Naples. Marble



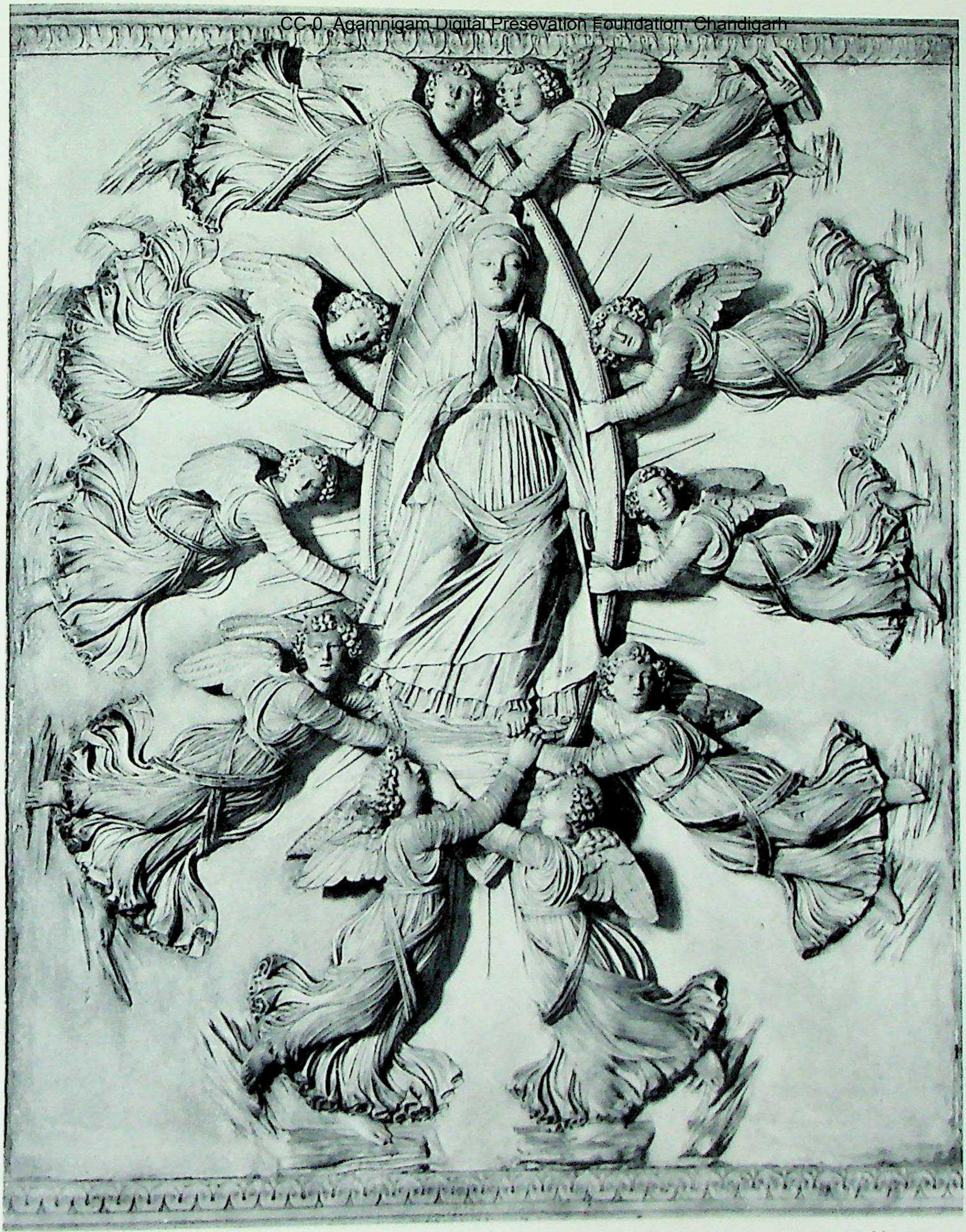
108. Filarete: ST. PAUL (detail of Figure 115). St. Peter's, Rome. Bronze, formerly gilded, with enamelled ornament.



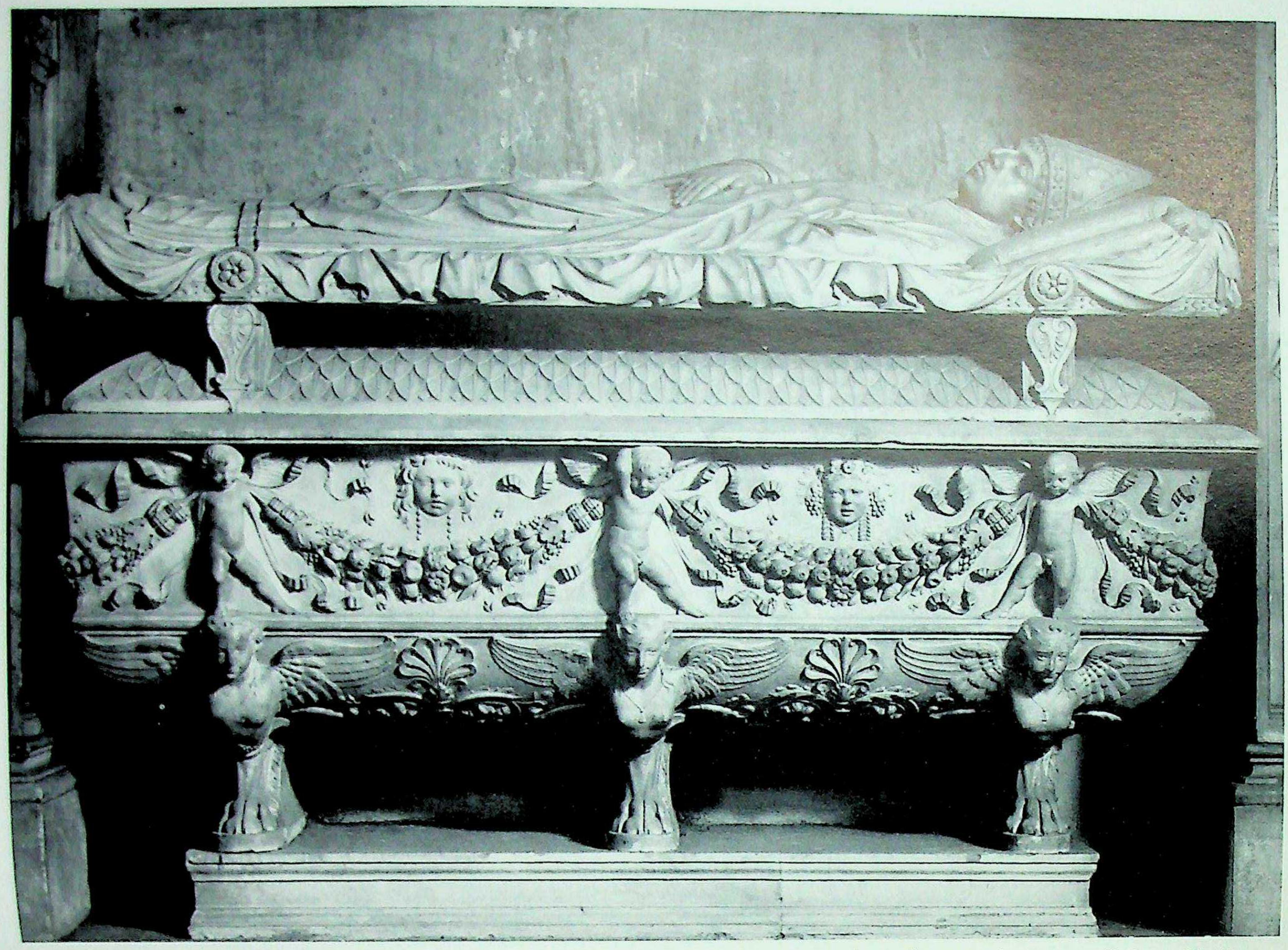
109. Isaia da Pisa: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SS. PETER AND PAUL. Grotte Vaticane, Rome. Marble.



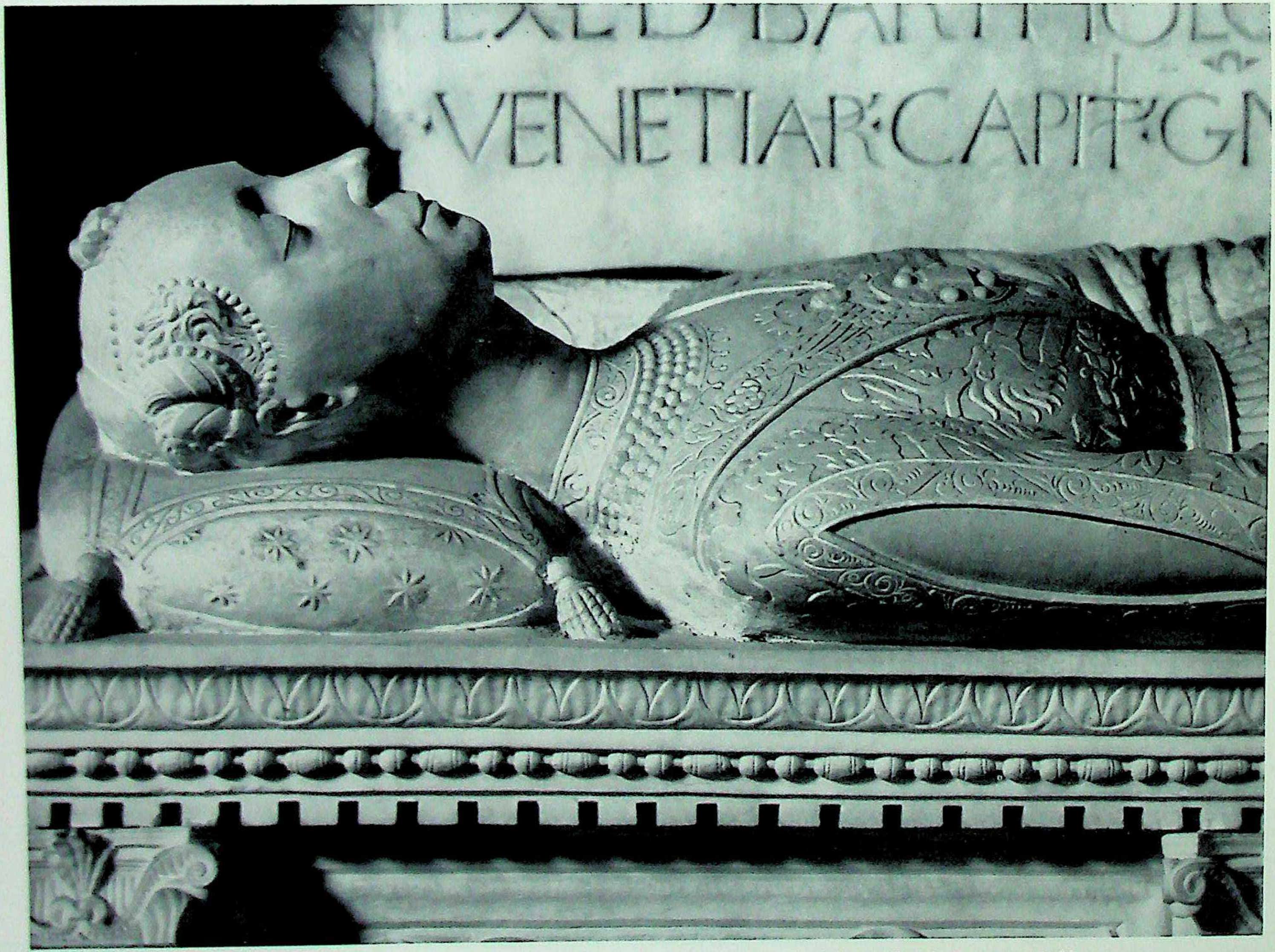
110. Giovanni Dalmata: THE CREATION OF EVE (detail of Figure 116). Grotte Vaticane, Rome. Marble.



111. Mino del Reame: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. S. Maria Maggiore, Rome. Marble.



112. Andrea Bregno and Mino da Fiesole: EFFIGY OF CARDINAL PIETRO RIARIO (detail of Figure 112). SS. Apostoli, Rome. Marble.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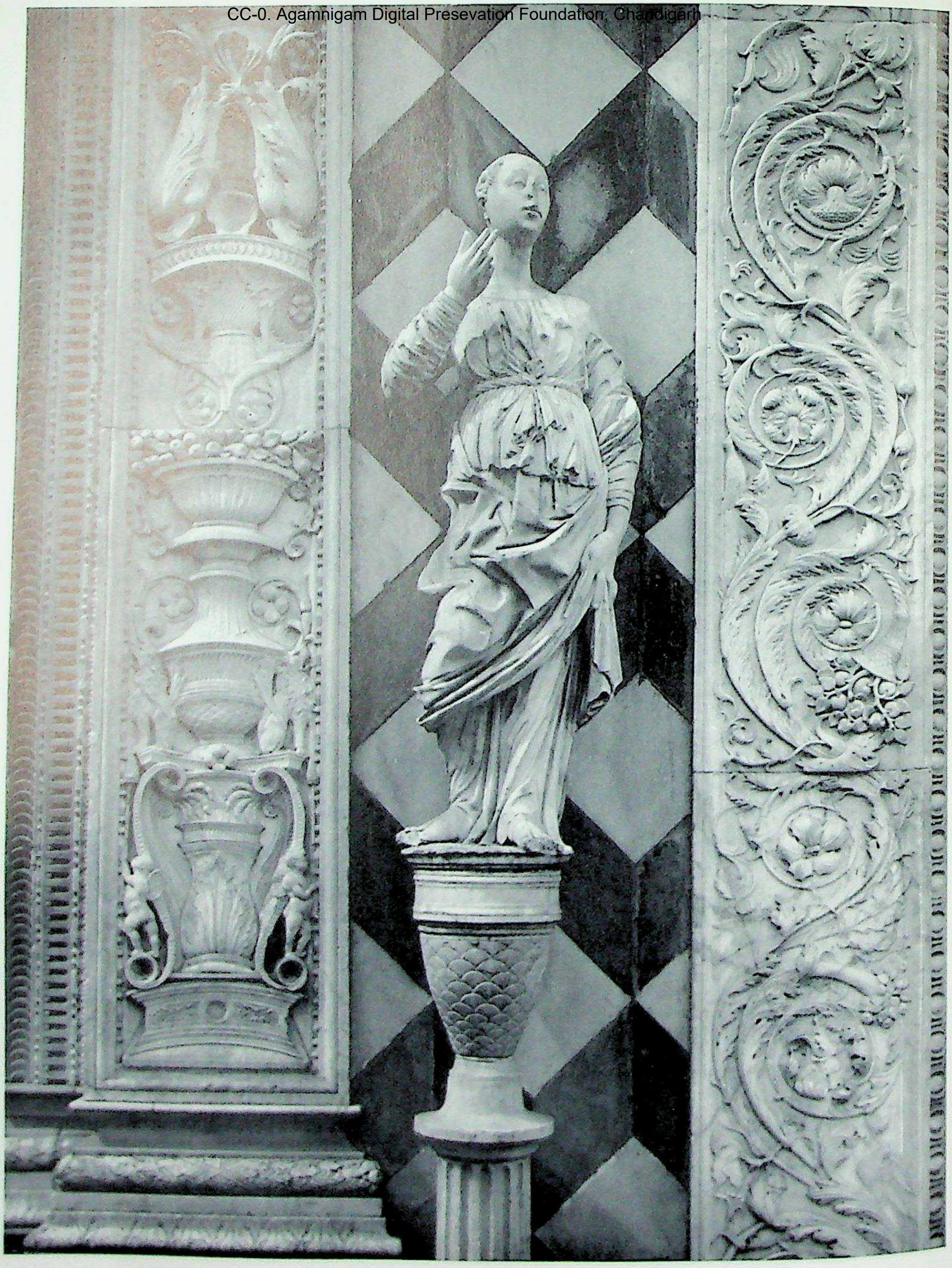
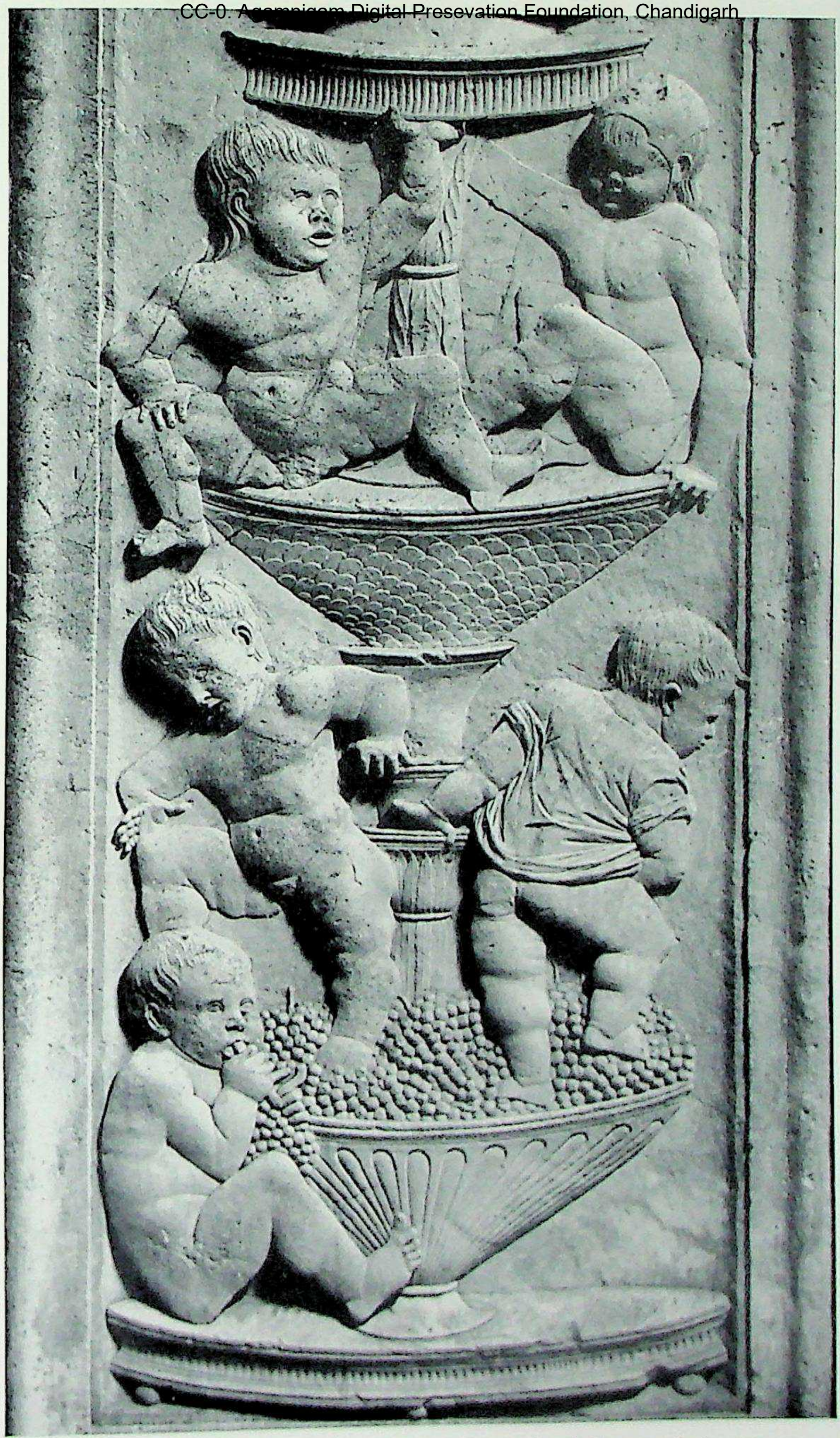
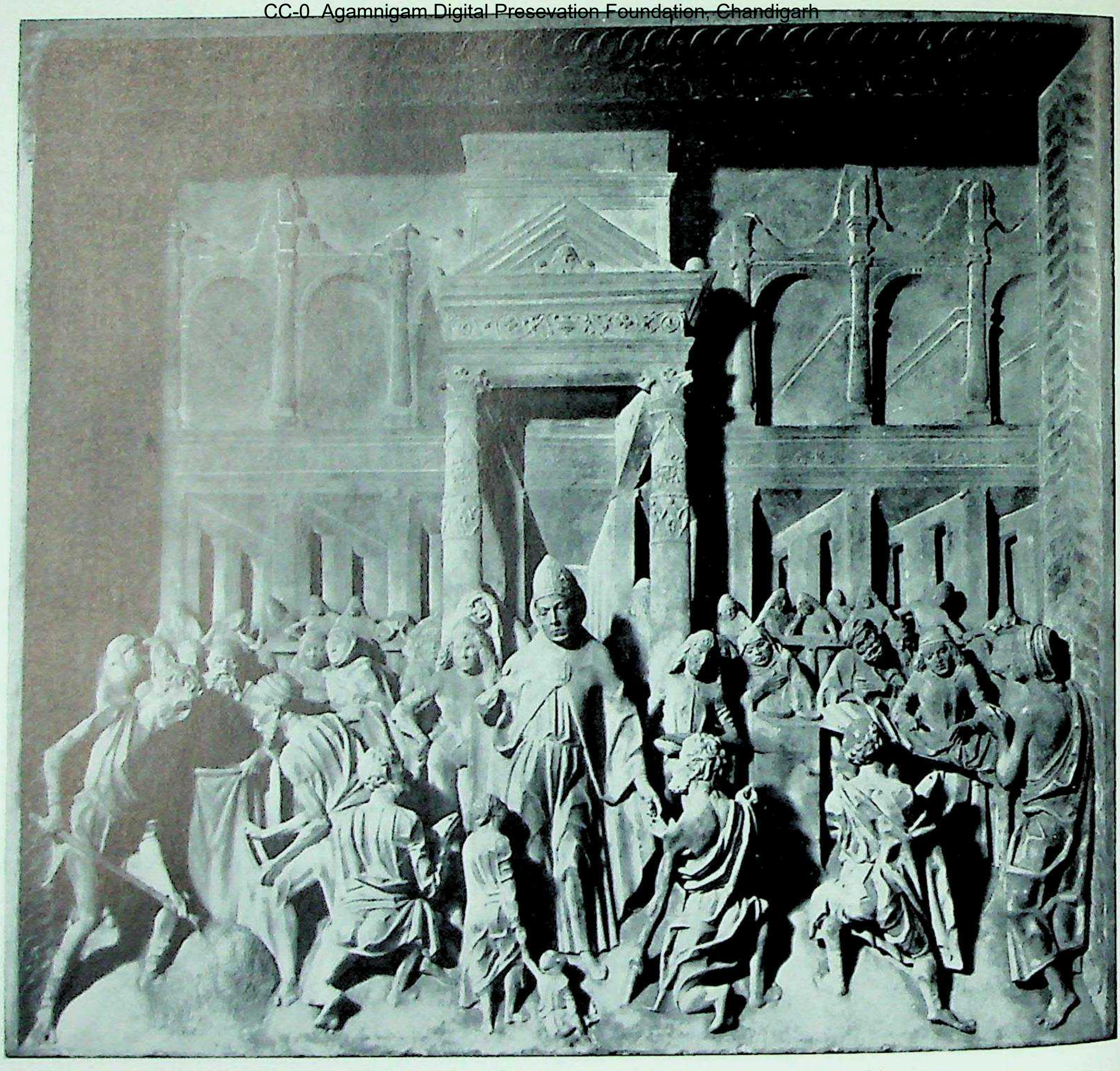
113. Amadeo: EFFIGY OF MEDEA COLLEONI (detail of Figure 122). Colleoni Chapel, Bergamo. Marble.



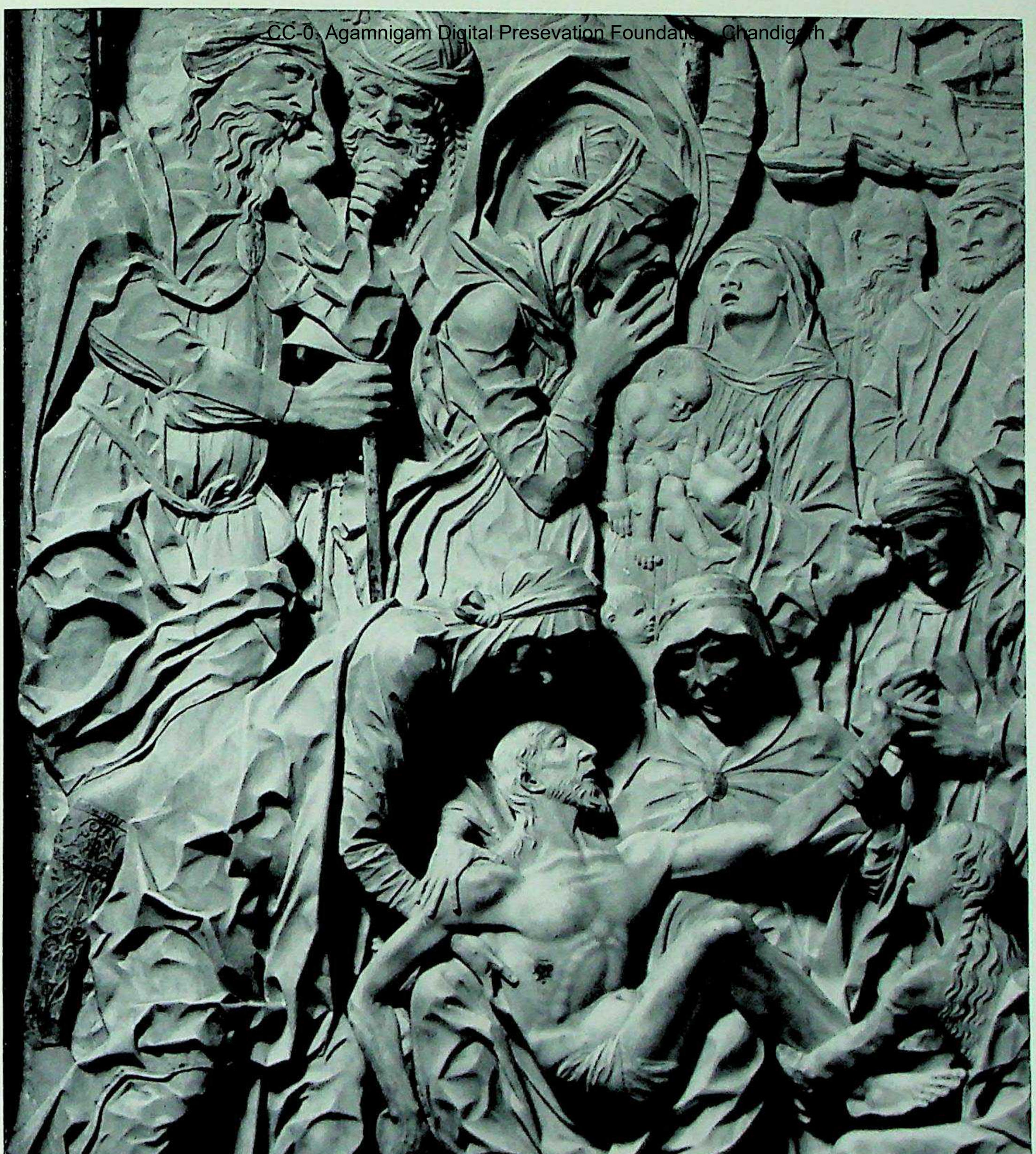
114. Amadeo: VIRTUE (detail of Figure 119). Colleoni Chapel, Bergamo. Marble.



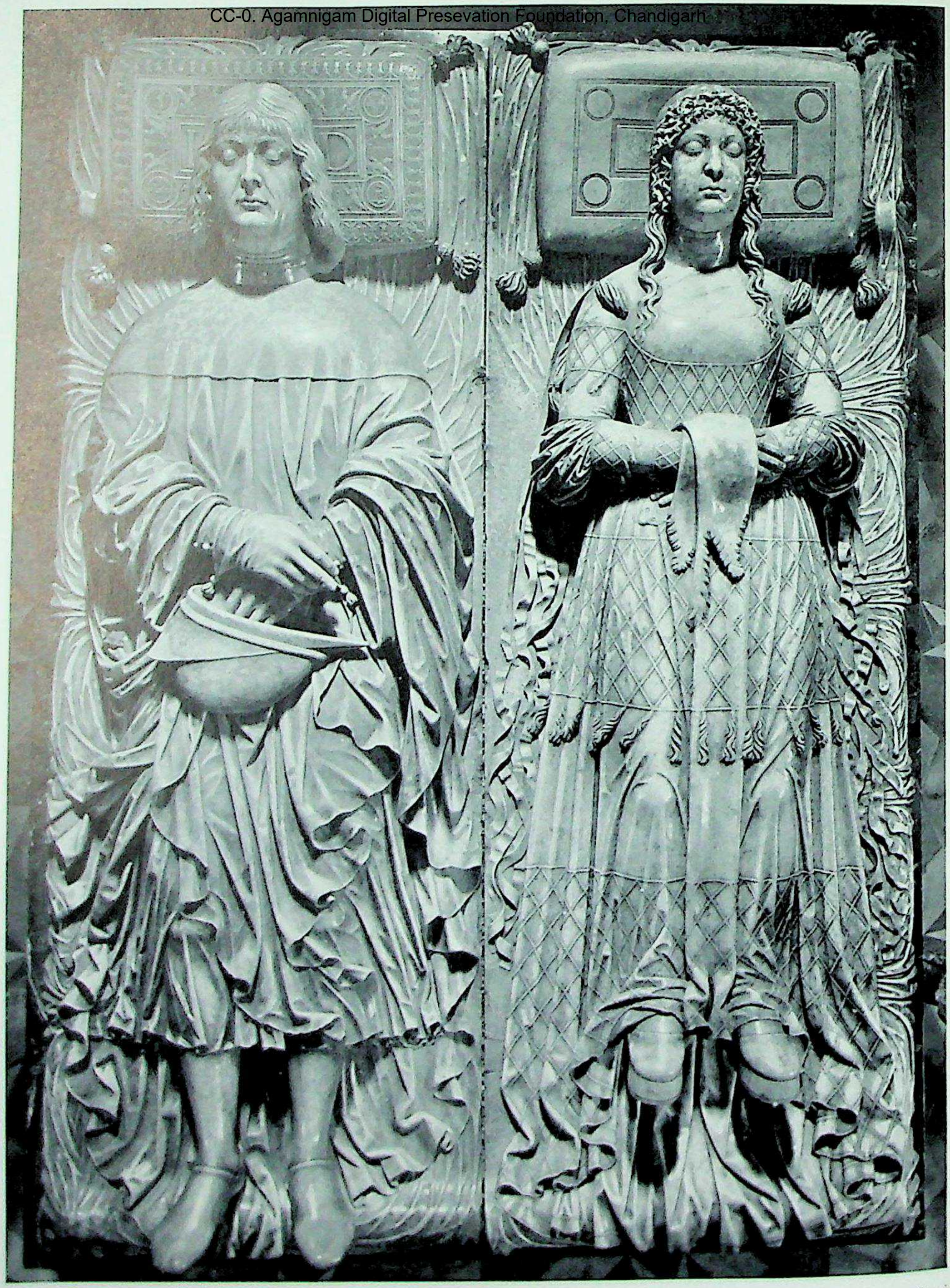
115. Amadeo: PLAYING CHILDREN. Colleoni Chapel, Bergamo. Istrian stone.



116. Amadeo: S. IMERIO GIVING ALMS. Duomo, Cremona. Marble.



117. Antonio Mantegazza: THE LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST (detail of Figure 123). Certosa, Pavia. Marble (overall figurated area 196 × 112 cm.).



118. Cristoforo Solari: EFFIGIES OF LODOVICO IL MORO AND BEATRICE D'ESTE. Certosa, Pavia. Marble L. 185 cm.).

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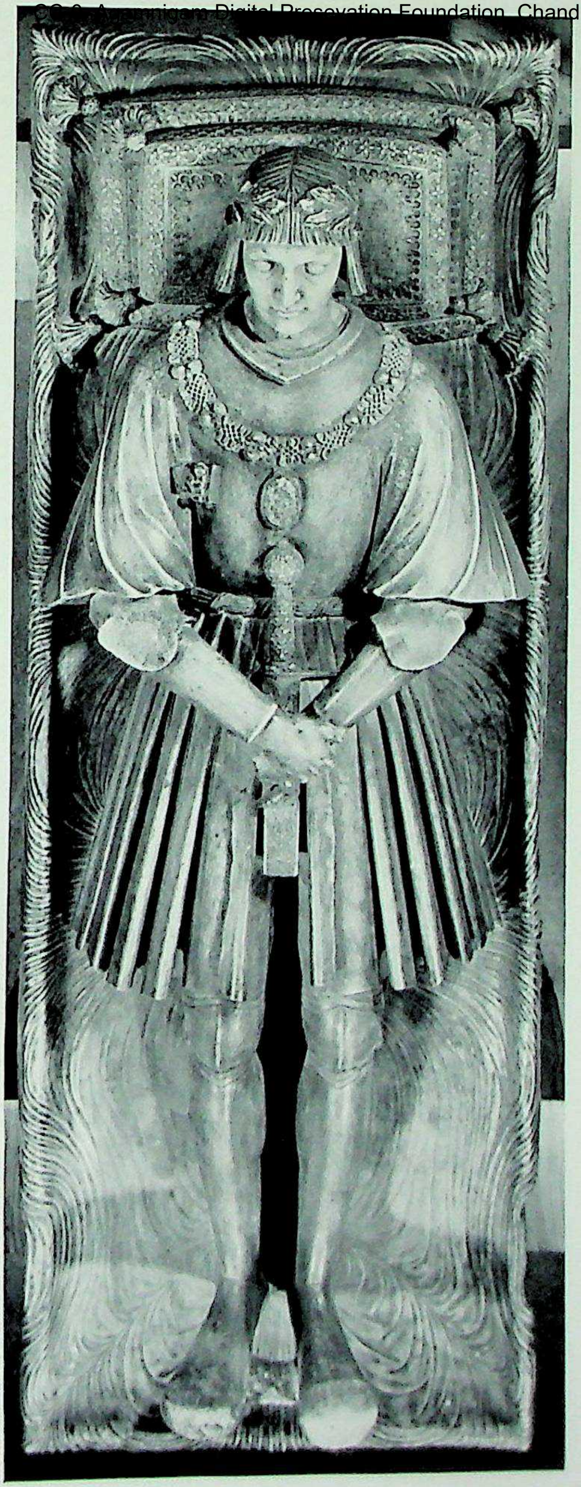
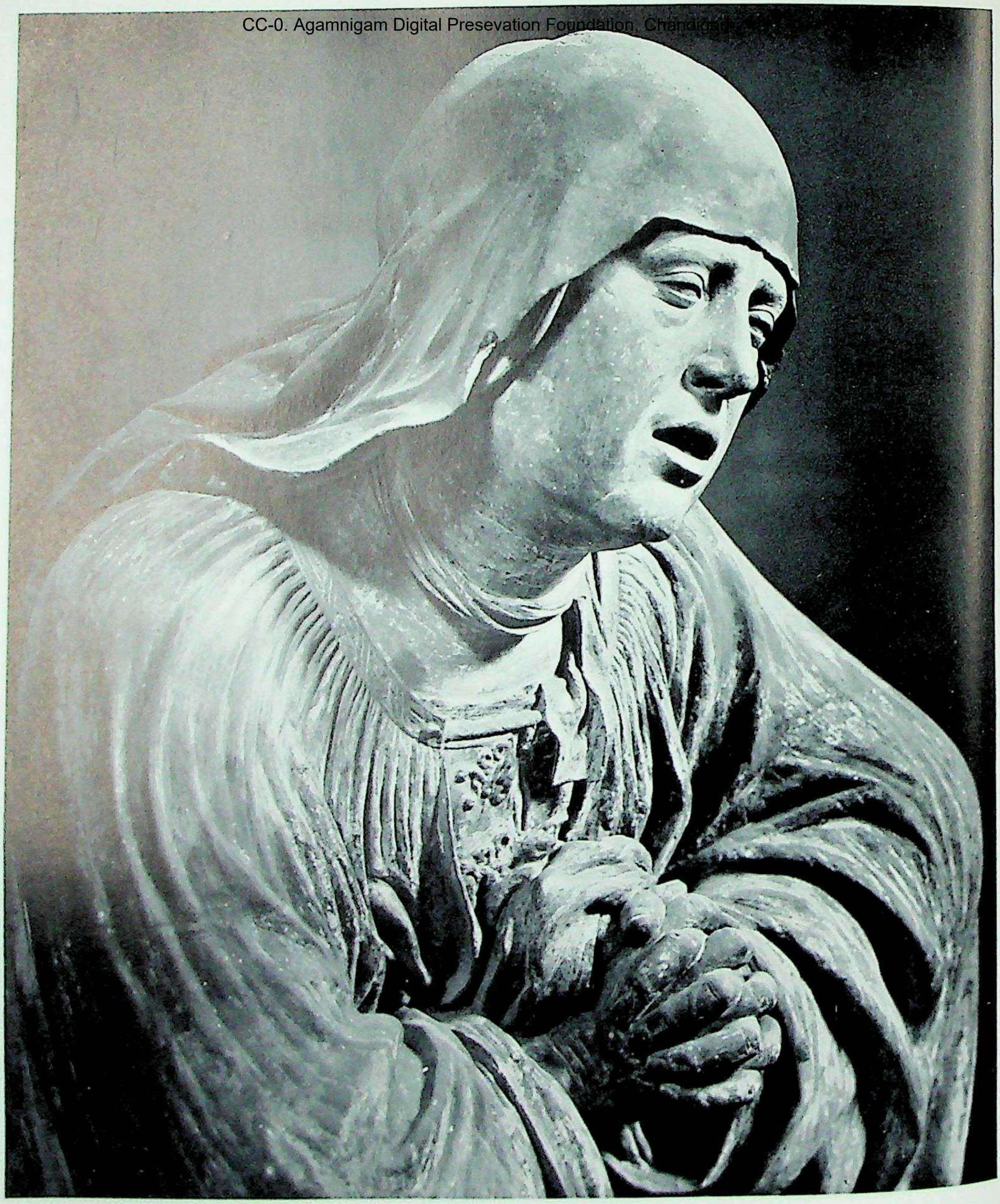
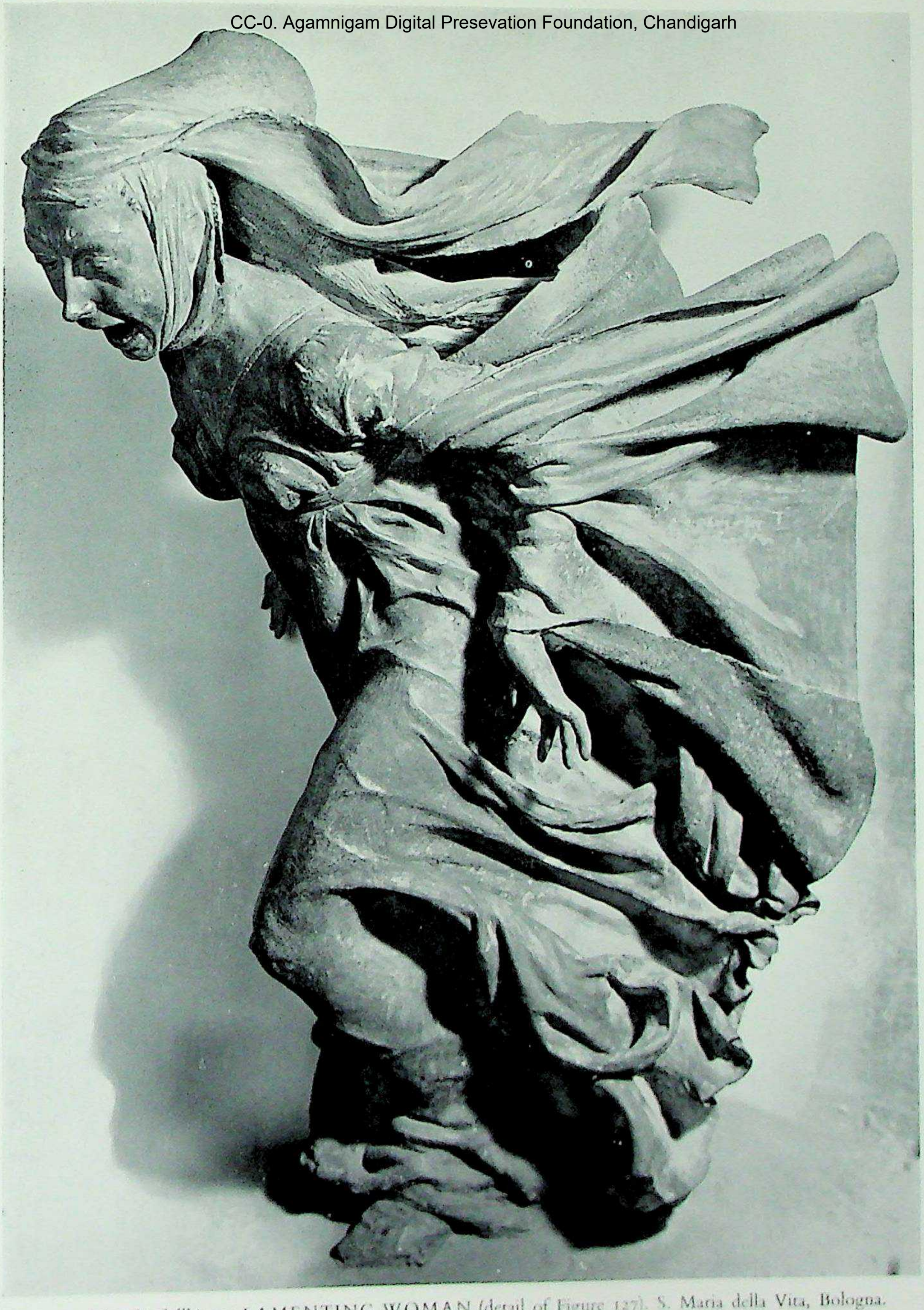


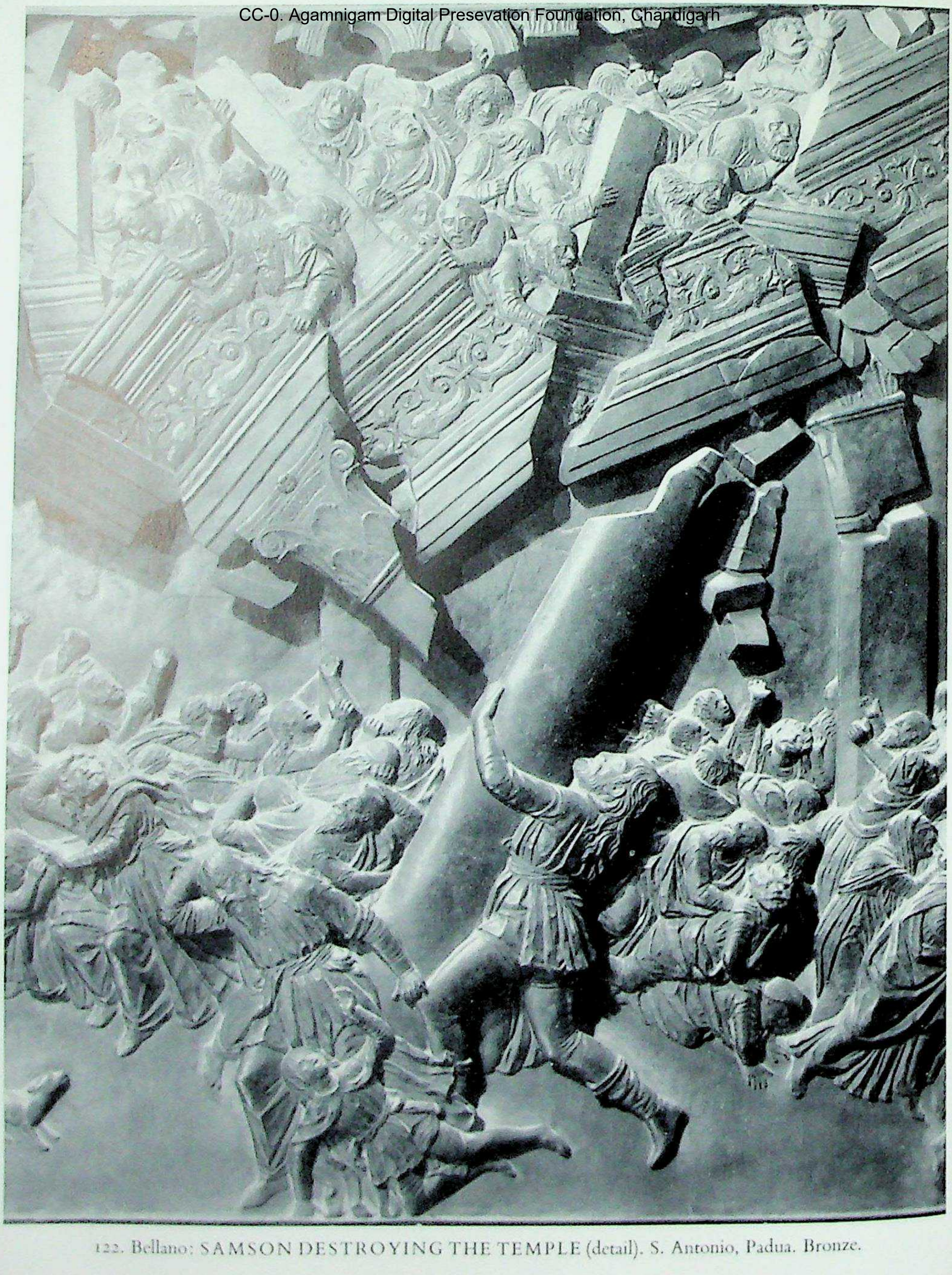
119. Bambaia: EFFIGY OF GASTON DE FOIX. Museo Civico, Milan. Marble (216 × 84 cm.).



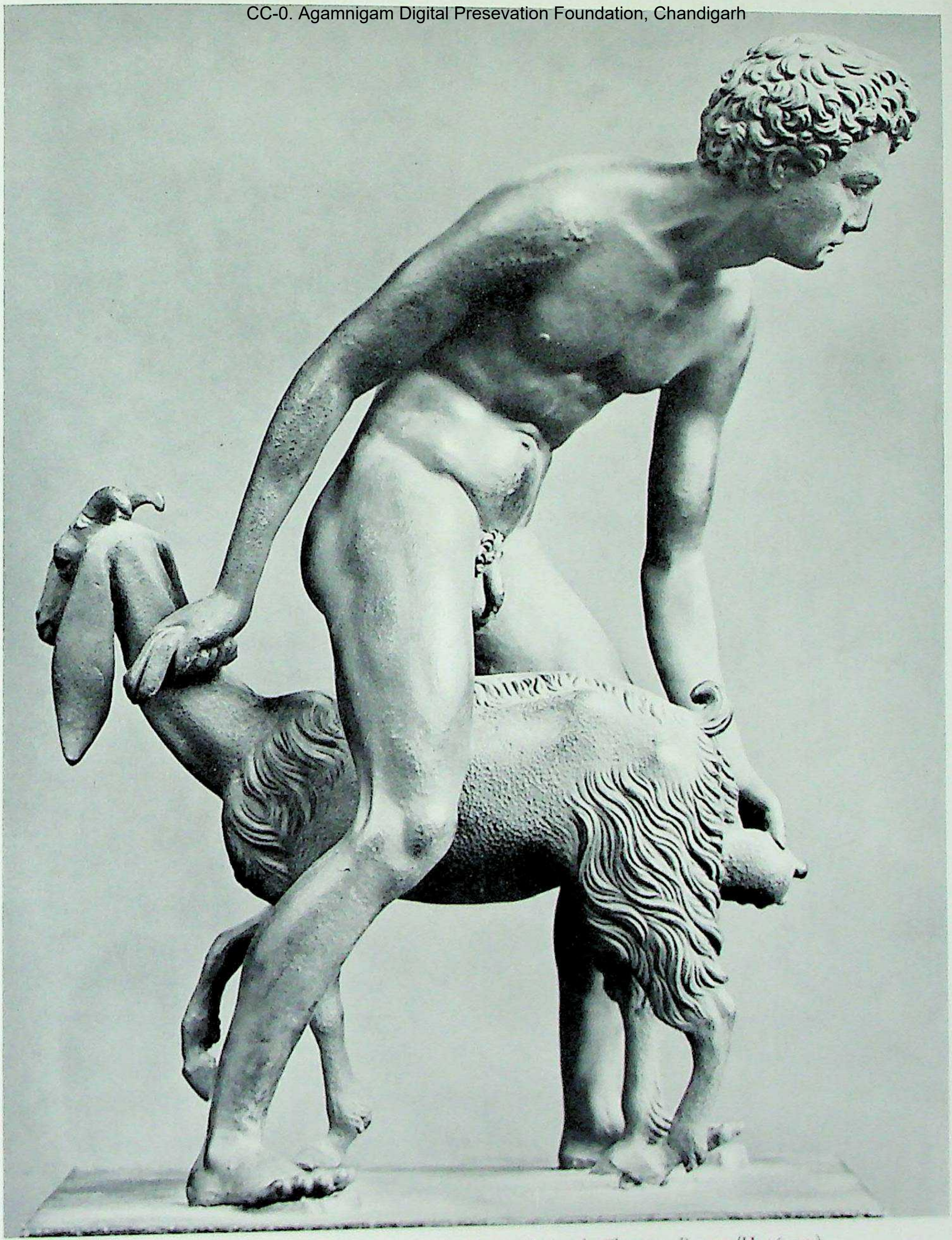
120. Guido Mazzoni: LAMENTING WOMAN (detail of Figure 128). S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples.
Terracotta partially pigmented.



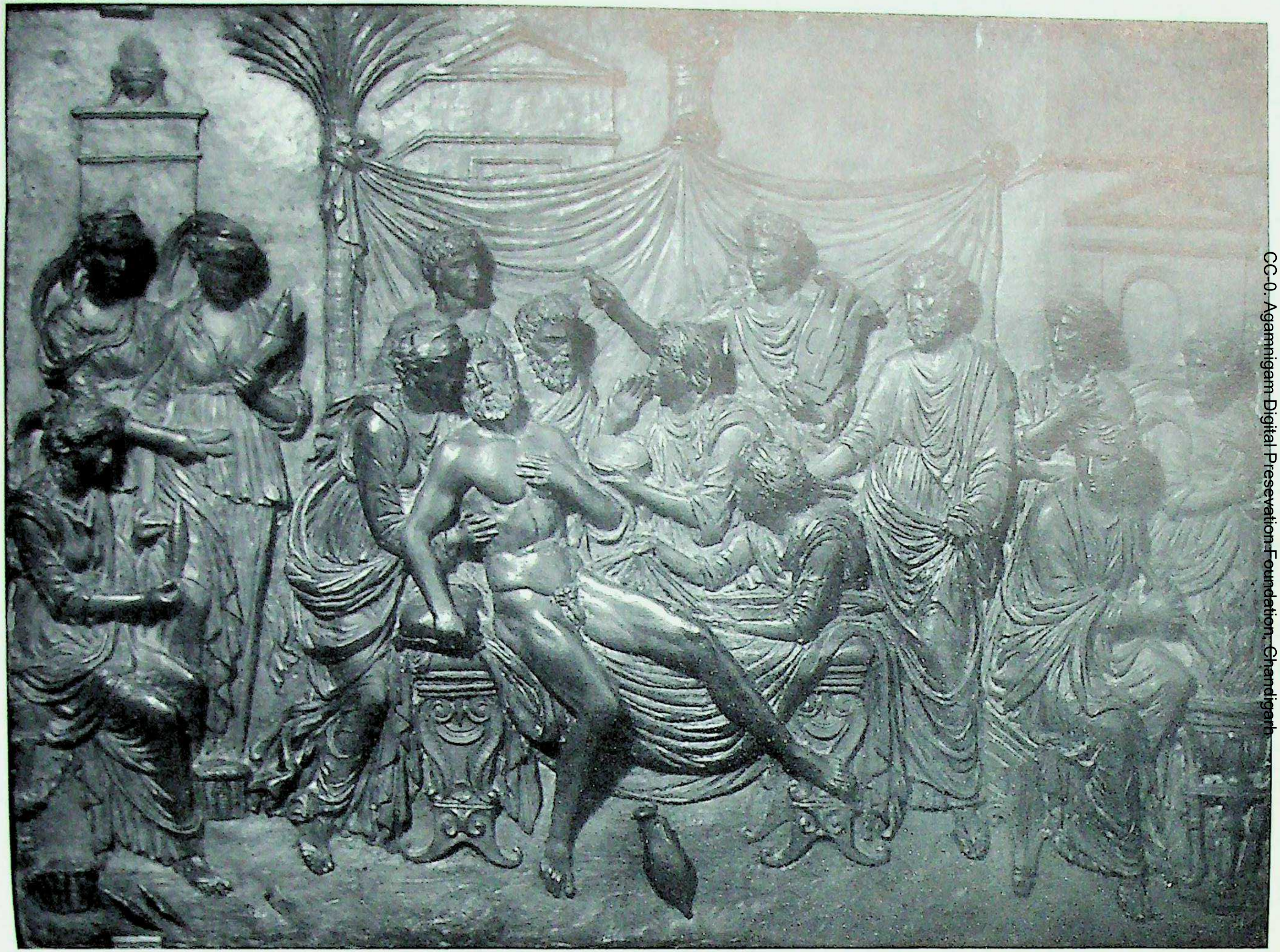
121. Niccolò dell'Arca: LAMENTING WOMAN (detail of Figure 127). S. Maria della Vita, Bologna. Terracotta partially pigmented.



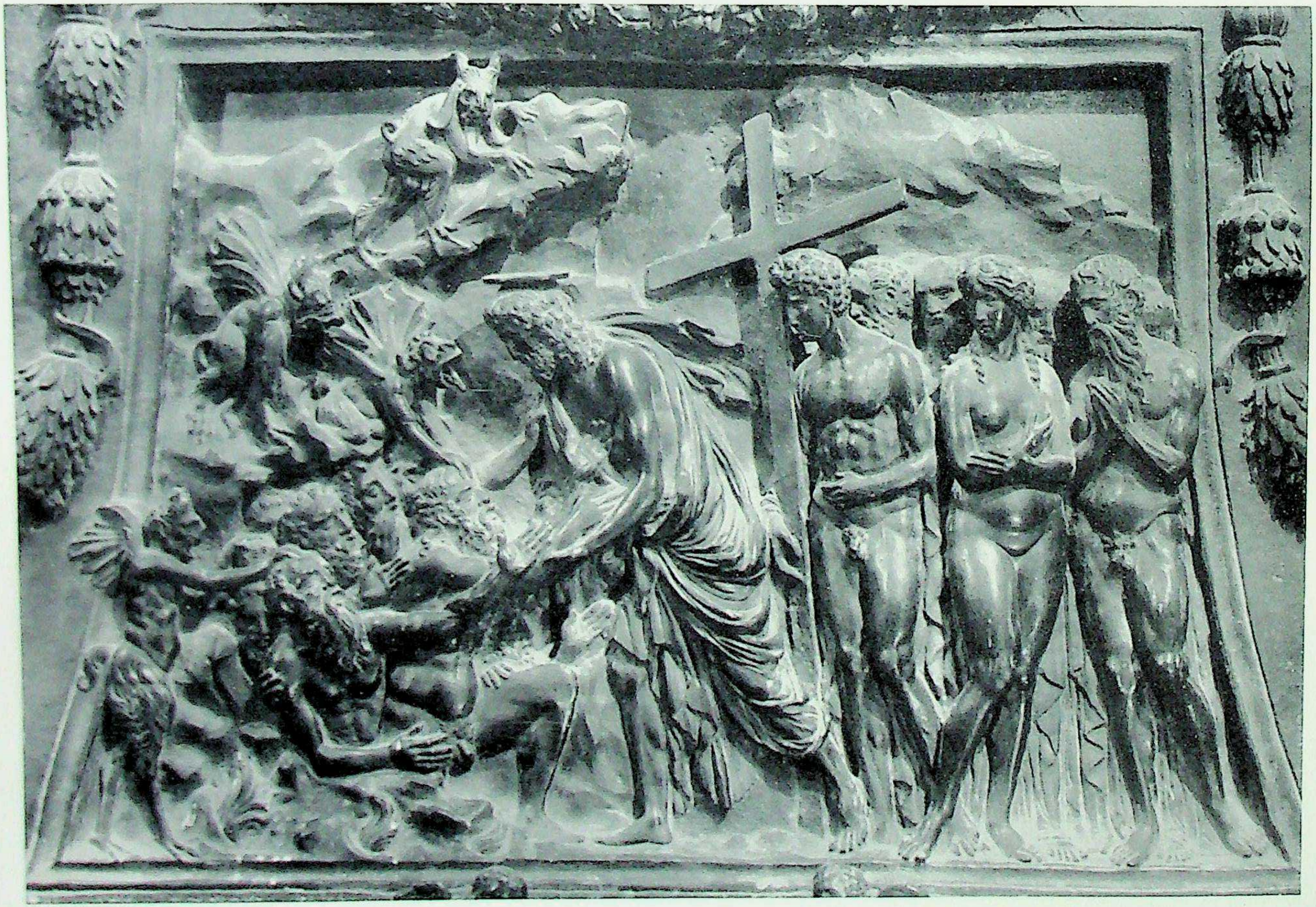
122. Bellano: SAMSON DESTROYING THE TEMPLE (detail). S. Antonio, Padua. Bronze.



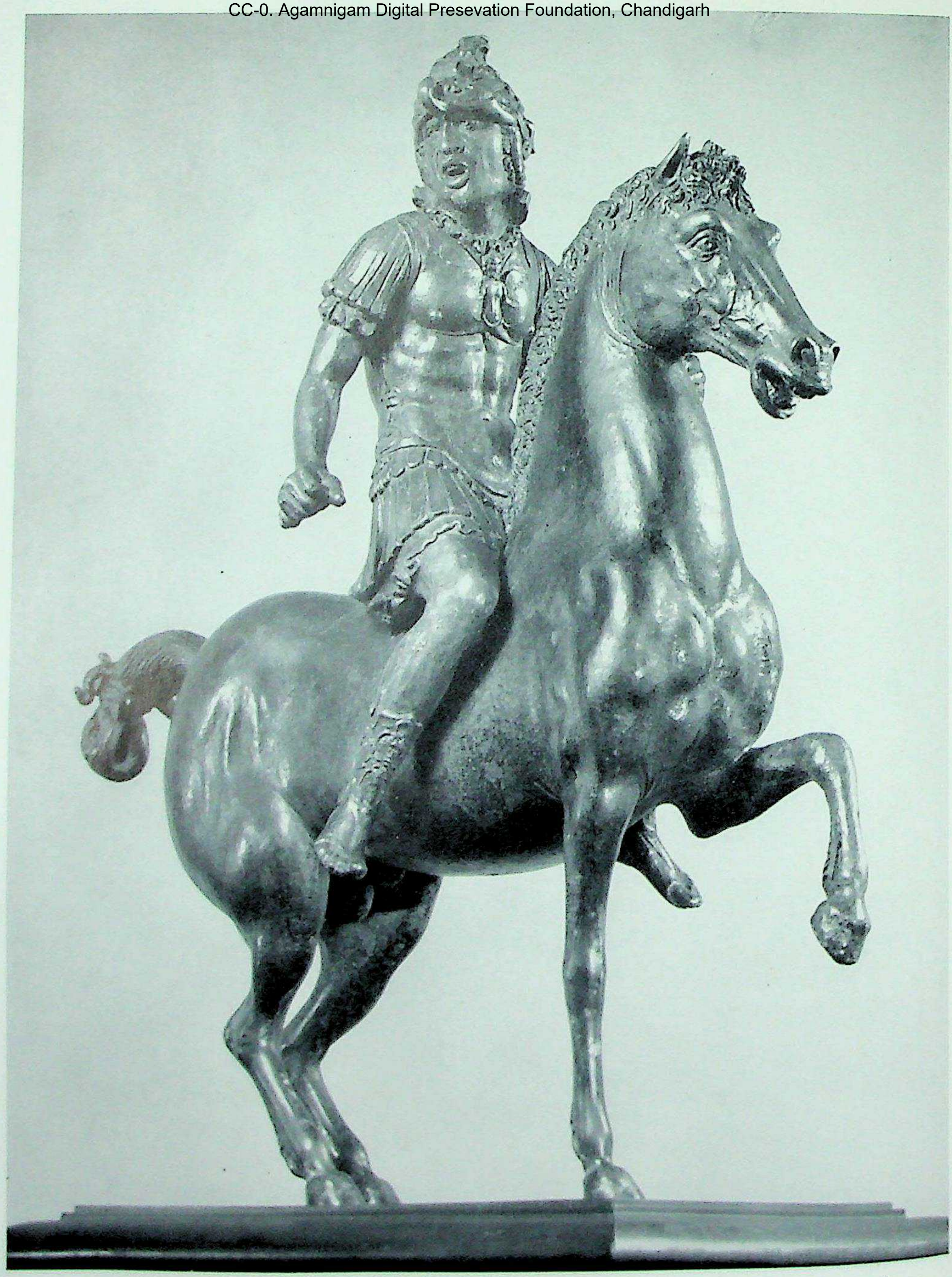
123. Riccio: YOUTH WITH A GOAT. Museo Nazionale, Florence. Bronze (H. 26 cm.).



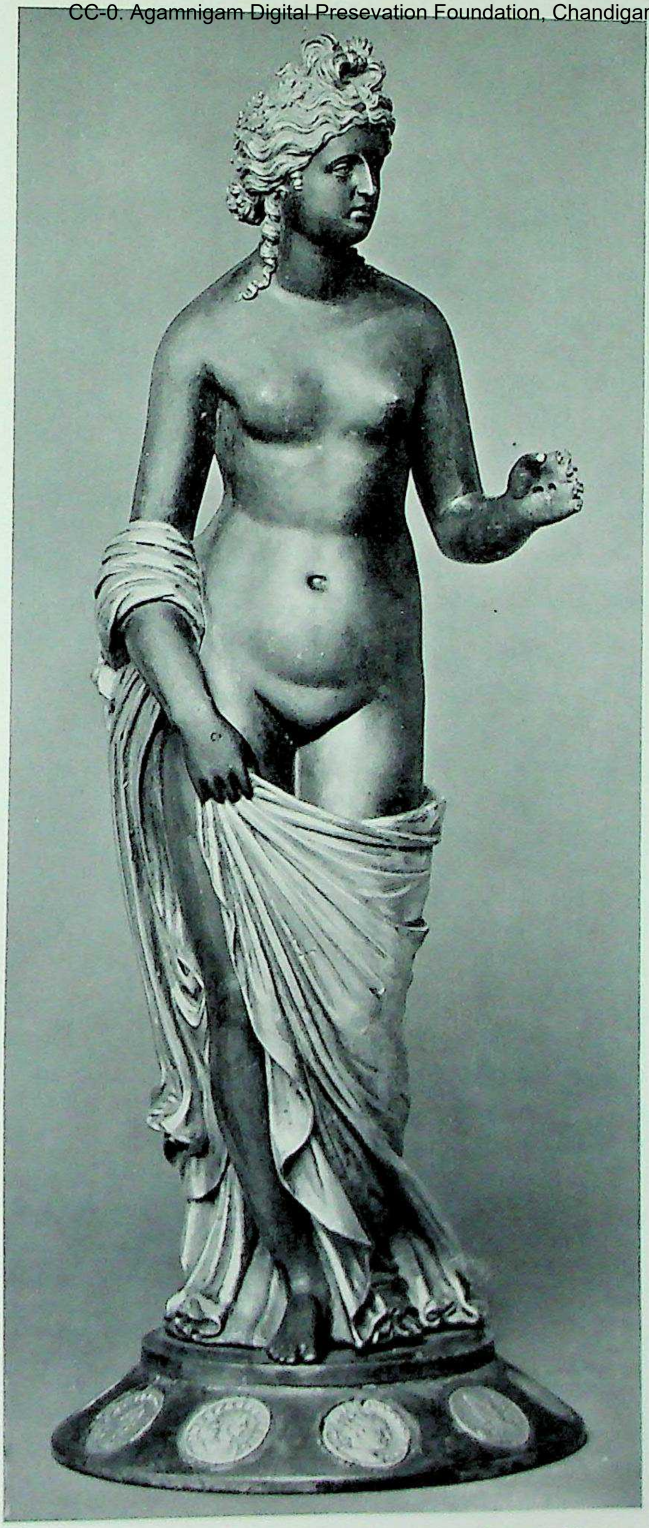
124. Riccio: THE SICKNESS OF DELLA TORRE. Louvre, Paris. Bronze (37×49 cm.).



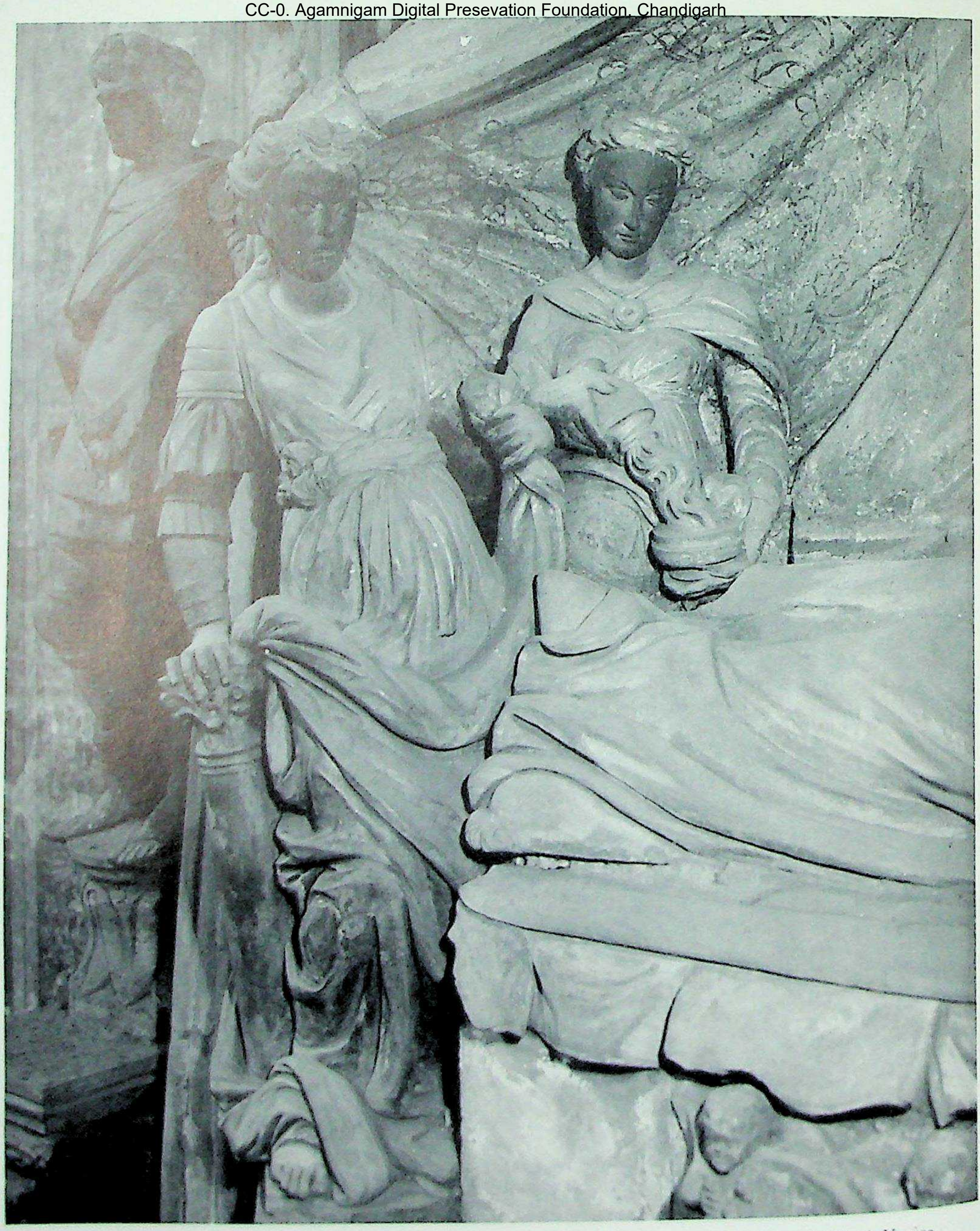
125. Riccio: CHRIST IN LIMBO (detail of Figure 152). S. Antonio, Padua. Bronze (H. overall 392 cm.).



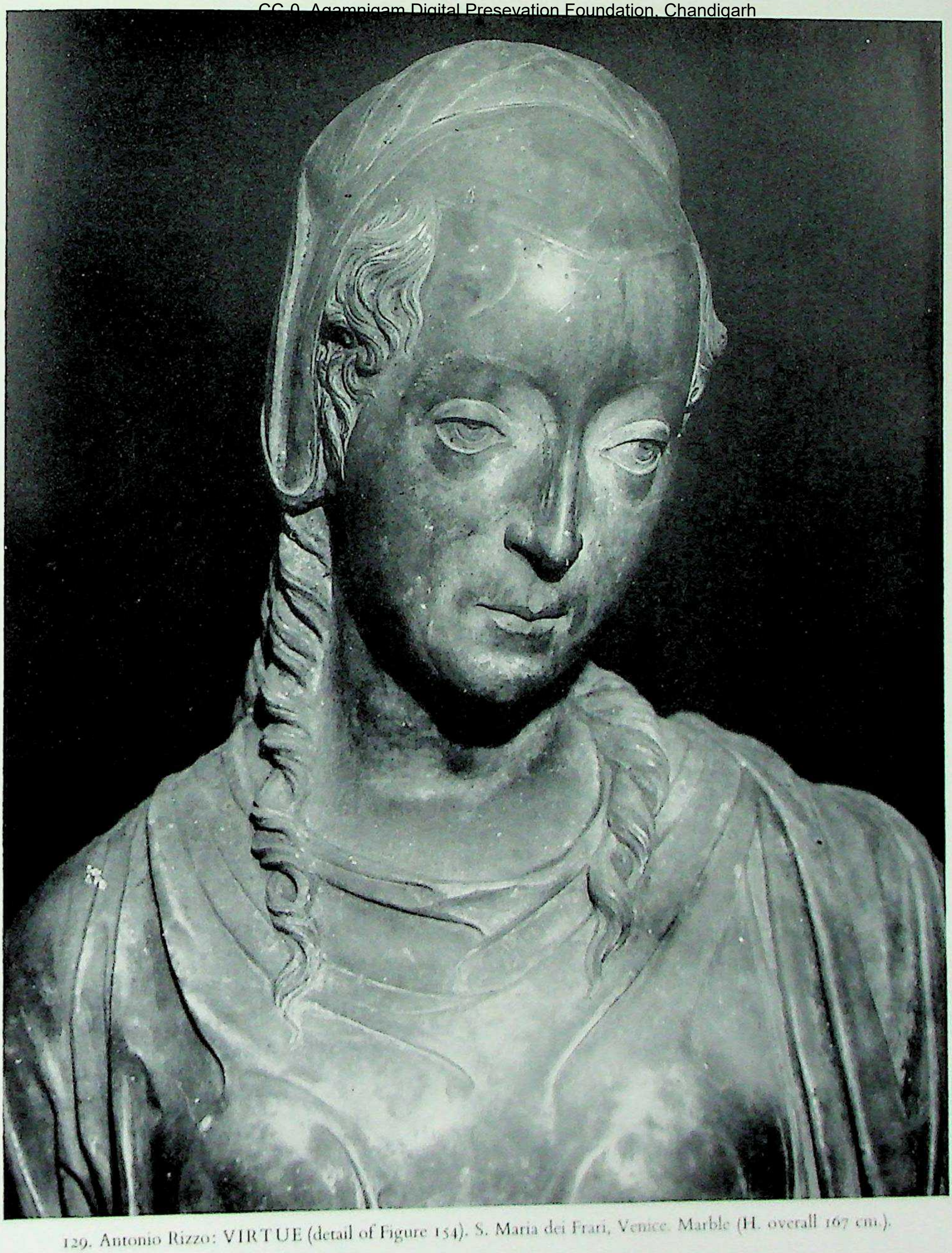
126. Riccio WARRIOR ON HORSEBACK. Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Bronze (H. 34 cm.).



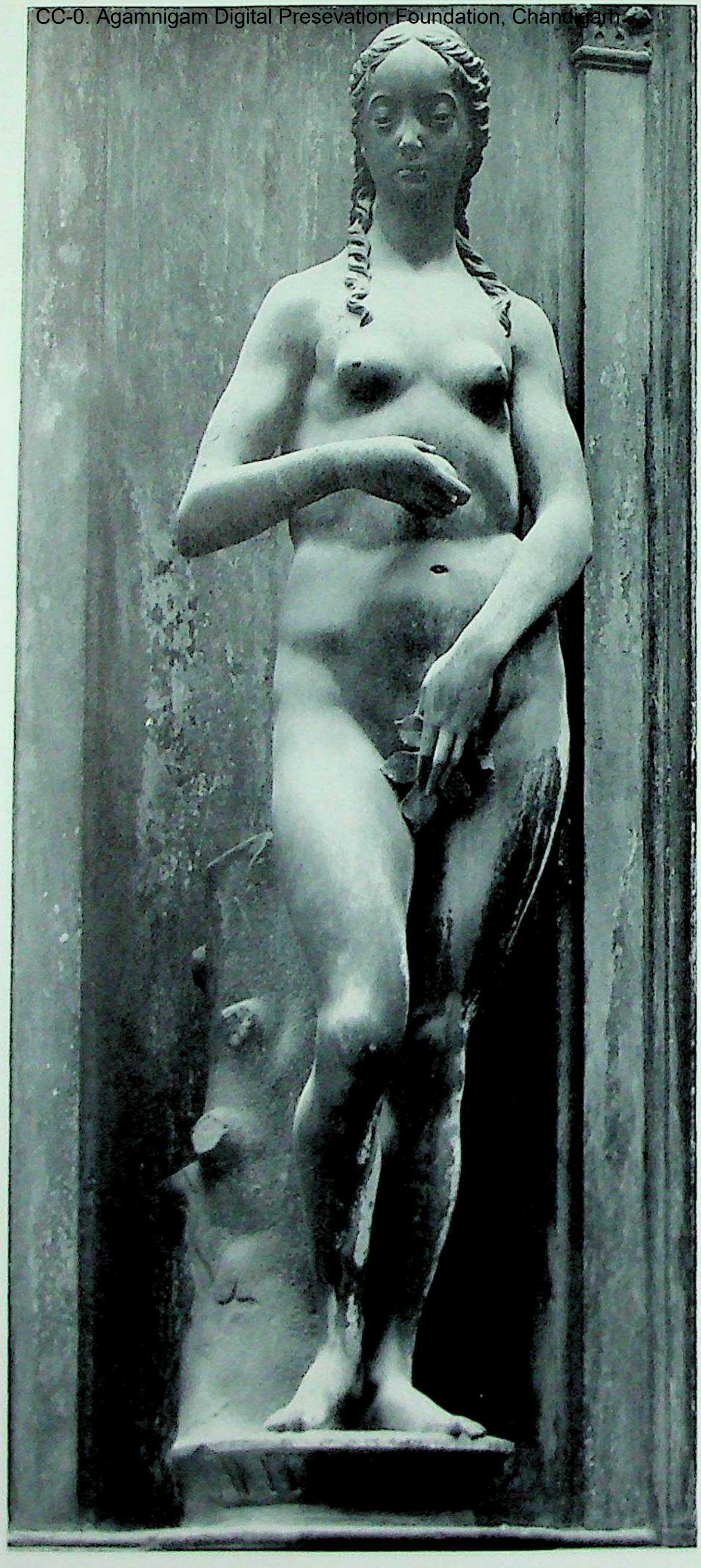
127. Antico: VENUS FELIX. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Bronze, parcel-gilt (H. with base 32 cm.).



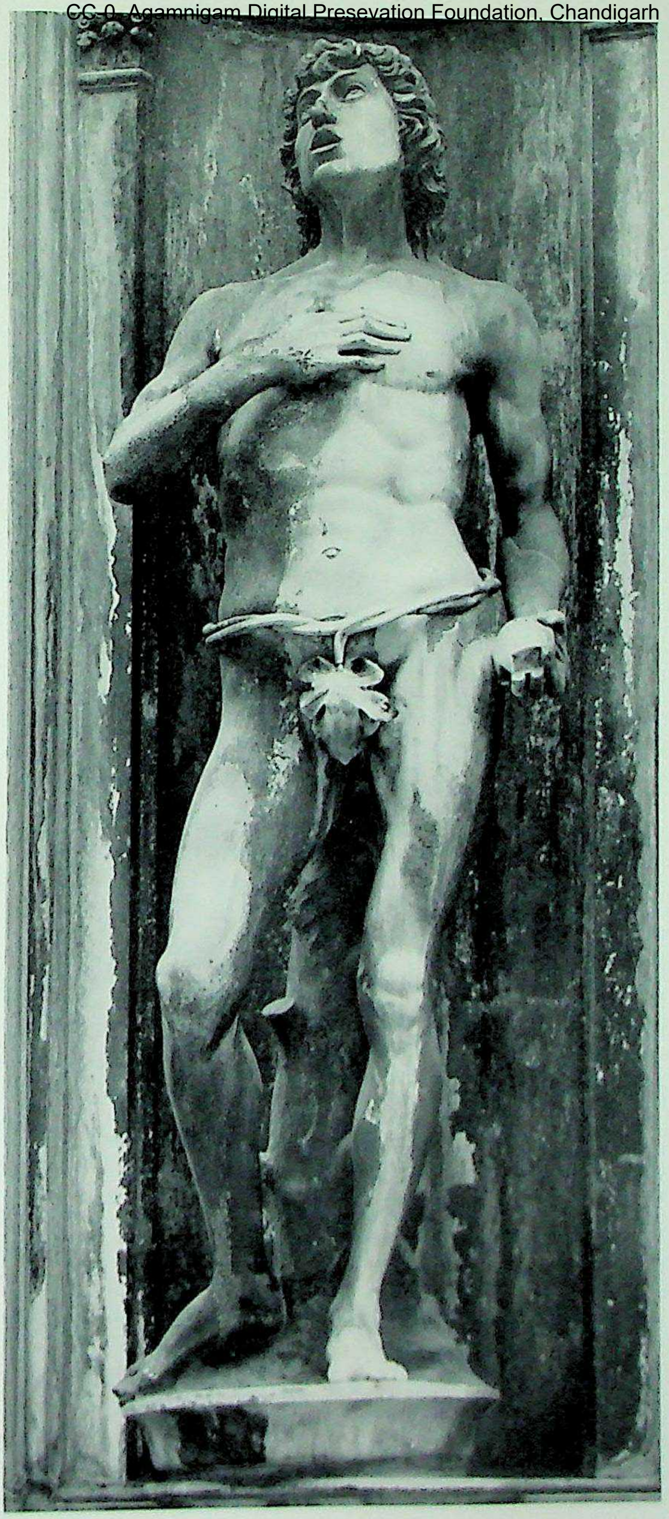
128. Antonio Bregno: FORTITUDE and TEMPERANCE (detail of Figure 158). S. Maria dei Frari, Venice.



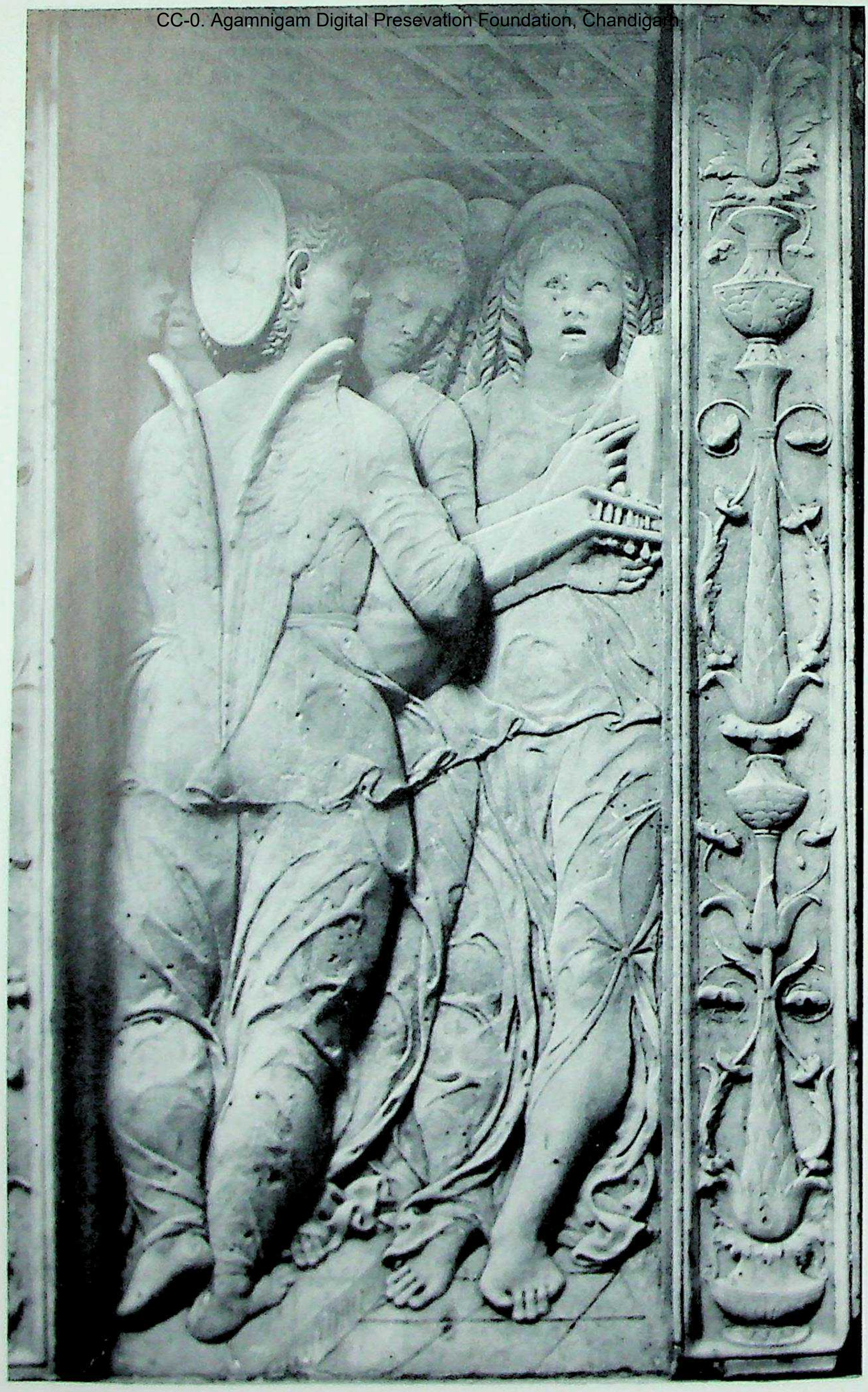
129. Antonio Rizzo: VIRTUE (detail of Figure 154). S. Maria dei Frari, Venice. Marble (H. overall 167 cm.).



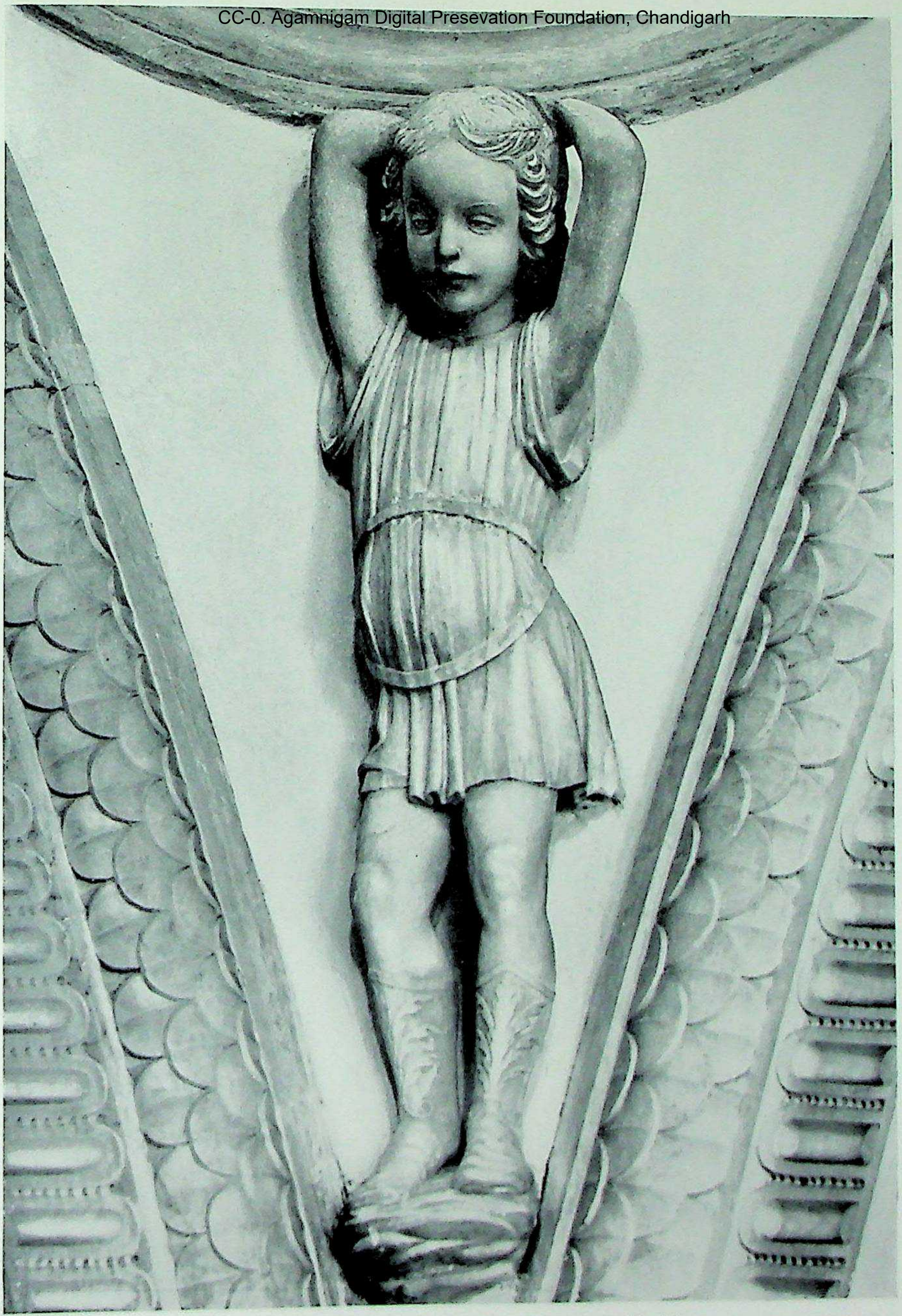
130. Antonio Rizzo: EVE. Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Marble (H. overall 204 cm.).



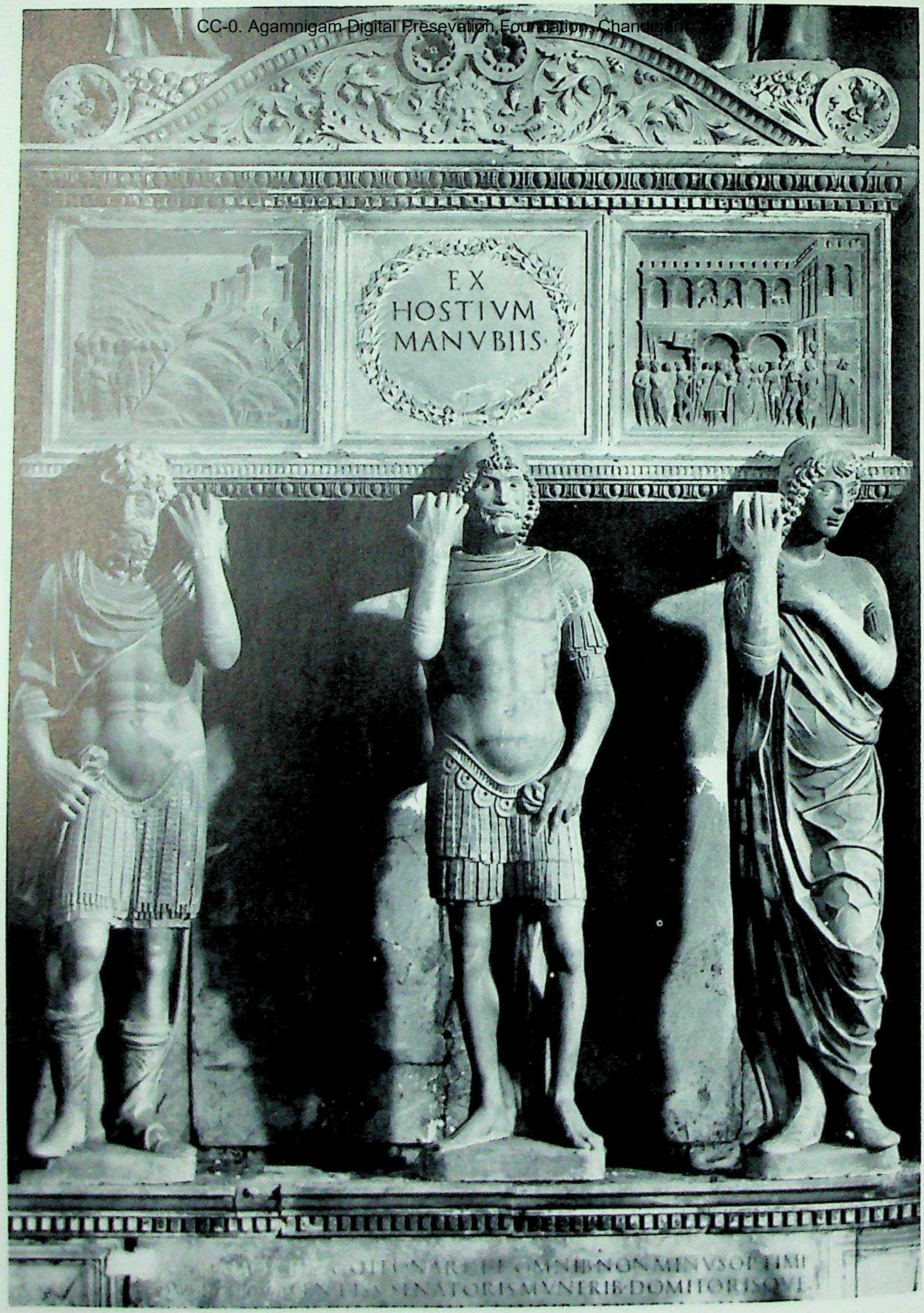
131. Antonio Rizzo: ADAM. Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Marble (H. overall 206 cm.).



132. Master of S. Trovaso: ANGELS (detail). S. Trovaso, Venice. Marble (76×33 cm.).



133. Pietro Lombardo: ANGEL. S. Giobbe, Venice. Marble.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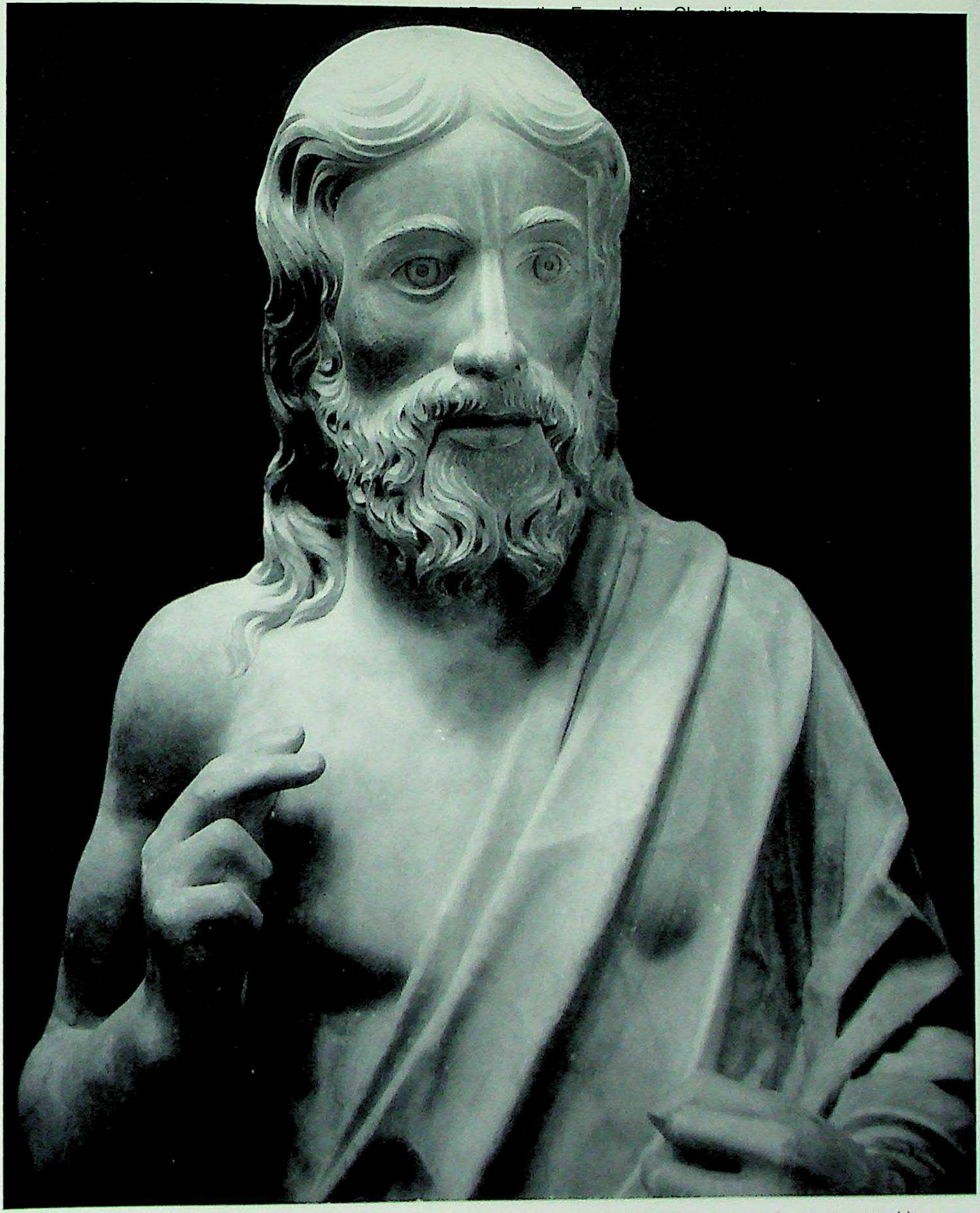
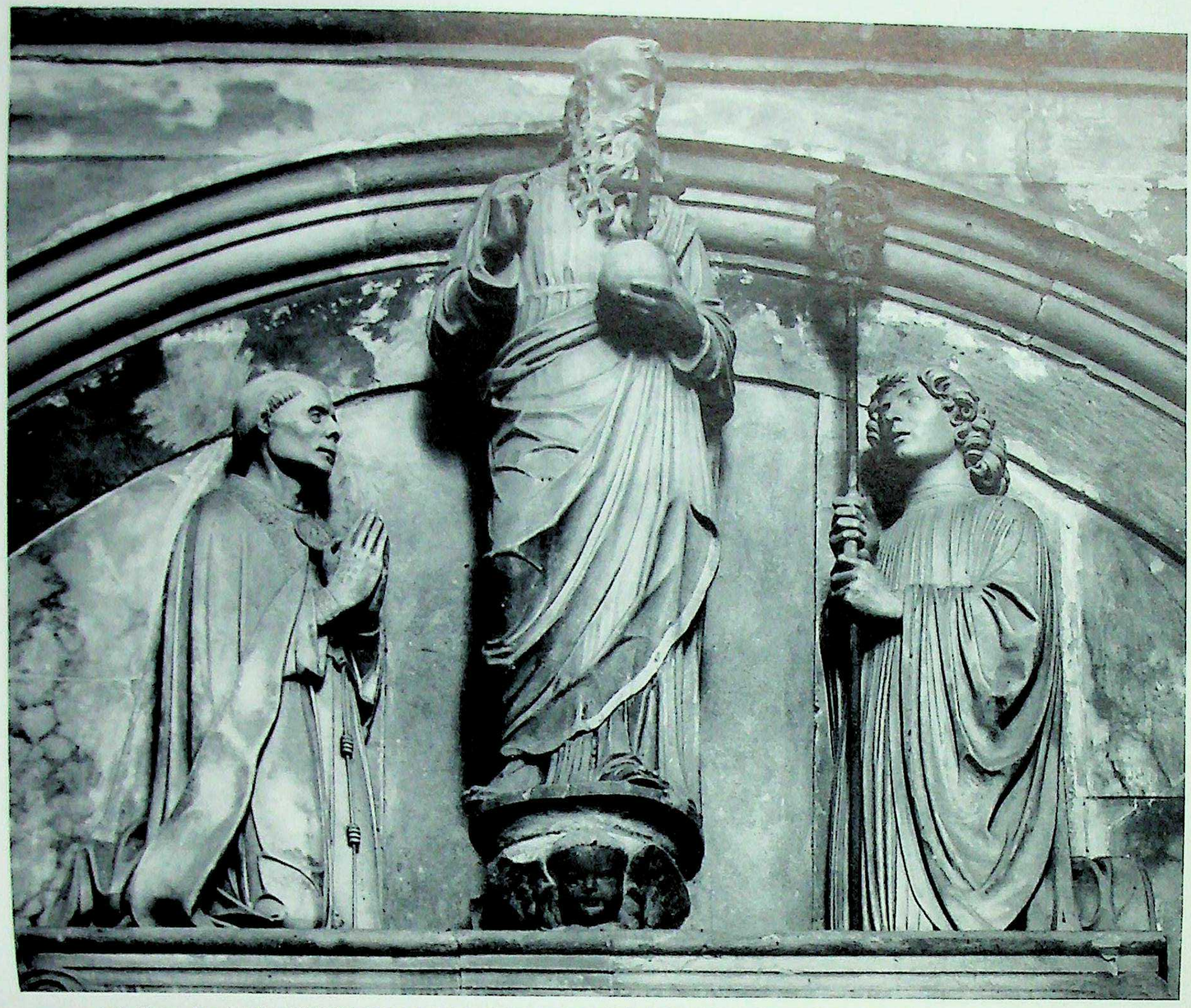
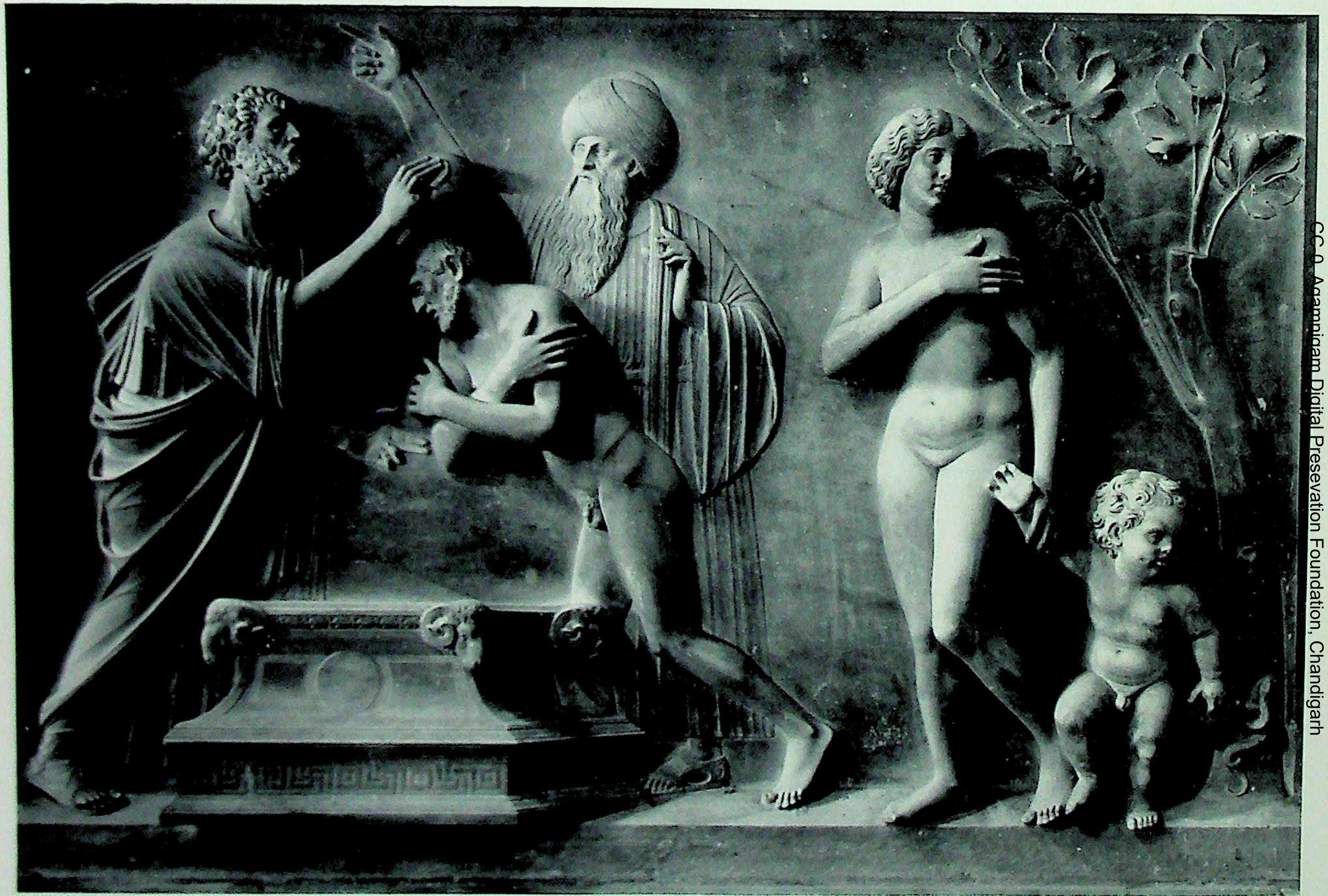
134. Pietro Lombardi: THE SARCOPHAGUS OF THE PIETRO MOCENIGO MONUMENT (detail of Figure 155). SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Marble (H. of central figure 169 cm.).



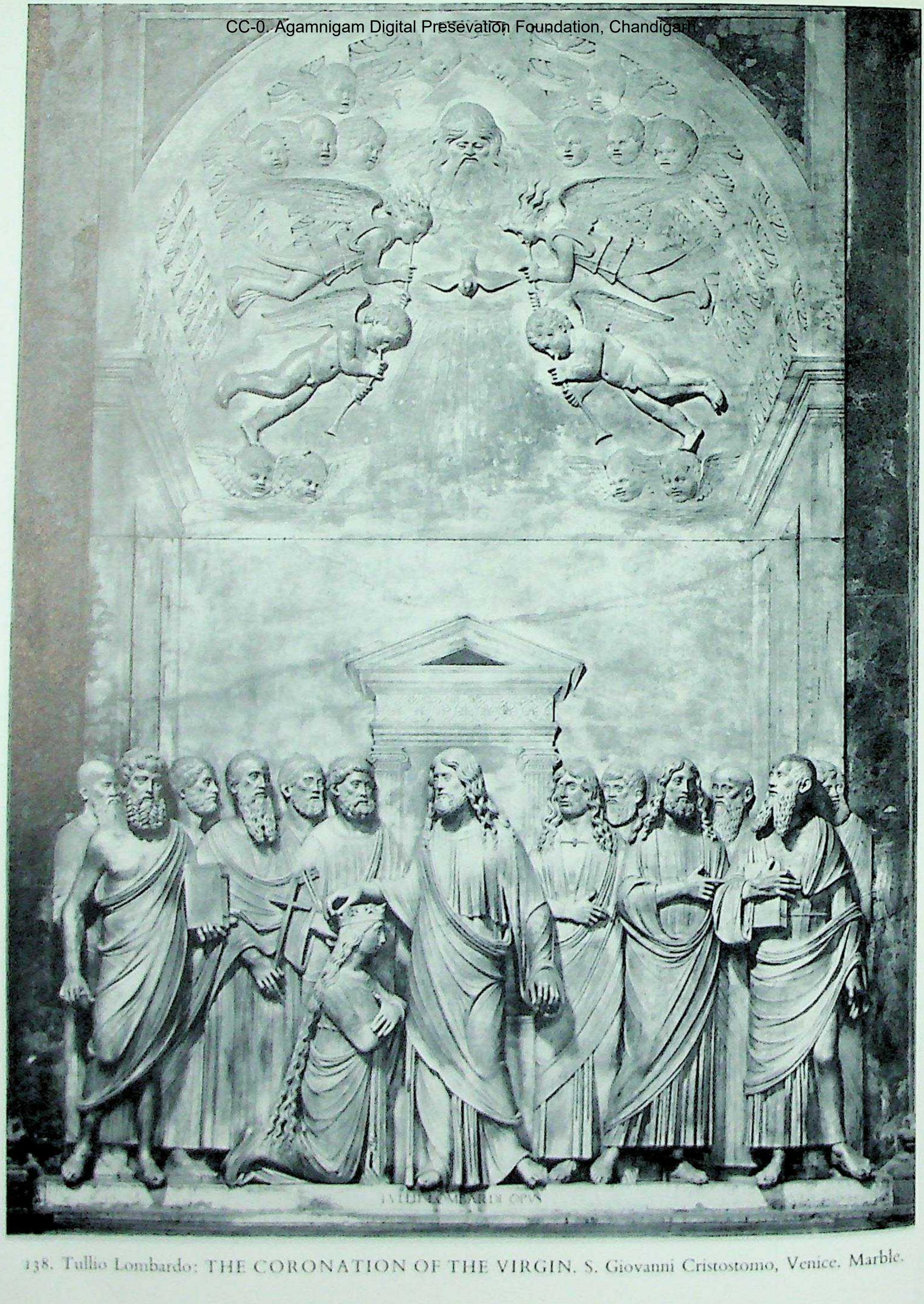
135. Pietro Lombardo: THE RISEN CHRIST (detail of Figure 155). SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Marble.



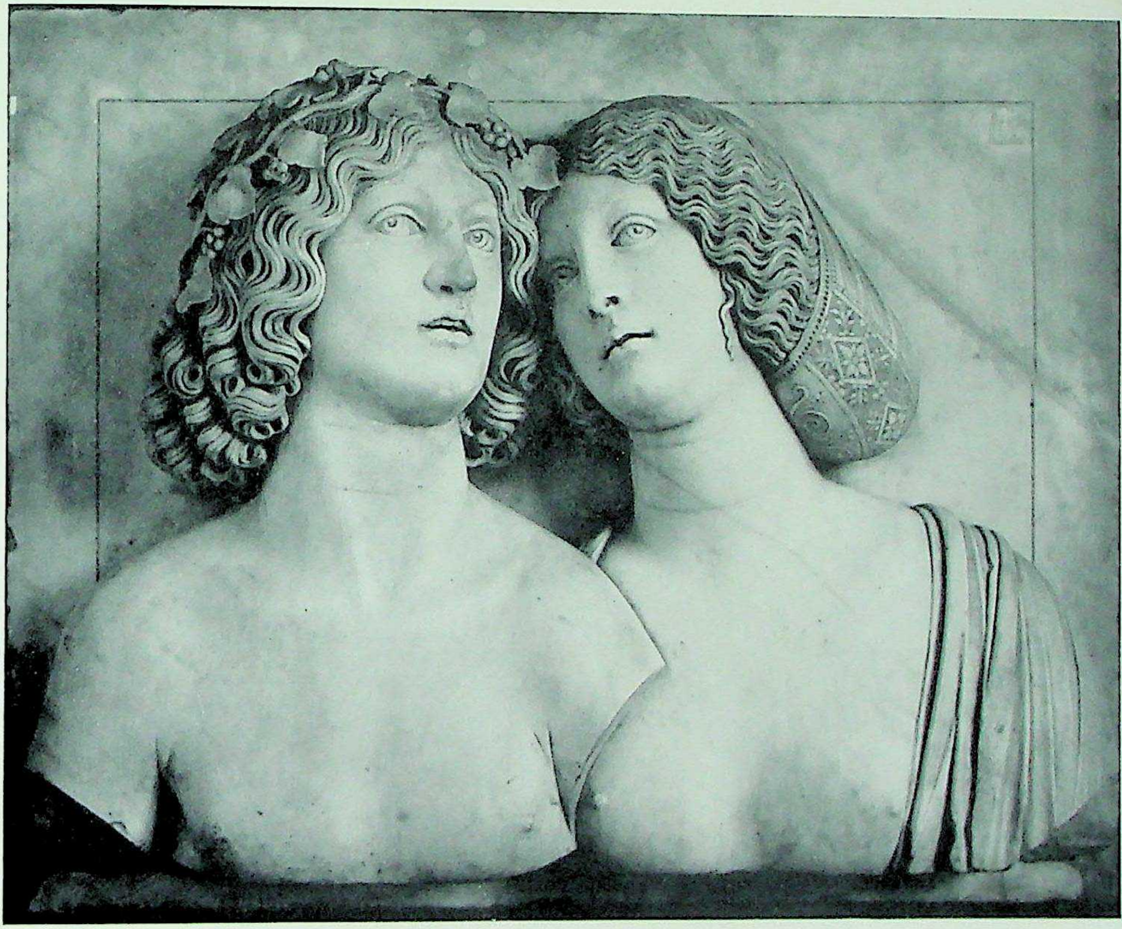
136. Pietro Lombardo: GIOVANNI ZANETTI KNEELING BEFORE GOD THE FATHER (detail of Figure 159).
Duomo, Treviso. Marble.



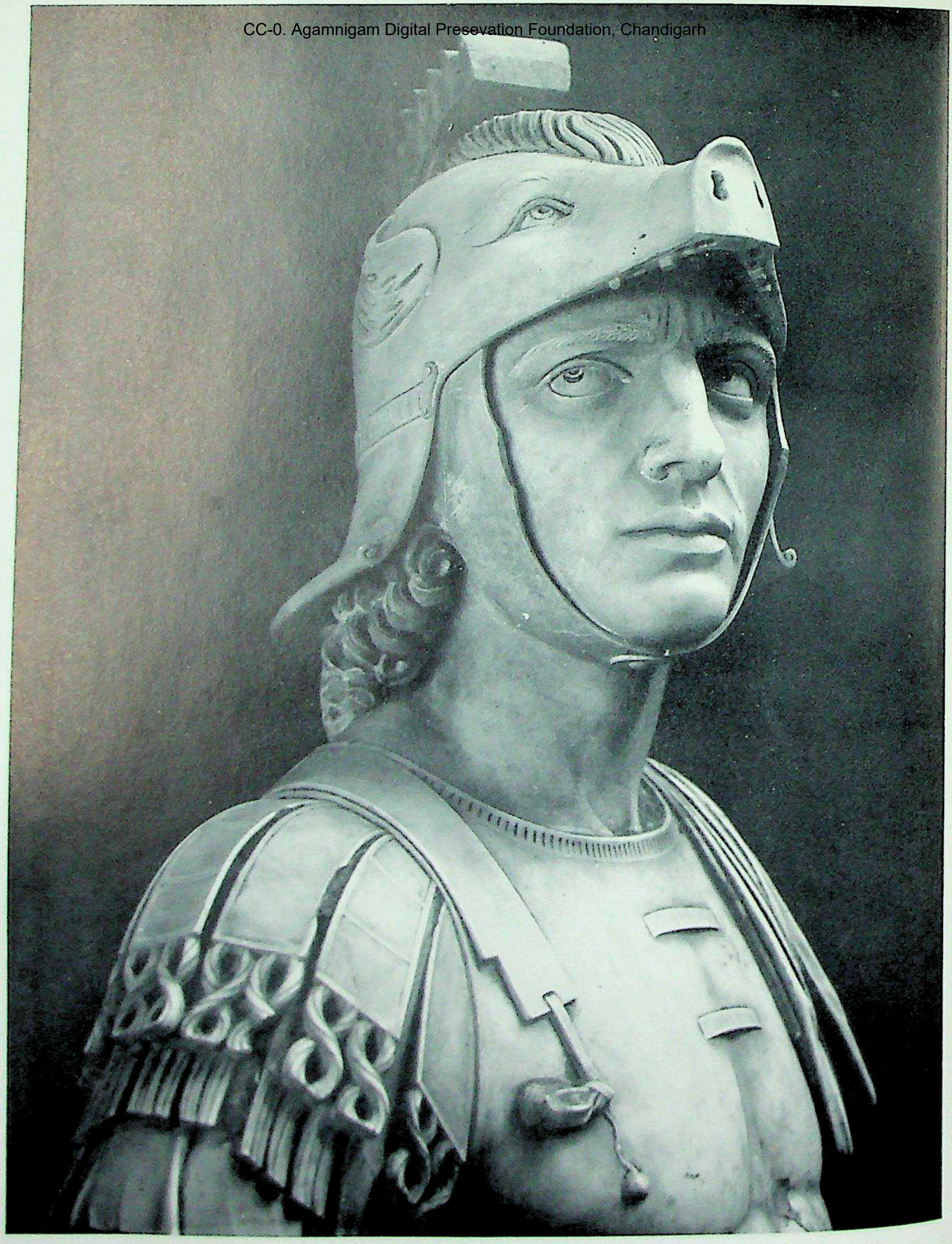
137. Tullio Lombardo: ST. MARK BAPTISING AMMIANUS. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Marble (107 × 154 cm.).



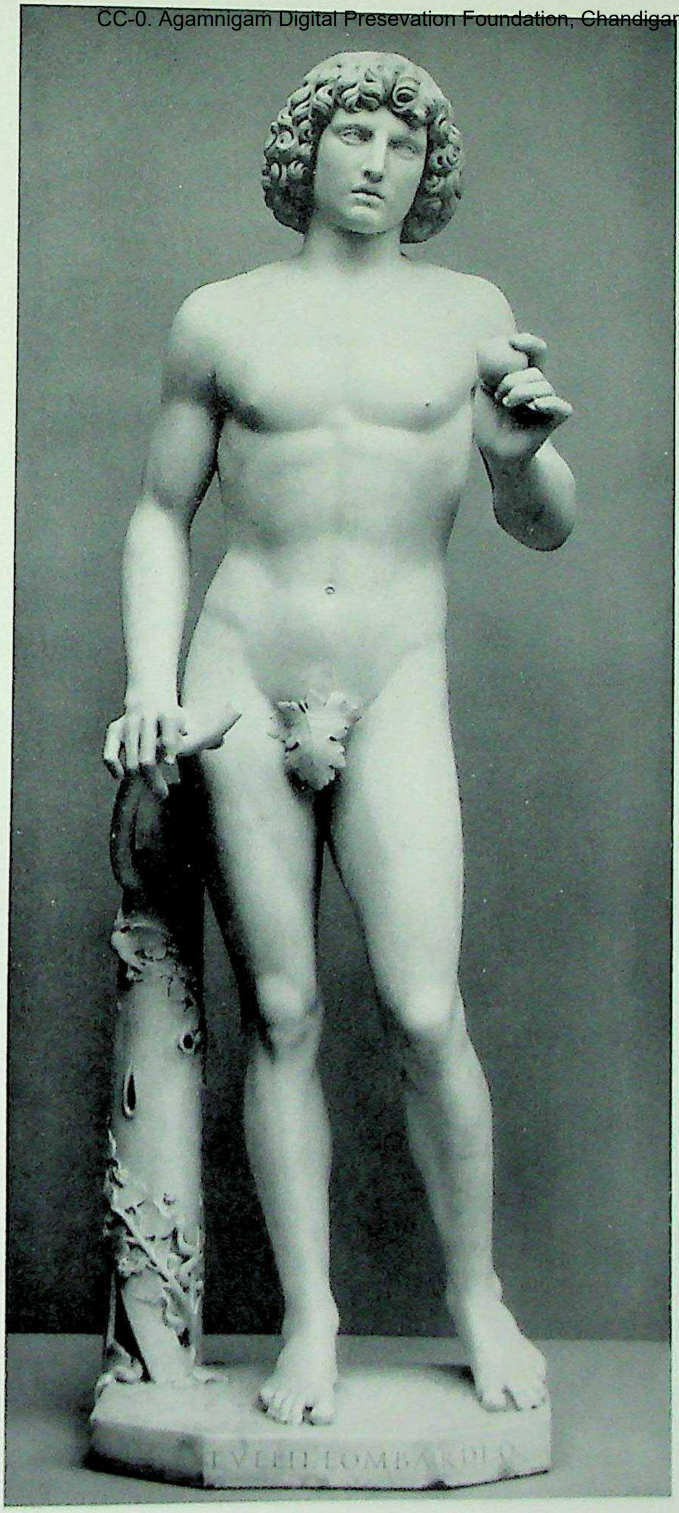
138. Tullio Lombardo: THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. S. Giovanni Cristostomo, Venice. Marble.



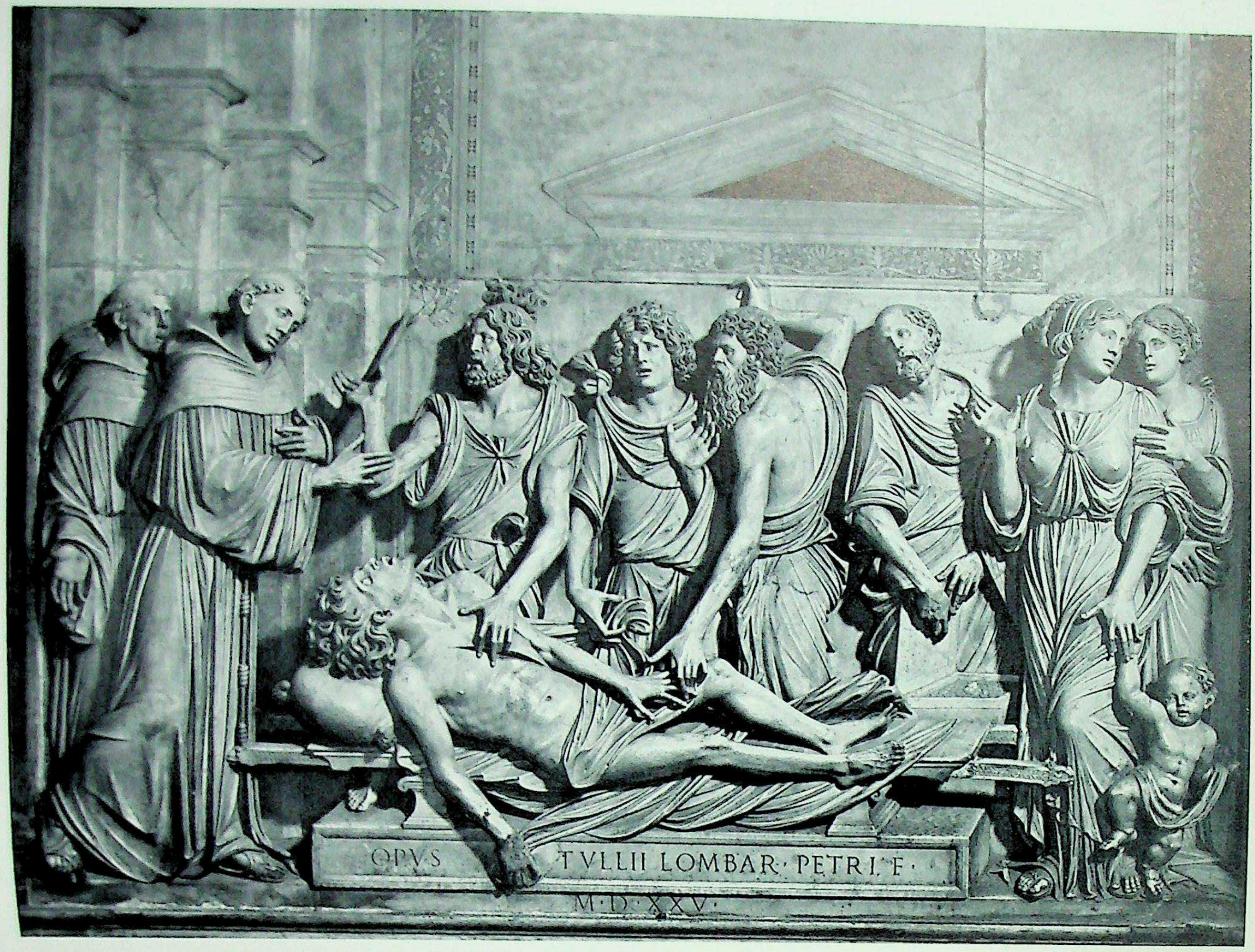
139. Tullio Lombardo: BACCHUS AND ARIADNE. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Marble (56 × 72 cm.).



140. Tullio Lombardo: HEAD OF A WARRIOR (detail of Figure 162). SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Marble.


TVLLII LOMBARDI

141. Tullio Lombardo: ADAM. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Marble (H. 193 cm.).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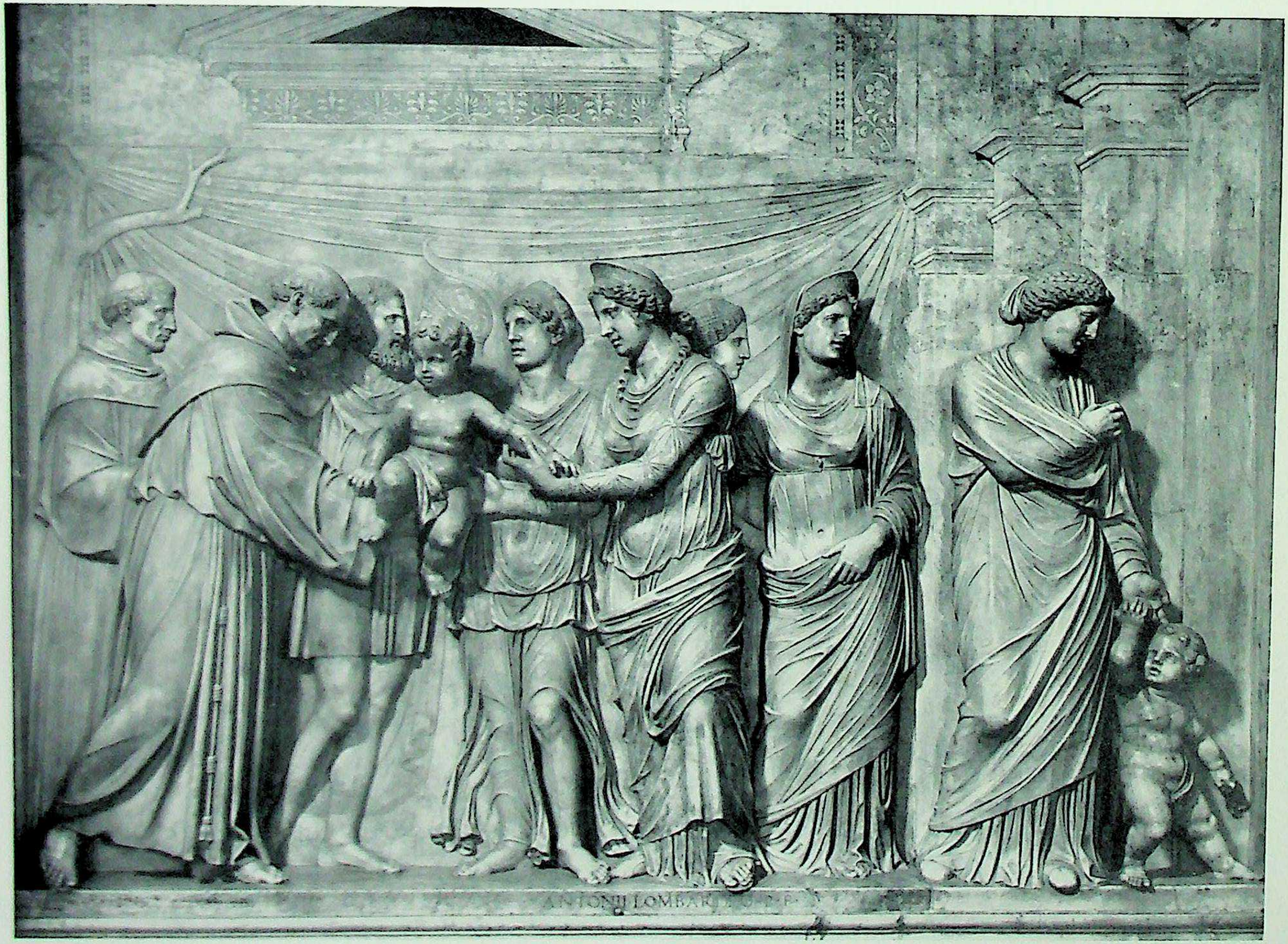
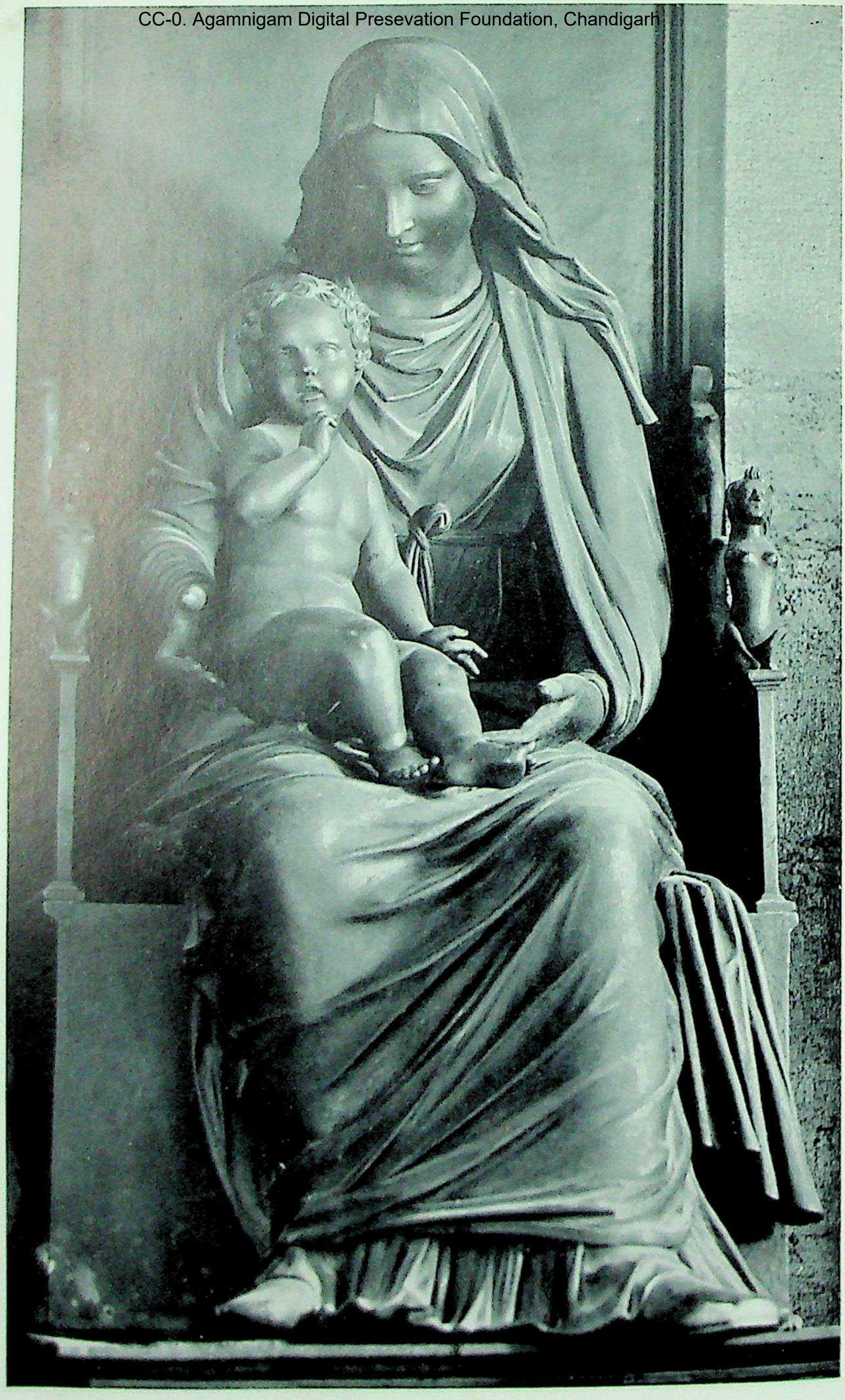
142. Tullio Lombardo: THE MIRACLE OF THE MISER'S HEART. S. Antonio, Padua. Marble.


ANTONII LOMBARDI O·P·

143. Antonio Lombardo: THE MIRACLE OF THE NEW-BORN CHILD. S. Antonio, Padua. Marble.



144. Antonio Lombardo: VIRGIN AND CHILD (detail of Figure 163). St. Mark's, Venice. Bronze.

NOTES ON THE SCULPTORS AND ON THE PLATES

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The bibliographical and other references used throughout the text and notes of the present volume are for the most part self-explanatory. It should, however, be noted that:

(i) References to my own *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (London, 1955) are given in the form Vol. I, followed by page (p.), Plate (Pl.) or Figure (Fig.) numbers.

(ii) Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from the *Vite* of Vasari are from the Milanesi edition of 1906.

(iii) References to Bode, where no other book or article is cited, are to W. von Bode's indispensable *Denkmäler der Renaissance Skulptur Toskanas*, Munich, 1892–1905.

(iv) References to Paatz are to W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, 6 vols., Frankfurt-am-Main, 1955.

(v) Sculptures from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, are credited throughout to this collection. Where these have been destroyed, the entry is followed by the word (formerly). Ownership of the surviving sculptures is now vested in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin. A detailed but not wholly accurate statement of the losses sustained by this collection is printed in *Berliner Museen*, iii, 1953, pp. 10–24.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Figures 90 and 92 are reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. Among the many scholars to whom I am indebted for help in the preparation of this book, I must mention particularly Professor H. W. Janson (to whom I owe the photographs used in Plates 2, 21, 23, 26, 36, 37, 39 and 40 and Figures 9, 10 and 11) and Professor Clarence Kennedy (to whom are due the photographs reproduced on Plates 62, 63, 68, 82 and 83). The free drawing on p. 282 is by Mr. F. H. Dickinson.

FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI
(b. 1377; d. 1446)

The greatest architect of the early Renaissance, the discoverer of linear perspective, and one of the prime influences on the development of Renaissance style, Brunelleschi was born in 1377, and was trained as a metalworker. On 18 December 1398 he became a member of the Arte della Seta, and on 2 July 1404 matriculated as a goldsmith. In 1399–1400 he executed two half-length figures for the silver altar in the Cathedral at Pistoia (see below), and in 1401–2 participated in the competition for the second bronze door of the Baptistry in Florence (see Plate 1 below). His name appears in connection with the Duomo for the first time on 10 November 1404. At this time, according to all early sources, Brunelleschi was associated with Donatello, with whom he paid a visit to Rome (date uncertain, after 1402). Manetti, in his life of Brunelleschi, states that the purpose of this visit was to study sculpture ('Egli è buono andare veggendo dove le scolture sono buone; e andossene a Roma'), but that while in Rome Brunelleschi's interests veered towards architecture. The project for Brunelleschi's most important and most revolutionary work, the cupola of the Cathedral, dates from 26 May 1417; on 7 August 1420 the supporting wall was in course of construction, and on 30 August 1436 the completed cupola was blessed. The lantern was designed by Brunelleschi, and completed after his death. Concurrently he was engaged on the Ospedale degli Innocenti (1419–24), the church of S. Lorenzo (begun 1421, unfinished 1446), the Pazzi Chapel in the cloister of S. Croce (begun 1429–30, structure completed 1443), the Sagrestia Vecchia of S. Lorenzo (completed before 30 February 1429), the church of S. Maria degli Angeli (begun 1434, unfinished 1446), and S. Spirito. Brunelleschi died on 15 April 1446.

For knowledge of Brunelleschi as a figurative artist reference must be made to the following works:

(i) Two reliefs of Prophets in half-length, two statuettes of Fathers of the Church, and two (unidentified) half-length Evangelists executed for the silver altar of St. James in the Duomo at Pistoia in 1399–1400 (for these see Chiapelli and Sanpaolesi).

(ii) Trial relief of the Sacrifice of Isaac (see Plate 1 below).

(iii) A wooden figure of Christ on the Cross (Gondi Chapel, S. Maria Novella, Florence) reputedly (Vasari, Codice Gaddiano, and other sources) inspired by rivalry of the wooden Crucifix of Donatello in S. Croce. Though this carving is not documented, its ascription to Brunelleschi is supported by early sources, and is not open to serious dispute. It has been suggested (Paatz) that, contrary to tradition, the Crucifix preceded that of Donatello, and was produced in the decade 1400–10. A dating about 1410–15 (Fabriczy) is more probable.

(iv) The lavabo in the north sacristy of the Duomo in Florence (Fig. 4), designed by Brunelleschi (9 December 1432) and executed by his adoptive son Buggiano (completed 30 April 1440) (Codice Strozziano: 'Hebbe u(n)o suo discepolo quale teneva in casa da Buggiano el quale fe fare l'acquaio di marmo che è nella sagrestia di s(ant)a liparata con q(uel)i bambini in detto lavacro che gettano acqua'). (He had a pupil from Buggiano who lived in his house, to whom he entrusted the making of the marble lavabo in the sacristy of Santa Reparata with those children in the aforesaid lavabo who spout water.)

(v) The pulpit in S. Maria Novella, Florence (Fig. 48), for which a wooden model was prepared by Brunelleschi before 31 August 1443, and of which the construction appears to have been completed by Buggiano in 1448. Four reliefs with scenes from the life of the Virgin in the upper part of the pulpit were completed by Buggiano prior to 5 February 1452; there is no documentary evidence that these reliefs depend from designs by Brunelleschi, and this is improbable.

(vi) Four enamelled terracotta reliefs with seated figures of the Evangelists in the spandrels of the Pazzi Chapel, S. Croce, Florence (Fig. 3). The attribution of these reliefs to Brunelleschi has no documentary support, and was first advanced by Liphart (Bode, in *Cicerone*, 5th ed., ii, p. 350). The reliefs are not mentioned by any early source, and are rejected by Fabriczy (who regards them as the work of Luca della Robbia) and Marquand (who assigns them to the Della Robbia workshop and to a date shortly before 1469). An attribution to Luca della Robbia is untenable in so far as concerns the modelling of the reliefs, while the Donatellesque style and the fact that the reliefs were glazed sectionally and are flat, not concave, acts in favour of an early dating about 1443. For all these reasons the ascription to Brunelleschi (which is accepted by A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, viii-1, 1923, pp. 132–3, and Sanpaolesi) is extremely plausible.

(vii) Tomb and altar executed by Buggiano in the Sagrestia Vecchia of S. Lorenzo (1433).

Brunelleschi also executed the following lost works:

(i) Wooden statue of St. Mary Magdalen in S. Spirito, Florence (destroyed by fire 1471). The fullest description of this figure occurs in the life of Brunelleschi by Antonio Manetti ('Fece di scoltura di legname, e colorì, una Santa Maria Maddalena, tonda, come naturale, e poco meno di grandezza, molto bella, la quale arse nella chiesa di Santo Spirito nel 1471'). (He made and coloured a wooden sculpture of St. Mary Magdalen in the round like a real figure, rather less than life-size and very beautiful, which was burned in the church of Santo Spirito in 1471.) In the Codice

Strozziano the statue is compared with the Magdalen of Donatello in the Baptistry. Though it has been dated *c.* 1400 (Paatz), there is no evidence as to when it was produced.

(ii) Tabernacle of the Sacrament in S. Jacopo in Campo Corbellini (executed by Giusto di Francesco da Settignano prior to 13 May 1427).

In addition it is known that:

(i) On 9 October 1415 Donatello and Brunelleschi were paid jointly for 'una figuretta di pietra vestita di piombo dorato' (a little stone figure clad in gilded lead) made in connection with a statue for the Cathedral. It has been established (Fabriczy) that a similar model was made by Nanni di Banco and Donatello for a gigantic statue, and the 'figuretta' of Brunelleschi and Donatello was presumably a model made for the same purpose. There is no evidence as to whether or not the large figure was executed.

(ii) According to a persistent tradition, the statues of SS. Mark and Peter on Or San Michele were commissioned jointly from Brunelleschi and Donatello though executed wholly by the latter artist. The most detailed statement of this case occurs in the Codice Strozziano: 'Furono allogate alui et adonato insieme dua figure di marmo che sono nellj pilastri dorto s(ant)o michele cioè la figura di s(ant)o p(ietr)o et q(ue)lla di s(ant)o marco opere molto degne.' (Two marble figures on the pillars of Or San Michele, that is the figure of St. Peter and that of St. Mark, excellent works, were commissioned jointly from him and from Donatello.) While the St. Mark on Or San Michele is an indubitable work of Donatello (see Plate 4 below), the St. Peter was designed and executed by another hand. The possibility of Brunelleschi's intervention at least in the designing of this statue cannot be ruled out. The design of the niche, which is backed with perspective marble intarsias, has been ascribed independently to Brunelleschi (A. Venturi, contested by Salmi and others).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The standard early source for the career of Brunelleschi is a biography ascribed to Antonio Manetti (*Filippo Brunelleschi di Antonio di Tuccio Manetti*, ed. H. Holzinger, Stuttgart, 1887). On this and other sources see C. Frey (*Le Vite di Filippo Brunelleschi*, Berlin, 1887). The documents are assembled and analysed in a standard book and article by C. von Fabriczy (*Filippo Brunelleschi: sein Leben und seine Werke*, Stuttgart, 1892, and 'Brunelleschiana', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxviii, 1903, Beiheft, pp. 1–84). Outstanding in the extensive literature on Brunelleschi as an architect is an article by L. H. Heydenreich ('Spätwerke Brunelleschis', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lii, 1931, pp. 1–28). A useful summary of the material relating to Brunelleschi as a figurative artist is given by A. Chiappelli ('Filippo Brunelleschi scultore', in *Pagine d'antica arte fiorentina*, Florence, 1905). On the silver altar at Pistoia see G. Beani (*L'altare di S. Jacopo nella Cattedrale di Pistoia*, Pistoia, 1899) and P. Sanpaolesi ('Aggiunte al Brunelleschi', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxviii, 1953, pp. 225–32), and on the trial relief F. R. Shapley and C. Kennedy ('Brunelleschi in Competition with Ghiberti', in *Art Bulletin*, v, 1922–3, pp. 31–4), A. Marquand ('Note sul sacrificio d'Isacco di Brunelleschi', in *L'Arte*, xvii, 1914, pp. 385–6), and R. Krautheimer (*Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1957).

Plate 1: THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC

Museo Nazionale, Florence

Brunelleschi's relief of the Sacrifice of Isaac (Fig. 2) was made in 1401–2 in connection with the competition for the second bronze door of the Baptistry in Florence. The two primary sources for the story of the competition are the *Commentari* of the sculptor Ghiberti and the life of Brunelleschi by Antonio di Tuccio Manetti (written after 1471 and before 1497). According to Ghiberti, seven sculptors participated in the competition; these were Simone da Colle, Niccolò d'Arezzo, Jacopo della Quercia, Francesco di Valdambrino, Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti, Brunelleschi, and Ghiberti. Each of the competitors was provided with four plaques of bronze, and was required, within one year, to prepare a trial relief of the Sacrifice of Isaac. The seven trial reliefs were then submitted to a committee of thirty-four members appointed by the Arte di Calimala, who were charged with supervising the construction of the door. On the unanimous judgement of the committee and of 'the entire body of the Arte Mercatoria', the prize was awarded to Ghiberti's relief, and at some date prior to 25 March 1403 Ghiberti received the contract for the door. It was originally intended that the door should represent subjects from the Old Testament. In the course of 1401–2, however, this plan was changed, and it was decided that New Testament subjects should be represented, the trial relief of Ghiberti being retained for future use in a third door. According to Manetti, two sculptors only, Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, were selected to participate in the competition: 'Filippo fece la storia sua in quella forma, che la si vede ancora al presente, e fecela presto, perchè possedeva l'arte gagliardamente. Fatta che l'ebbe, e netta e ripulita, a tutto, e non fù vago conferirla quasi con persona, che, come io ho detto, non era borioso, ed aspettava il tempo del paragone.' (Filippo made the scene in the form in which it is still seen today, and made it rapidly, since he was a valiant artist. When it was cast and cleaned and polished, he was not unwilling to consult people about it, since, as I have said, he was not proud, and he awaited the time of the competition.) Manetti (whose account is biased against Ghiberti) goes on to describe the means by which Ghiberti enlisted the support of members of the committee, and the warm reception accorded to his relief. 'E generalmente non avendo alcuno veduto quella di Filippo, non credevano non che Filippo, ma Policleto l'avessi potuta fare meglio, perchè la fama di Filippo non era ancora divulgata, che era giovinetto ed aveva la mente più diretta al fare, che a parere. Ma, quando e' vidono la sua, ch'egli aveva messo innanzi, come fù l'attitudine di Abram, l'attitudine di quel dito sotto 'l mento, la sua prontezza, e' panni, e 'l modo, e la fine di tutto quel corpo del figliuolo, e 'l modo, e' panni di quello angelo, e' suoi reggimenti, e come gli piglia la mano, l'attitudine, e 'l modo, e la fine di quello che si trae lo stecco del piè, e così di quello, che bee chinato, e di quanta difficoltà sono quelle figure, e quanto bene elle fanno l'ufficio loro, che non è membro che non abbia spirito, e le condizioni e fine delgi animali che vi sono, e cosi ogni altra cosa, come tutto 'l corpo della storia insieme: il che veggendo chi era deputato e giudicare, diventarono d'un alto parere.' (And in general since they had not seen Filippo's relief, they did not believe that Policletus, let alone Filippo, could have made a better relief than Ghiberti's, since Filippo's fame was not widespread, he was still young, and was intent on performance rather than on attracting attention. But when they saw Filippo's relief and all that he had put into it, the attitude of Abraham, the finger under the chin, the drapery, the pose and finish of the body of the boy, the pose and drapery of the angel and how he seized Abraham's hand, and the attitude and finish of the man drawing the thorn from his foot, and those of the man who drinks bending down, and how difficult those figures are, and how well they perform their function, that there is no member which is not spirited, and the conditions and finish of the animals in the scene, and everything else, and the entirety of the scene—seeing all this those who were deputed to judge completely changed their view.) Manetti goes on to record that the committee decided to allot the door to both sculptors jointly, that Brunelleschi refused to accept this decision, and that the contract was therefore awarded to Ghiberti alone. Though it can be demonstrated (Krautheimer) that Ghiberti's account reveals a fuller knowledge of the procedure by which the contract was awarded, and is therefore on general grounds the more credible, it is clear that there is none the less a considerable measure of truth in Manetti's account; and the fact that a written decision was called for from the committee and an appeal was made to the members of the Guild as a whole suggest that opinion was closely divided on the respective merits of the two reliefs. None of the five other trial reliefs submitted for the competition survives. Since both Brunelleschi's and Ghiberti's contain the same number of figures, this was presumably laid down in the terms of the competition (Krautheimer), which would have bound the competitors to represent the two attendants in the foreground of the scene. Brunelleschi's relief differs from that of Ghiberti (Fig. 1) in respect (i) of technique and (ii) of style. Whereas Ghiberti's trial relief is cast in a single piece, Brunelleschi's consists of a solid bronze plaque approximately 5 mm. thick, on to which are soldered the sections in relief. These comprise (a) the foreground, ass, ram, altar, Isaac, Abraham, the left hand of the angel and the rock on the right, (b) and (c) the attendants to right and left, (d) the angel, and (e) the tree in the upper right corner. The weights of the two reliefs are 25.5 kg. (Brunelleschi) and 18.5 kg. (Ghiberti) (Krautheimer, following Bearzi). That the composition lacks the fluency of Ghiberti's is due in part to its technique. The relief style is dominated by the human figures, and depends, notably in the figure of Abraham, from the style of the silver altars at Pistoia and in the Baptistry in Florence. The treatment of the figures is, however, strongly realistic, and the Isaac has justly been described (Fabriczy) as 'der erste nackte Aktfigur der modernen Kunst'. Krautheimer (who overstresses the mediaevalism of the forms) relates the Isaac to a kneeling prisoner on the Arch of Constantine, and the servant on the right to a figure in a Roman carving of the Slaughter of a Pig. The figure on the left derives from a version of the Spinario, perhaps through a gem (Fabriczy) or Byzantine derivatives (Krautheimer), which provide analogies for the much modified pose used by Brunelleschi in the relief. The subject of the relief on the altar is unexplained, and has been variously described as the Annunciation (A. Venturi) and Abraham presenting Isaac to the Virgin as an allegory of the genealogy of Christ (Marquand). The trial relief is stated by early sources to have been presented to Cosimo de' Medici, and was built into the altar of the Sagrestia Vecchia until it was presented by the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo to the Uffizi.

DONATELLO
(b. *c.* 1386; d. 1466)

The date of Donatello's birth is not recorded. According to Vasari, he was born in 1383, and according to his tax returns of 1427 and 1433 in 1386. His father, Niccolò di Betto Bardi, was a member of the guild of the *tiratori di lana*. Donatello's name appears among the assistants employed by Ghiberti on the bronze door of the Baptistry between 1404 and 1407; it cannot be established at what point between these dates he entered Ghiberti's studio, nor how long he worked there. Two documents of 23 November 1406 and February 1408 refer to a marble prophet carved by Donatello for the Porta della Mandorla; for the long and inconclusive controversy to which the two statuettes now over the door have given rise see particularly L. Planiscig ('I profeti sulla porta della Mandorla del Duomo fiorentino', in *Rivista d'Arte*, xxiv, 1942, pp. 125–42), W. R. Valentiner (in *Studies of Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1950), and Janson. A marble statue of David (Museo Nazionale, Florence), executed for the Duomo, dates from 1408–9 (see Plate 2 below), and was followed (1410) by a gigantic terracotta statue of Joshua (destroyed). After 1408 Donatello was also engaged on a seated figure of St. John the Evangelist for the façade of the Cathedral (see Plate 4 below), now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. Between 1411 and 1413 he worked on the first of his statues for Or San Michele, the St. Mark (see Plate 3 below). For Or San Michele he also executed two further statues of St. George (see Plate 5 below) and St. Louis of Toulouse (see Plate 16 below). Concurrently with the first of these (1415), he began work on statues of Prophets for the Campanile (see Plates 12–15 below), the fourth and last of which was completed in 1436. In 1419 Donatello (along with Nanni di Banco and Brunelleschi) submitted a model for the cupola of the Duomo, and in the same year carved the Marzocco for the staircase of the quarters of Pope Martin V in S. Maria Novella (Museo Nazionale, Florence). After the death of Nanni di Banco he carved (1422) two heads of Prophets over the Porta della Mandorla. From 1425 till 1432–3 Donatello shared a studio with Michelozzo. Tax returns of 1427 contain references *inter alia* to a reliquary bust of S. Rossore executed by Donatello for the Ognissanti (now in the Museo di S. Matteo, Pisa) and to three monuments (see Plates 11, 38, 39 below). Between 1423 and 1434 he was also employed on work in connection with the Sienese Baptismal Font (see Plate 17 below), and cast for Siena Cathedral the bronze tomb-slab of Giovanni Pecci, Bishop of Grosseto (d. 1426). In 1430 Donatello served (with Brunelleschi, Ghiberti and Michelozzo) as a military engineer with the Florentine army at the siege of Lucca, and immediately after (Janson) seems to have moved to Rome, where he is mentioned on 23 September 1430 in a letter of Poggio Bracciolini. There he carved the Tabernacle of the Sacrament, now in the Sagrestia dei Beneficiati of St. Peter's, and the tomb-slab of Giovanni Crivelli, Archdeacon of Aquileia (d. 28 July 1432) in S. Maria in Aracoeli, and designed and executed the bronze tomb-slab of Pope Martin V in St. John Lateran (for the case against the attribution to Donatello of this much-contested work see Janson). Summoned back to Florence (1433) to execute or complete the external pulpit of Prato Cathedral (see Plate 10 below), which had been commissioned in 1428, he received the commission (1433) for a Cantoria for the Duomo in Florence (see Plate 9 below). In 1434 he designed a stained-glass window of the Coronation of the Virgin for the Cathedral (for reproductions after cleaning see G. Marchini, *Italian Stained Glass Windows*, London, 1957), and in 1437 contracted to make bronze doors for the two sacristies; neither of these was executed, and the contract for one of them was later transferred to Luca della Robbia. As part of the same series of commissions he made a wax model (1439) for the altar of St. Paul. To this time may be assigned three important undocumented works, the Cavalcanti Annunciation in S. Croce (see Plate 11 below), the bronze David in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (see Plate 30 below), and the bronze doors and stucco decoration of the Sagrestia Vecchia of S. Lorenzo (see Plates 20, 24 below). Donatello is mentioned in Florence in 1443, but later in the year seems to have transferred his studio to Padua which formed the main scene of his activity in the years 1444–53, and where he executed a Crucifix and High Altar for S. Antonio (see Plates 21–7 below) and the equestrian statue of Gattamelata (see Plates 28, 29 below). Towards the close of this period pressure of work in Padua seems to have relaxed, and Donatello carved a wooden statue of St. John the Baptist for S. Maria dei Frari in Venice (about 1451), visited Ferrara (1451) to value the equestrian statue of Niccolò d'Este, entered into negotiations (1451) for an equestrian statue of Borso d'Este for Modena, and provided (1450–1) a model for the shrine of S. Anselmo at Mantua, the casting of which is referred to in a document of 1458 (not executed or lost). There are no documents relating to the works executed by Donatello in Florence after his return. These included the Judith in the Piazza della Signoria (see Plates 31, 32 below), the wooden St. Mary Magdalen in the Baptistry (see Plate 33 below), and the pulpits in S. Lorenzo (see Plates 34–7 below), which he left incomplete. The only documented phase in this last period of Donatello's life is his residence at Siena, where he was active from 1457 till 1461. The single surviving testimony to his connection with Siena is a bronze statue of St. John the Baptist in the Duomo (delivered 24 October 1457). While in Siena, he worked (1458–9) on the bronze doors of Siena Cathedral (abandoned) and agreed to carve a marble statue of S. Bernardino destined either for the Loggia di S. Paolo or for the chapel of the Saint in the Cathedral. Donatello died in Florence on 13 December 1466.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The literature of Donatello is more extensive than that of any other fifteenth-century Italian sculptor. All of the earlier monographs dealing with the sculptor (with the notable exception of two volumes by H. Semper, *Donatello, seine Zeit und Schule*, in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, ix, Vienna, 1875, and *Donatellos Leben und Werke*, Innsbruck, 1887) are now outdated. Those referred to in this book include the volumes of A. Schmarsow (*Donatello*, Breslau, 1886), F. Schottmüller (*Donatello*, Munich, 1904) and P. Schubring (*Donatello*, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1907). The latter forms an invaluable corpus of photographs of Donatellesque sculptures. A volume by H. Kauffmann (*Donatello: eine Einführung in sein Bilden und Denken*, Berlin, 1935) contains much information and many fresh observations. Since the picture of Donatello's personality presented in it is in certain essential respects misconceived, and since its attitude to attribution is uncritical, it will prove useful only to the specialist. A review by U. Middeldorf (in *Art Bulletin*, xviii, 1936, pp. 570ff) contains additional material.

In the 1930s Donatello criticism was radically changed by a number of specialized articles by J. Lanyi, which for the first time applied the criteria of style analysis to the traditional catalogue of Donatello's works. These articles are:

J. Lanyi, 'Le statue quattrocentesche dei Profeti nel Campanile e nell'antica facciata di Santa Maria del Fiore', in *Rivista d'Arte*, xvii, 1935, pp. 121–59.

J. Lanyi, 'Tre rilievi inediti di Donatello', in *L'Arte*, n.s. vi, 1935, pp. 284–97.

J. Lanyi, 'Zur Pragmatik der Florentiner Quattrocento Plastik', in *Kritische Berichte*, 1932–3 (1936), pp. 126–31.

J. Lanyi, 'Problemi della critica Donatelliana', in *Critica d'Arte*, iv, 1939, pp. 9–23.

Their influence may be measured in two brief monographs by L. Planiscig, one (*Donatello*, Vienna, 1939) published without reference to Lanyi's work, and the other (*Donatello*, Florence, 1947) based on Lanyi's findings. Though largely derivative and argued on a consistently superficial plane, the later of Planiscig's books is, on balance, the most serviceable and best illustrated short monograph on Donatello. The untimely death of Lanyi cut short his preparations for a standard monograph on Donatello, but his material (mainly photographic) was taken over by H. W. Janson and forms the nucleus of the latter's *The Sculpture of Donatello*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1957. This book provides the best available series of reproductions of the work of any Italian sculptor, and a critical *catalogue raisonné* of Donatello's works which is remarkable for its thoroughness and clarity. The conclusions of earlier scholars are fully and fairly summarized throughout this book, and the documentary and stylistic evidence is sifted with remarkable precision and intelligence. Some of the conclusions advanced in it are unacceptable, but disagreement on detail cannot detract from the value of this fundamental work. The treatment of space in Donatello's reliefs is dealt with by J. White ('Developments in Renaissance Perspective—II', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xiv, 1951, pp. 42–69, and *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, London, 1957).

Plate 2: DAVID
Museo Nazionale, Florence

A marble figure of David was commissioned from Donatello on 20 February 1408, as a companion piece to the Isaiah of Nanni di Banco (Vol. I, Plate 95), which had been commissioned a month earlier for a buttress on the north transept of the Cathedral ('Item deliberaverunt quod Donatus Betti Bardi possit teneatur et debeat predicte ecclesie edificare seu facere unam figuram de uno ex duodecim profetis adhoc David profete cum modis et cum dictis pactis et salario olim factis cum Johanne Antonii Banchi magistro unius figure per eum accettate ad construendum pro quodam alio profeta, que poni debeant super sprono unius tribune que ad presens edificatur seu completa consistit'). Payments for the David are recorded between 21 June 1408 and 13 June 1409, when the final payment took place. On 3 July 1409 Nanni di Banco's Isaiah was removed from its buttress, presumably because its size made it unsuitable for so elevated a position. Strong reasons are adduced by Lanyi for supposing that the David was never put in place, but remained in the possession of the Opera del Duomo. Nothing further is heard of the statue till 6 July 1416 when application was made for its transfer to the Palazzo della Signoria. On 20 August 1416 Donatello received five florins 'pro pluribus diebus quibus stetit una cum aliis eius discipulis in aptando et perficiendo figuram David que destinata fuit per dictos operarios in palatium dominorum priorum artium' (for several days during which he was engaged with his pupils in adapting and completing the statue of David which was destined for the palace of the priors of the guilds). In the Palazzo della Signoria the statue was installed against a wall painted with lilies on a blue ground, with the inscription 'Pro patria fortiter dimicantibus etiam adversus terribilissimos hostes dii praestant auxilium' (To those who strive bravely for their fatherland the gods will lend aid even against the most fearful foes).

With the exception of Kauffmann, recent students of Donatello have emphasized that the statue was modified seven years after it had been completed, in 1416. It has been suggested (Lanyi) that at this time the drapery beneath the left hand of the figure was modified from a pre-existing scroll, or alternatively (Janson) that the strap of the sling was at this time transferred from the left hand to the right, the left leg being freed of superfluous drapery. The second part of this contention must be treated with reserve. The wreath has been identified (Janson) as amaranth, and has thus a symbolic significance.

Plate 3: ST. MARK
Or San Michele, Florence

On 15 February 1409 the sculptor Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti was entrusted by the Guild of Linen-drapers (Arte dei Linaiuoli) with procuring a block of marble for a statue of their patron saint, St. Mark, for the guild tabernacle on Or San Michele. Two years later, on 16 February 1411, a committee of five members was appointed to select a sculptor to carve the figure, and to supervise its installation in the niche. Their choice fell on Donatello, who on 3 April 1411 was commissioned to carve a St. Mark four braccia high to be completed by 1 November 1412. On 24 April 1411 two stonemasons, Perfetto di Giovanni and Albizzo di Pietro, were charged with the execution of the tabernacle, which was to be finished within eighteen months. By 29 April 1413 both the statue and the tabernacle were still incomplete, but the expression used to denote this ('di quanto vi mancha') suggests that minor adjustments alone were required. The statue was therefore carved between April 1411 and April 1413. Though the earliest sources (the *XIV uomini singhulari in Firenze dal 1400 innanzi* of Antonio Manetti, and Albertini) describe the St. Mark, along with the St. Peter and St. George, as a work of Donatello, the story later gained currency that the St. Mark and St. Peter were commissioned jointly from Donatello and Brunelleschi. This statement occurs for the first time in the Libro di Antonio Billi and is repeated in the first edition of Vasari's life of Donatello. In the second edition of Vasari's life the name of Brunelleschi appears only in connection with the St. Mark ('e per l'Arte de' Linaioli, il San Marco Evangelista, il quale avendo egli tolto a fare insieme con Filippo Brunelleschi, finì poi da sè, essendosi così Filippo contentato'). The documents leave no doubt that the St. Mark was commissioned from Donatello alone, and not from Donatello and Brunelleschi. The tabernacle of the Arte de' Linaiuoli is an enriched version of the tabernacle of 1339–40 on the west side of the Oratory in which Ghiberti's St. Stephen was later placed (Paatz). Analogies with Rheims (Vöge) and Antelami (Middeldorf) are valid only in so far as they relate to a common study of classical sculpture, and it is rightly emphasized by Janson that 'the statue is in all essentials without a source'. It has been suggested (Janson) that the drill-holes on the book in the Saint's left hand were originally decorated with metal studs. Since the commission of 3 April 1411 refers to gilding, the drapery may originally have been picked out in gold.

Plate 4: ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence

Donatello's St. John the Evangelist was commissioned for a niche on the façade of the Cathedral on 19 December 1408, along with figures of St. Luke by Nanni di Banco and St. Mark by Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti. The fourth statue, a St. Matthew, was commissioned from Ciuffagni on 29 May 1410. This latter statue was originally to have been allocated to the artist judged to have excelled in work on the preceding statues, and the decision to commission it in 1410 was presumably dictated by the wish to accelerate the completion of the figures. On 17 July 1410 work on the four Evangelists was proceeding in chapels in the Cathedral. The subsequent history of the commission is confused, but a payment referring in part explicitly to the St. John occurs on 18 April 1413, and work on the statue was certainly continued between 24 January 1415 and 8 October 1415, when it was installed on the façade of the Cathedral. For this reason some students (Kauffmann, Planiscig) have tended to assume that the execution of the figure belongs to the years 1413–15. It is argued, on the other hand, by Janson that since payments are recorded to Nanni di Banco, Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti and Ciuffagni in 1409–10, the St. John must have been begun at the same time, and that a number of payments made to Donatello for unspecified marble statues at this time refer to it. Stylistic considerations lend considerable force to this view, since the figure is related to the marble David rather than to the St. Mark. According to this thesis, the figure would have been carved in 1409–11, and slightly modified in 1415. Janson points out that the eyeballs were originally uncarved, like those of the marble David, and claims that the present pupils were cut in the sixteenth century. The first part of this observation is correct, but it is likely that the pupils were added by Donatello in 1415.

Plate 5: ST. GEORGE
Museo Nazionale, Florence

Donatello's St. George (Fig. 5) is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'All'Arte dei Corazzai fece una figura di San Giorgio armato, vivissima; nella testa della quale si conosce la bellezza nella gioventù, l'animo ed il valore nelle armi, una vivacità fieramente terribile, ed un maraviglioso gesto di muoversi dentro a quel sasso. E certo, nelle figure moderne non s'è veduta ancora tanta vivacità, nè tanto spirito in marmo, quanto la natura e l'arte operò con la mano di Donato in questa. E nel basamento che regge il tabernacolo di quella, lavorò di marmo in basso rilievo quando egli ammazza il serpente ove è un cavallo molto stimato e molto lodato. Nel frontespizio fece di basso rilievo mezzo un Dio Padre.' (For the guild of armourers he made a most lively statue of St. George armed. The head exhibits the beauty of youth, its spirit and valour in arms, a proud and terrifying lifelikeness, and a marvellous sense of movement within the stone. Certainly among modern statues there is none in marble with such vivacity or spirit as nature and art achieved by the hand of Donatello in this. On the base that supports the tabernacle he worked a low relief in marble of St. George slaying the dragon, where there is a horse that is highly thought of and much praised. On the gable he did a God the Father in middle low relief.) In Donatello's lifetime the statue was highly praised by Filarete (*Trattato d'Architettura*, Book xxiii), and in the sixteenth century its manifold beauties were recounted in an essay by F. Bocchi (*Eccellenza della statua di San Giorgio di Donatello*, Florence, 1584, also available in a German translation by Semper in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte: ix, Donatello, seine Zeit und seine Schule*, Vienna, 1875, pp. 176–228).

The statue was carved for the niche of the Arte dei Corazzai on Or San Michele, the westernmost niche on the north side of the oratory. It was moved in the seventeenth century to a niche on the south side of Or San Michele, where it remained till after 1887, when it was replaced in its original niche. In 1892 it was transferred to the Museo Nazionale, a bronze copy being substituted on Or San Michele. The nose was broken in 1858 and restored by A. Costoli.

There are no published documents relating to the statue of St. George. Milanesi (in Vasari, *Vite*, ii, 1878, p. 404n.) claimed to have had access to a document (untraced) recording that in February 1416 marble for the base of the tabernacle was purchased by the Arte dei Corazzai from the Opera del Duomo. It has been suggested (Kauffmann, Paatz, Janson) that this document must in fact refer to February 1417. A further unpublished document (H. Siebenhüner, in *Kunstchronik*, vii, 1954, pp. 266 ff.) allegedly refers to the purchase by the Arte dei Corazzai in October 1415 of a figure from the Opera del Duomo. This figure is identified by Siebenhüner with a marble David for which Donatello received payments between 1409 and 1413. According to this thesis, the St. George would have been adapted from the

David, and would therefore have been carved considerably earlier than had previously been supposed. The overwhelming arguments against this view are marshalled by Janson, who points out that the term 'figura' is used in documents for a block of marble destined for a statue as well as for the completed work. There is thus a presumption that work on the St. George was begun in or after October 1415, and was completed in 1416–17, in approximately the same period of time as the St. Mark.

It has also been claimed (Siebenhüner) that the David from which the St. George was allegedly adapted, was completed with a metal wreath attached to the head by drill-holes, and with a sling held in the right hand. Janson (who points out that the drill-holes contain remnants of corroded metal) argues that the statue was originally equipped with a bronze helmet, 'a lance or sword tilted upward at a fairly steep angle' in the right hand, and a sword sheath against the left thigh. The evidence for these accoutrements derives solely from the drill-holes on the statue, and they are not mentioned by Vasari or any other source. The pose has also been interpreted (Janson) as 'a gesture of the body in response to a danger signal'. Both aspects of this interpretation are paralleled in the nineteenth-century literature of Michelangelo (where attempts were, for example, made to complete the so-called Cupid with a bronze bow and bow-string and to explain its stance by presuming an invisible target), and both are in the highest degree questionable in relation to the present statue. Iconographically the St. George, represented bare-headed in armour with legs apart and with his shield supported on the ground before him, is closely related to the statues of warrior saints on the grille surrounding Bonino da Campione's tomb of Cansignorio della Scala in the Sagrato di S. Maria Antica at Verona. Attempts to explain the pose and type by reference to Byzantine prototypes (Kauffmann, Middeldorf) are unconvincing.

The authorship of the tabernacle in which the statue was originally set is not attested by any document, but is generally credited to Donatello. This view is contested by Janson, but accepted, with varying degrees of reserve, by most other scholars. The relationship between the figure and its setting is more intimate than in any other tabernacle save those of the St. Matthew and the Parte Guelfa.

Plate 6: ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON
Or San Michele, Florence

The relief (Fig. 21) is set beneath the tabernacle of the Arte dei Corazzai on the north side of Or San Michele. It is generally assumed that a document relating to the purchase of marble by the guild from the Opera del Duomo in 1416–17 (see Plate 5 above) refers to the slab of marble used for the narrative scene beneath the tabernacle. The date of the carving of the relief cannot be established, and a case has been advanced for dating this about 1420 (Planiscig) or 1430 (Maclagan and Longhurst). If the statue was completed in 1417, it is unlikely that the tabernacle would have been left unfinished for so long a time, and the latest of the datings in particular is based on a radical misunderstanding of the style of the relief.

The importance of the St. George and the Dragon resides in its spatial content, its figurative content and its technique. So far as concerns spatial content, the most significant feature is the pavement of the building on the right, in which a perspective construction with a single vanishing point is introduced. It has been claimed (White) that whereas the interval between the transversals is inexact, the orthogonals vanish to a single point placed in the body of the Saint; and alternatively (Janson) that the orthogonals do no more than 'run in the general direction of the main vanishing point' which is placed too high in the scene. Whichever view is accepted, it is clear that the construction belongs to a very early stage in the development of linear perspective technique, and is, from a technical standpoint, on an altogether lower level of sophistication than the Siena font relief. Moreover, in the St. George and the Dragon linear perspective is not the sole method employed to define space, but is used *pari passu* with other means of a more empirical but no less effective kind. It is universally acknowledged that the figure of the Princess was adapted from or strongly influenced by a classical original (Semper; Warburg, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1932, i, p. 13; and others). The foreshortened horse is not based on the horse in the relief beneath Nanni di Banco's St. Eligius on Or San Michele (Janson) or on a common classical original (Kauffmann), but both horses may derive from prototypes in the same classical battle relief. It has also been suggested (Janson) that the St. George depends from the relief of a Horseman by Andrea Pisano on the Campanile, and that this explains the posture of the figure on the horse. This is doubtful, and the crouching pose seems in the main to have been determined by the limited height of the block.

Throughout the Donatello literature (Janson and all earlier students) it is assumed that the technique of *rilievo stiacciato* was introduced about 1416 in the present scene. The difficulty in this thesis is that whereas the use of linear perspective in the relief is still relatively primitive, the technique for rendering space and atmosphere is correspondingly advanced. There is, therefore, a high degree of probability that *stiacciato* reliefs were produced by Donatello before this time.

Plate 7: THE ASCENSION WITH CHRIST GIVING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER
Victoria & Albert Museum, London

The relief (Fig. 22) has been identified with 'uno quadro di marmo, chornicie di legname atorno, entrovi di mezo rilievo, una Ascensione di mano di Donato', in the inventory of the possessions of Lorenzo de' Medici drawn up after his death in 1492, and is certainly identical with a 'quadro di marmo di mano di Donatello di basso rilieuo: doue è effigiato, quando da le Chiaui Cristo a S. Pietro' in the possession of the Salviati listed in the 1591 edition of Bocchi's *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza*. The relief remained in Salviati ownership till after 1677, was purchased before 1860 for the Gigli-Campana collection, and was subsequently acquired with the Gigli-Campana collection for the Victoria & Albert Museum (7629–1861). It has been established (Kauffmann) that the unusual combination of the Ascension and Presentation of the Keys has its origin in an Ascension play performed annually in the church of the Carmine in Florence (for this see A. d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro Italiano*, Turin, 1891, i, p. 253), and a case has been stated (Pope-Hennessy, Janson) for the view that the relief may have been designed as the predella of the altar in the Brancacci Chapel in this church. In favour of this thesis it may be noted (i) that the relief was designed to be seen at close quarters at eye level, (ii) that its iconography links it closely to the Carmine, (iii) that the scene of the Presentation of the Keys is omitted in the frescoes of Masaccio and Masolino in the Brancacci Chapel, and (iv) that the composition is bound up with that of Masaccio's fresco of the Tribute Money. Donatello's authorship of the relief is rejected without argument by Planiscig, but is accepted by all other recent authorities, though it is tentatively suggested by Janson that there is some studio intervention on the extreme right-hand side. In technique and figure style it falls midway between the Naples Assumption and the Entombment on the St. Peter's tabernacle. The developed use of linear perspective is also consistent with a dating about 1430.

Plate 8: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

S. Angelo a Nilo, Naples

The relief is set in the front of the sarcophagus of the monument of Cardinal Rainaldo Brancacci (see Plate 38 below). An exhaustive analysis by Janson of the documentation of the monument confirms the view of earlier scholars that the Assumption (the only part of the monument universally accepted as the work of Donatello) was carved in the second half of 1427 or early in 1428. No satisfactory explanation has been adduced for the presence of a relief of the Assumption of the Virgin on the monument. Kauffmann regards the relief as a conscious adaptation of the Ascension relief on the pulpit by Fra Guglielmo in S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia; the resemblances relate only to the angels supporting the mandorla, and are perhaps due to the derivation of both reliefs from a common classical source. The technique of the carving is greatly in advance of that of the St. George and the Dragon relief, from which it is distinguished by a marked decrease in the depth of the cutting in the forward areas, by greater subtlety in the handling of the intermediate planes, and by its strongly atmospheric character. Iconographically the most important aspect of the Assumption is its deep-seated realism, which stems from the same current of religious thought as the Ascension with Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter (which immediately followed it) and the Masaccio Trinity in S. Maria Novella (which preceded it by a short space of time).

Plate 9: CANTORIA

Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence

The Cantoria or Singing Gallery of Donatello was commissioned in 1433 for a position above the entrance to the South Sacristy of the Cathedral, where it formed a counterpart to the Cantoria of Luca della Robbia (see Plates 41–3) over the entrance to the North Sacristy. The upper section of the Cantoria was dismantled in 1688, but the lower part remained in place until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it too was removed. The lower part, the reliefs, the columns from the front and such parts of the architectural framework as survived were reintegrated after 1883 in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo in the form shown in Fig. 20. Though a number of objections have been raised to this reintegration (for these see Janson), the effect of the Cantoria in its present form is substantially that planned by Donatello. The figurated area of the Cantoria consists of a frieze of running putti round the front and sides of the balustrade, and, below, between the consoles, two reliefs with pairs of putti and two bronze masks. The latter (for the existence of which there is documentary evidence) were added at a late stage to the reconstruction of the gallery, and their authorship has been contested. There are, however, strong reasons (Janson) for accepting them as parts of the original structure.

On 10 July 1433 Neri Capponi was authorized by the Operai of the Cathedral to place the contract for the Cantoria with Donatello, who had returned shortly before from Rome, and on 14 November 1433 it was agreed that Donatello should be paid at the rate of 40 florins for each panel commensurate with those on Luca della Robbia's Cantoria, and 50 florins for panels superior in quality to Luca's. These figures compare with the sum of 60 florins paid to Luca for the earlier of the reliefs on the front face of his Cantoria, and seem to indicate (Janson) that at this time a structure with a number of isolated panels and not a continuous frieze was contemplated. Payments for the Cantoria continue till 1440, and the balance of the sum of 896 florins due for it seems to have been paid only in 1446. By 30 October 1438, however, the Cantoria was already 'almost complete', and a careful analysis of the relevant documents by Janson suggests that the bulk of the figurated carvings belong in the bracket 1436–8. It follows that these post-date the earlier of the Prato reliefs (see Plate 10), and that the conception of the continuous frieze of the Cantoria was developed from the single panels employed on the pulpit at Prato. It is generally assumed that the frieze was inspired by classical sarcophagi of playing putti, though it has also been suggested (Janson, Gombrich) that Donatello may have known a Byzantine ivory relief of playing putti of the class of the Veroli casket. Unlike the Cantoria of Luca della Robbia, the figurated relief round the balustrade does not illustrate a detailed programme, and the divergent interpretations of its meaning advanced by Kauffmann and Janson are alike unsatisfactory.

The documents leave no doubt that the architecture of the Cantoria was designed by Donatello without the intervention of Michelozzo, and this is confirmed in Antonio Manetti's life of Brunelleschi, where the Cantoria is cited as evidence of the sculptor's imperfect grasp of architectural design. All of the figurated parts were clearly designed by Donatello, but the execution varies in quality between the poles of the excellent figures on the right side of the front of the parapet relief and the crude reliefs between the consoles. The left half of the parapet relief has been assigned both to Buggiano and Michelozzo; neither ascription is satisfactory, and it seems that in this part of the Cantoria, as in the Prato carvings, we have to reckon with the work of studio assistants recarved in part by Donatello.

Plate 10: EXTERNAL PULPIT
Duomo, Prato

The pulpit projects from the southern corner of the façade of the Cathedral at Prato. Designed for the exhibition of the principal relic of the Cathedral, the girdle of the Virgin, it replaced a rectangular trecento pulpit on the same site. Its history, which is very fully documented, opens on 14 July 1428 with a contract in which Donatello and Michelozzo, then in partnership, bound themselves to execute a pulpit according to a model already made. This was to be set somewhat lower than the pulpit as executed, was to be supported beneath by two marble angels (not by a bronze capital) and was to have a parapet decorated with six (not seven) reliefs, carved with putti holding shields (not dancing putti). The work was to be completed by 1 September 1429. Payments to the two masters on account of the pulpit are recorded in the second half of 1428 and in the four following years, but progress was retarded by the absence of Donatello in Rome. In April 1433 Pagno di Lapo was despatched to Rome to fetch Donatello, who had failed to complete his contract, and in July 1433 the task of dismantling the old pulpit began. The capital beneath the pulpit was modelled and cast in the second half of this year. Under pressure from the Operai Donatello returned from Rome, and on 27 May 1434 a further contract was drawn up; in this the name of Michelozzo is not mentioned, and the contracting parties are the Cathedral authorities and 'Donatum et alios'. This contract assured Donatello of a payment of twenty-five florins for each marble panel carved for the pulpit. On 19 June 1434 it was reported to the Cathedral authorities from Florence that one of the marble reliefs for the balustrade of the pulpit was complete, and that Donatello had asked that some money should be sent to him to spend during the holiday ('La chagione di questa si è, che Donatello à finita quella storia del marmo; e promettovi per gl'intendenti di questa terra, che dicono tutti per una bocha, che mai si vide simile storia. E lui mi pare sia di buona voglia e servire bene; si che, hora che è in buona dispositione, si vuole che noi lo conosciamo. Lui mi priegha, che io vi scriva che per Dio non manchi che gli mandiate qualche danaio per spendere per queste feste; ed io vi gravo che lo facciate; impero chè è huomo ch'ogni picholo pasto è allui assai, e sta contento a ogni cosa'). The building of the pulpit continued through 1435, and by April 1436 four of the seven marble reliefs were complete. All of the marble reliefs were installed on the pulpit before 14 July 1438, and on 17 September 1438 the final payment for them was made.

It is frequently assumed that work on the Prato pulpit began only with Donatello's return from Rome in 1433. The recorded payments, however, strongly imply (Janson) that work on the lower part of the pulpit was begun before this time. There is no evidence of the date at which the scheme was changed, but this is likely to have been in 1433. The overall design of the pulpit has been ascribed alternatively to Donatello (Bode, Geymüller, Kauffmann) and Michelozzo (Schmarsow, Semrau, Janson); a clear distinction between the architectural conceptions of the pulpit and the contemporary Cantoria is made by Janson alone. The principal sculptural sections of the pulpit are the bronze capital beneath, and the seven reliefs of putti round the balustrade. The former, which originally filled both sides of the support and not the west side only as it does now (Janson), was executed by Michelozzo, and there is a strong probability that Michelozzo was also responsible for its design (Lanyi, Marchini, Janson). It is stipulated in the contract that the reliefs of putti should be executed by Donatello's own hand. The style of the seven reliefs, however, is not homogeneous, and in six of the seven it is clear that studio assistants played a preponderant part. Many attempts have been made to distribute the reliefs between the members of Donatello's workshop (e.g. by Marchini, 'Di Maso di Bartolommeo e d'altri,' in *Commentari*, iii, 1952, pp. 112–17, who regards the central relief as a substantially unaided work of Donatello, the relief to its left as by Maso di Bartolommeo, and the two reliefs to its right as possibly by Michelozzo and Pagno di Lapo Portigiani). It is argued by Janson with some force that the central relief and the three panels to its left must be identified with the four scenes delivered by 1436, and that the three inferior scenes to the right were those completed in 1438. All of the seven reliefs depend from models or designs by Donatello. In each case the relief appears to have been blocked out and carried to an advanced state by a pupil, whose work was then to a greater or lesser degree retouched by Donatello. The extent of Donatello's autograph intervention is greater in the central relief than in the other six, and is least in the last relief on the right. There is no means of identifying the pupils responsible for the reliefs, but the hand of one of them, responsible for the basic carving of the first and second reliefs on the left, recurs in the Dead Christ with Angels in the Victoria & Albert Museum, in which the same procedure appears to have been followed, parts of the head and body of Christ being worked up by Donatello.

Plate 11: THE ANNUNCIATION

S. Croce, Florence

A detailed description of the Annunciation (Fig. 37) is given by Vasari: ‘Lavorò nella gioventù sua molte cose delle quali perchè furono molte, non si tenne gran conto. Ma quello che gli diede nome, e lo fece per quello che egli era conoscere, fù una Nunziata di pietra di macigno, che in Santa Croce di Fiorenza fù posta all’altare e cappella de’ Cavalcanti: alla quale fece un ornato di componimento alla grottesca, con basamento vario ed attorto, e finimento a quartotondo; aggiungendovi sei putti che reggono alcuni festoni, i quali pare che per paura dell’altezza, tenendosi abbracciati l’un l’altro, si assicurino. Ma sopra tutto, grande ingegno e arte mostrò nella figura della Vergine, la quale impaurita dall’ improvviso apparire dell’Angelo, muove timidamente con dolcezza la persona a una onestissima reverenza, con bellissima grazia rivolgendosi a chi la saluta; di maniera che se le scorge nel viso quella umiltà e gratitudine, che del non aspettato dono si deve a chi lo fa, e tanto più, quanto il dono è maggiore. Dimostrò, oltra questo, Donato ne’ panni di essa Madonna e dell’Angelo lo essere bene rigirati e maestrevolmente piegati, e col cercare l’ignudo delle figure, come ei tentava di scoprire la bellezza degli antichi, stata nascosa già cotanti anni: e mostrò tanta facilità ed artifizio in quest’opera, che insomma più non si può dal disegno e dal giudizio, dallo scarpello e dalla pratica disiderare.’ (In his youth he made many things, of which little account was taken because they were so numerous. But the work which won him his name and made him known for what he was, was an Annunciation in *macigno*, placed at the altar and in the chapel of the Cavalcanti in S. Croce in Florence. For it he made an ornament composed in the grotesque manner, with a complex curved base and surmounted by a quarter circle, and added to it six putti holding garlands, who seem frightened of the height and place their arms round one another for reassurance. But he showed great talent and skill above all in the figure of the Virgin, who is frightened at the unexpected apparition of the angel, and moves timidly but gently in an attitude of reverence, turning with lovely grace to him who is saluting her. In her face there is seen the humility and gratitude, that is due to whomever makes an unexpected gift, and how much more so when the gift is greater. This apart, Donatello showed in the draperies of the Virgin and the angel how these could be twisted and folded in a masterly fashion, and revealed his awareness of the nude forms of the figures beneath, as though he were endeavouring to recover the beauty of the ancients which had been hidden for so many years. He showed such facility and skill in this work, that nothing more in respect of design and judgement, carving and practice can be desired.) The tabernacle and figures are carved in limestone, and the six putti above are modelled in terracotta. The extensive gilding on the tabernacle seems to date in the main from a restoration in the late nineteenth century.

There is some doubt as to the original placing of the tabernacle, which is presumed by Paatz to have been attached to the choir screen, and by Janson to have been designed for its present position. In either event it appears to have stood above and behind the altar of the Cavalcanti Chapel which was dedicated to the Annunciation. The altar included a predella with scenes from the life of St. Nicholas given by old sources to Fra Filippo Lippi or Pesellino, and often identified with a predella by Giovanni di Francesco in the Casa Buonarroti. For this reason it has been assumed (Kauffmann) that the tabernacle was commissioned by Niccolò Cavalcanti. Kauffmann cites a number of iconographical precedents for Donatello’s composition, e.g. an Annunciation by an Agnolo Gaddi follower in the Accademia in Florence and a predella panel by Giovanni da Milano in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome. These throw little or no light on Donatello’s scheme, which is not susceptible of this form of academic typological analysis.

The very early dating ascribed to the Annunciation by Vasari was accepted by some early students (Semper and others), but has since by general agreement been revised in favour of a dating in the mid-thirties (Kauffmann, Planiscig). It is postulated by Janson that the work was executed over a considerable period of time, the figurated area being carved about 1428–30 and the tabernacle about 1430–2, while the terracotta putti would have been added after Donatello’s return from Rome in 1433. By comparison both with the architecture of the Prato pulpit and the Cantoria and with the figurated sections of these works, this dating appears premature, and the tabernacle seems to have been planned and executed as a unity about 1436–40.

Plates 12–15: PROPHETS

Museo dell’Opera del Duomo, Florence

At the beginning of the fifteenth century eight of the sixteen niches on the Campanile of the Cathedral, four on the south and four on the west side, were filled with statues of Prophets and Sibyls by or from the workshop of Andrea Pisano (see Vol. I, pp. 193–4). The corresponding niches on the east and north sides were vacant, and between 1415 and 1436 there are repeated references in the Duomo records to payments for statues destined for them. The analysis of these is, however, of special difficulty, since (i) the identity of the prophets is, with certain exceptions, not clearly established, (ii) figures were in course of execution in the same term of years for the façade, and three of these seem to have been interchanged with figures for the Campanile (Lanyi), and (iii) the figures set in place on the north face of the Campanile, towards the Cathedral, were exchanged in 1464 with those on the more exposed west side. Until 1940 (when the figures were finally removed from the Campanile) the eight quattrocento statues occupied the following positions:

East side (left to right):

(i) Donatello: Bearded Prophet (Fig. 8).

(ii) Giuliano da Poggibonsi: Unidentified Prophet.
(iii) Donatello and Rosso: Abraham and Isaac (Fig. 6).
(iv) Donatello: Beardless Prophet (Plate 13).

West side (left to right):

(v) Rosso: St. John the Baptist.
(vi) Donatello: Habakkuk (Plate 12).
(vii) Donatello: Jeremiah (Fig. 7).
(viii) Rosso: Abdias (Vol. I, Plate 94).

In the documents Donatello's name appears in connection with five statues, of which one, the double group of Abraham and Isaac, can be identified with complete confidence. The Abraham and Isaac was commissioned jointly from Donatello and Nanni di Bartolo, called Rosso, on 10 March 1421 and was completed eight months later (6 November 1421). Since, however, there is no agreement as to the extent of Donatello's personal intervention in the execution of this group, its evidential value in relation to the four remaining prophets is correspondingly reduced. Two prophets for the same side of the Campanile were commissioned from Donatello alone on 5 December 1415. One of these prophets was completed by 18 December 1418, when its value was estimated at 100 florins, and the other by 24 July 1420, when Donatello was credited with 95 florins. On 1 September 1422 instructions were given that these, the Abraham and Isaac, and a fourth prophet should be installed in their niches forthwith. After considerable uncertainty on the part of all earlier students of Donatello (up to and including Kauffmann), it is now generally agreed (Poggi, Lanyi, Janson) that the prophets in question are those numbered (i) and (iv) above. Some doubt remains, however, as to which of the two statues is the earlier and which the later prophet, and a decision on this can be reached only through analysis of style. It is assumed (Poggi) and argued (Janson) that the beardless prophet is the earlier and the bearded prophet the later of these figures. The balance of probability appears in favour of the opposite view, since the head of the bearded prophet is closely connected with that of the St. Mark on Or San Michele, while the head of the beardless prophet looks forward to the later figures on the Campanile.

The third and fourth prophets were carved over a longer period of time; the initial contract for these is not preserved. On 9 March 1423 Donatello was working on a further figure of the Campanile, and by 27 August 1423 this was already far advanced. A month later it was decided to cancel the contracts for statues which had not yet been begun, and to limit the commissioning of further statues, and work on Donatello's prophet appears to have been discontinued or slowed down. The statue seems to have been completed by 1 June 1425, and was valued on 18 March 1426. On 11 February 1427 there is a record of a payment for a further statue on which Donatello was engaged, and this is mentioned again on 11 July 1427 in a tax declaration of Michelozzo (with whom Donatello was at that time in partnership) as being three-quarters complete. In the following year work on the Campanile figures was again suspended, on this occasion for a period of three years, and there is no further reference to work by Donatello for the Campanile till 31 January 1434, when he received an interim payment for a statue of the prophet Habakkuk ('una fighura di marmo per lui fatta a stanza de l'opera chiamato Abachucho profeta'). A further payment was made for this figure on 15 June 1435, and by 11 January 1436 it was complete. There is thus evidence that Donatello carved two statues, one between 1423 and 1425/6 representing an unidentified prophet, and the other, between 1427 and 1435/6, representing Habakkuk. All writers on Donatello are unanimous in regarding these figures as (vi) and (vii) above, but once more there is uncertainty as to which figure is the earlier and which the later statue. One of the two statues (vii) bears on the scroll the name GEMIA (Jeremiah); if this identification is accepted, the second figure must, by a process of exclusion, be identical with the Habakkuk. This is presumed by Lanyi, Planiscig and Paatz. Janson, on the other hand, contests the validity of the inscription, and reverts to the view of Kauffmann and other earlier scholars that (vi) is the earlier of the two figures and that (vii), the so-called Jeremiah, is the Habakkuk. It is difficult to establish a firm chronological relationship between these statues, since the later was blocked out and three-quarters finished a year after the earlier was complete. None the less, stylistic considerations seem again to favour the view of Lanyi that (vi) is the later and (vii) the earlier of the statues. Moreover, since the inscription GEMIA is clearly of quattrocento origin, it is difficult to explain how a wrong designation came to be attached as early as 1464 to a figure which would have been widely recognized as Habakkuk. Both (vi) and (vii) are inscribed on the front edge of the plinths OPVS DONATELLI. At least from the middle of the sixteenth century, and probably earlier, the presumed Habakkuk was popularly known as the Zuccone (bald-pate), and it appears under this designation in Vasari: 'Lavorò di marmo nella facciata dinanzi del campanile di Santa Maria del Fiore, quattro figure di braccia cinque; delle quali due ritratte dal naturale sono nel mezzo: l'una è Francesco Soderini giovane, e l'altra Giovanni di Barduccio Cherichini, oggi nominato il Zuccone; la quale, per essere tenuta cosa rarissima e bella quanto nessuna che facesse mai, soleva Donato, quando voleva giurare sì che si gli credesse, dire: Alla fe' ch'io porto al mio Zuccone; e mentre che lo lavorava, guardandolo, tuttavia gli diceva: favella, favella, che ti venga il cacasangue!' (For the front of the Campanile of S. Maria del Fiore he did four marble figures five braccia high, the two middle ones being portraits of Francesco Soderini as a youth and Giovanni di Barduccio Cherichini—now known as the bald-pate—drawn from the life. This latter being considered a most rare work, and more beautiful than anything else he made, Donatello, when he wished to swear in such a way that people would believe him, used to say: 'By the faith which I bear to my bald-pate'; and while he was working on it, he used to look at it and repeat: 'Speak, speak, or may dysentery seize you!'). Though there is a temptation to dismiss the stories contained in Vasari's life of Donatello as mere romancing, it is noteworthy that Vasari (unlike professional art historians before Lanyi) was correctly informed both on the number of statues Donatello executed for the Campanile and on their identity.

Plate 16: ST. LOUIS OF TOULOUSE

Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce, Florence

Few works by Donatello have given rise to more controversy than the St. Louis of Toulouse and the tabernacle on Or San Michele (Fig. 56) for which it was made. Much of this discussion is now of academic interest, and the heterodox views to which the statue has given rise (well summarized by Janson) need not be recapitulated here. The Parte Guelfa, by whom the statue was commissioned, had been allotted one of the fourteen niches on the outside of the oratory in 1339, but despite the progress of work on the niches of other Guilds, no work on the architecture of the tabernacle of the Parte Guelfa seems to have been undertaken before *c.* 1422. This date is given in a deliberation of the Council of the Parte Guelfa on 14 January 1460, recording the removal of the statue of St. Louis from its niche, which a fortnight previously had been purchased by the Mercanzia. At the instance of the Mercanzia the niche was later filled with the Christ and St. Thomas of Verrocchio (see Plates 80, 81 below).

The only direct evidence for the date of the St. Louis of Toulouse is provided by a document of 14–19 May 1423, in which the Council of the Parte Guelfa authorize an expenditure of 300 florins for the 'imaginis beati Lodovici que poni debeat in pilastro ecclesie sancti Michaelis in orto, ut perfici possit' (in order to bring to completion the image of St. Louis which is to be placed in the niche on Or San Michele). The statue was complete before 24–28 November 1425 (Fabriczy), when it was enjoined that on the feast of St. Louis an offering should be presented at Or San Michele as well as at S. Croce. The fact that the statue is not mentioned in Michelozzo's catasto declaration of 1427 affords a corroboratory argument (Janson) that it was already finished by this time. The inference that the statue was begun about 1420 (Janson) and completed in or soon after 1423 is fully in accord with the known facts. According to the codex of Buonaccorso Ghiberti (Florence, Bibl. Naz. Cent., BR 228, f. 27) the total sum received by Donatello for the figure ungilded and exclusive of the tabernacle in which it was set, was 449 florins ('la ffiura del Santo Lodovicho, sanza l'oro e sanza el tabernacholo d'or za Michele. A Donatello per suo maestero e di chi a ttenuto cho lui f 449/per libre 3277 d'ottone/per libre 350 di ciera/per rame e ffero libre 122 on. 3 d. 4/per charboni f. 41.94 d.O'). On its removal from Or San Michele, the statue was transferred to a niche on the façade of S. Croce, where it is mentioned by Albertini, and where it remained until, in 1860, the church was supplied with a new façade and the statue was moved inside. In 1903 it was placed in the refectory (now the Museo dell'Opera di S. Croce). As a result of recent cleaning, the gilding of the statue has been disclosed, and comments on its quality in the pre-war Donatello literature should be read with this fact in mind. At the same time an exceptionally careful study was made of its technique (B. Bearzi, 'Considerazioni di tecnica sul S. Lodovico e la Giuditta di Donatello', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxvi, 1951, pp. 119–23). This shows that it was cast in a number of pieces which were not soldered together as in the Judith but were screwed together at the back. The prime purpose of this procedure was to facilitate fire gilding, though a secondary reason for adopting it may have been the exceptional size of the statue. The empirical character of the technique can be seen in many parts of the statue, notably (Bearzi) in the left shoulder which was raised by an insertion after its initial casting. It has also been demonstrated (Bearzi) that the base of the crozier was sunk in the floor of the niche. There is evidence (Janson) that the statue was reduced at the back when it was transferred to S. Croce and placed in a shallower tabernacle.

The tabernacle on Or San Michele has been variously assigned to the early twenties, to a date *c.* 1440, and to a still later date (*c.* 1460). A document of 28 December 1487 refers to architectural features on the tabernacle which were still incomplete. Decisive stylistic arguments in favour of the early dating were advanced by Fabriczy, and have since been widely accepted. The early dating of the niche has, however, been contested by Planiscig, who suggested alternatively (i) that the St. Louis was set in another niche on the building and that the present niche was designed by Donatello at a later date to contain two figures, or (ii) that the niche in which the St. Louis was placed in 1425 occupied the site of the present niche, but was more archaic in style and was later replaced by the niche as we know it today. The first of these theories is untenable, since it can be demonstrated that the St. Louis actually stood in the present niche, and the second is improbable, since a tabernacle completed in 1425 would hardly have been replaced by a second tabernacle ten or twelve years afterwards. The figurated detail of the tabernacle is certainly due to Donatello, but doubt has been repeatedly expressed as to the extent to which he was directly responsible for the architectural scheme. It has been suggested (Janson) that the design was evolved by Donatello with the advice of Brunelleschi, and was carried out in cooperation with Michelozzo. Whether or not we accept this very reasonable theory, it is clear that the statue and the niche were not discordant (as was claimed by Planiscig and many earlier students) but strikingly harmonious, and that they were planned as a unity.

Plate 17: THE PRESENTATION OF THE BAPTIST'S HEAD TO HEROD

Baptistry, Siena

Donatello's connection with the Font in the Siena Baptistry (for the history of which see Vol. I, pp. 211–12) seems to have opened in 1423, when he received the commission (lost) for one of six gilt bronze reliefs of scenes from the life of the Baptist on the base. The commission for this relief had previously been allotted to Jacopo della Quercia (16 April 1417), along with that for a relief of Zacharias in the Temple (Vol. I, Plate 81) which Quercia eventually executed. An initial payment to Donatello was made in May 1423. In March 1425 the Cathedral authorities expressed dissatisfaction at the lack of progress on this and the reliefs allotted to Ghiberti, but on 18 August 1425 Donatello's relief is described as already made, and on 13 April 1427 it reached Siena. If the document of 1425 refers to the casting of the relief, it can be deduced (Janson) that this was planned and modelled between 1423 and 1425 and chased between 1425 and 1427. At some date after the delivery of this relief, Donatello received the commission for two statuettes of Virtues for the corners of the base of the font; these figures (Faith and Hope) were projected as early as 9 May 1427, and were executed between 25 September 1428 and the spring of the following year. Thereafter Donatello was engaged on work in connection with the tabernacle of the font; for this he executed a bronze door (payment of 22 April 1429), which was rejected in favour of a door by Giovanni Turini, and three of the six putti which originally crowned the corners of the tabernacle. The literature of these putti is confused, but it has been established (Lanyi, Janson) that two of those contributed by Donatello are among the four still on the font and that the third (as was recognized initially by Bode) is identical with a putto formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Three putti by Giovanni Turini, two of which are still on the font, were paid for on 26 September 1431, and Donatello's figures were presumably completed in this year, though the final payment for his work on the font dates from 18 August 1434.

There is some doubt both as to the identity and sex of the two figures seated beside Herod at the table, since the figure to the right of Herod has been variously interpreted as Herodias (Planiscig, Lotz) and as a male guest. It is argued by Janson that the scene of the Presentation of the Baptist's Head to Herodias (which is the subject of a separate relief on the bronze door of Andrea Pisano) is represented by Donatello in the extreme background of the relief. The view that the two guests seated at the table are men receives some support from paintings by Giovanni di Paolo in the Art Institute of Chicago and the National Gallery, London, where the schemes depend from Donatello's relief and both guests are unquestionably male. The scene is visualized from a high viewpoint (like the considerably earlier St. George relief), and not from the low viewpoint which was introduced in the somewhat later relief of the Ascension (Plate 7) and was employed again in three of the four reliefs at Padua. Though the orthogonals in the foreground (as noted by J. White) do not vanish to a single point, the perspective construction of the panel represents a significant advance on that of the St. George relief.

Plate 18: THE PAZZI MADONNA

Kaiser Friedrich Museum, No. 51: Sch. 30

The marble relief known as the Pazzi Madonna was purchased for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1886, with an alleged provenance from the Palazzo Pazzi. Whether or not this provenance is correct, it does not correspond with a relief in the Palazzo Pazzi described by Bocchi and Cinelli (*Le bellezze della città di Firenze*, 1677, p. 369) as a work of Donatello, since in this the Child raised the Virgin's veil and was seated on her right hand. The attribution to Donatello, first advanced by Bode, has been accepted by all students save Goldscheider, who rejects it without argument. The closest analogies for the relief in Donatello's work occur in the Presentation of the Baptist's Head to Herod on the Siena font (Plate 17), where the left hand of Herod offers a parallel for the foreshortened left hand and stubby fingers of the Virgin in the relief. Datings proposed for the carving have varied between 1415 (Colasanti) and 1430 (Tschudi), but a majority of scholars have agreed in assigning it to *c.* 1420–2. For an excellent detailed statement of the reasons for this dating see Janson. It is not known for what purpose the relief was made, but it seems to have enjoyed great popularity, and versions of it in pigmented stucco are found in the Chiesa della Certosa at Bologna, the Convento della Calza, Florence, the Louvre, Strasbourg and elsewhere. So far as can be judged, the Pazzi Madonna is the earliest marble relief to have been widely reproduced in stucco in this way.

Plate 19: VIRGIN AND CHILD

Louvre, Paris, No. 389

The relief, which is freely modelled in terracotta with old gilding and pigmentation, was acquired for the Louvre in 1880 by Courajod. Though listed in many of the earlier Donatello monographs as a work of Donatello (Schubring, Schottmüller), it has not been properly discussed, and is omitted from the recent literature (Kauffmann, Planiscig, Janson). Bode, in the only systematic, though now largely outdated, survey of the Madonna reliefs ('Die Madonnenreliefs Donatellos in ihren Originalen und in Nachbildungen seiner Mitarbeiter und Nachahmer', in *Florentiner Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1910, pp. 74–105), draws attention to its exceptional quality ('eine der grossartigsten Madonnen die Donatello erfunden hat, zugleich ein Wunderwerk durch Pracht und Schönheit der Färbung und Vergoldung'). Like the stucco tondi in the Sagrestia Vecchia, the relief is conceived as a raised painting. The illusionistic detail of the curtain at the back is noteworthy. The type of the Virgin recalls that of the Quincy Shaw Madonna in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which appears to have been carved during the fourteen-thirties from the master's cartoon by a studio assistant who also worked on the left side of the Prato pulpit and on the Dead Christ with Angels in London.

Plates 20, 24: STUCCO DECORATION
Sagrestia Vecchia, S. Lorenzo, Florence

The stucco decoration of the Old Sacristy (Fig. 41) comprises three separate elements. These are (i) four roundels with scenes from the life of St. John the Evangelist in the pendentives of the cupola (the Raising of Drusiana, the Attempted Martyrdom of St. John, the Assumption of St. John and St. John on Patmos), (ii) four roundels with seated figures of the Evangelists set high on the four walls, and (iii) two arched reliefs above the two doors on the altar wall with figures of SS. Stephen and Lawrence and SS. Cosmas and Damian. The two bronze doors beneath these last reliefs were also carried out by Donatello; each wing of these contains five panels with pairs of figures of martyrs and apostles. There are no documents relating to these works, and there is no direct evidence of the dates at which they were executed. The construction of the Old Sacristy was completed in 1428, and it has been claimed (Sanpaolesi) that the stucco decoration was undertaken at this time. On stylistic grounds this early dating is untenable. It has also been suggested (Semrau) that the pendentive roundels were executed after Donatello's return from Padua. The Manetti life of Brunelleschi states that the doorways on the altar wall were installed by Donatello without reference to the architect of the sacristy, and that Brunelleschi disclaimed responsibility for, and disapproved of, these. This passage relates only to the door frames and not to the stucco roundels, but affords contributory evidence that the decoration of the sacristy was undertaken in Brunelleschi's lifetime, that is before 1446. For this and other reasons the vast majority of Donatello students are agreed in assigning both the stuccos and the doors to the years between 1434, when Cosimo de' Medici returned to Florence, and 1443, when Donatello left for Padua. An exhaustive analysis of the evidence is supplied by Janson, who regards the stucco reliefs of saints as works of 1434–5, the stucco tondi as somewhat later, and the bronze doors as executed in 1437–43.

In discussing Donatello's work in the Old Sacristy allowance must be made for the difference in medium between the two parts of the work. Whereas the two doors are in bronze, and must, on the analogy of other commissions of the kind, have taken some years to complete, the remaining decoration is freely modelled in a form of stucco or cement, and the physical execution of each of the eight roundels must have been measured not in years and months but weeks and days. Apart from surface working with a tool (of which there is evidence in detail photographs), the reliefs could not have been modified after the material in which they are built up had set. Though the figures in the bronze doors are (as we might expect from the nature of the medium) more fully worked out than the figures in the pendentive roundels, there is no stylistic discrepancy which would justify us in postulating a working sequence between them. On all counts the most significant of the modifications introduced by Donatello in the sacristy were the door frames and the bronze doors, and it is almost inconceivable that work was not initiated at this point. The modelling of the four large figures above the doorways seems to have been consequential on the introduction of the doors and door-frames, and this and the filling of the eight roundels were perhaps undertaken during the work of chasing the bronze doors, that is between 1437 and 1443. Not only is the modelling of the four Saints closely related to that of the statues on the Padua altar, but the space construction of the pendentive roundels is closely related to that of the Padua reliefs, and for these reasons a dating towards the end of Donatello's first Florentine period, that is after 1440, is probable. The use of pigmented stucco in the Old Sacristy is unique in Florentine fifteenth-century sculpture, and was never repeated by Donatello or by any other artist. It has been correctly pointed out (Janson) that the pendentive reliefs are inadequately lit, and this fact must have been in part responsible for the medium employed in the reliefs, which, when fully pigmented, would have been more legible than they are today. The spatial devices employed in them are discussed by J. White, who makes the important observation that the verticals in three of the four scenes converge, and are planned in such a manner as to lead the eye towards the centre of the dome.

Plates 21–23, 25–27: HIGH ALTAR
S. Antonio, Padua

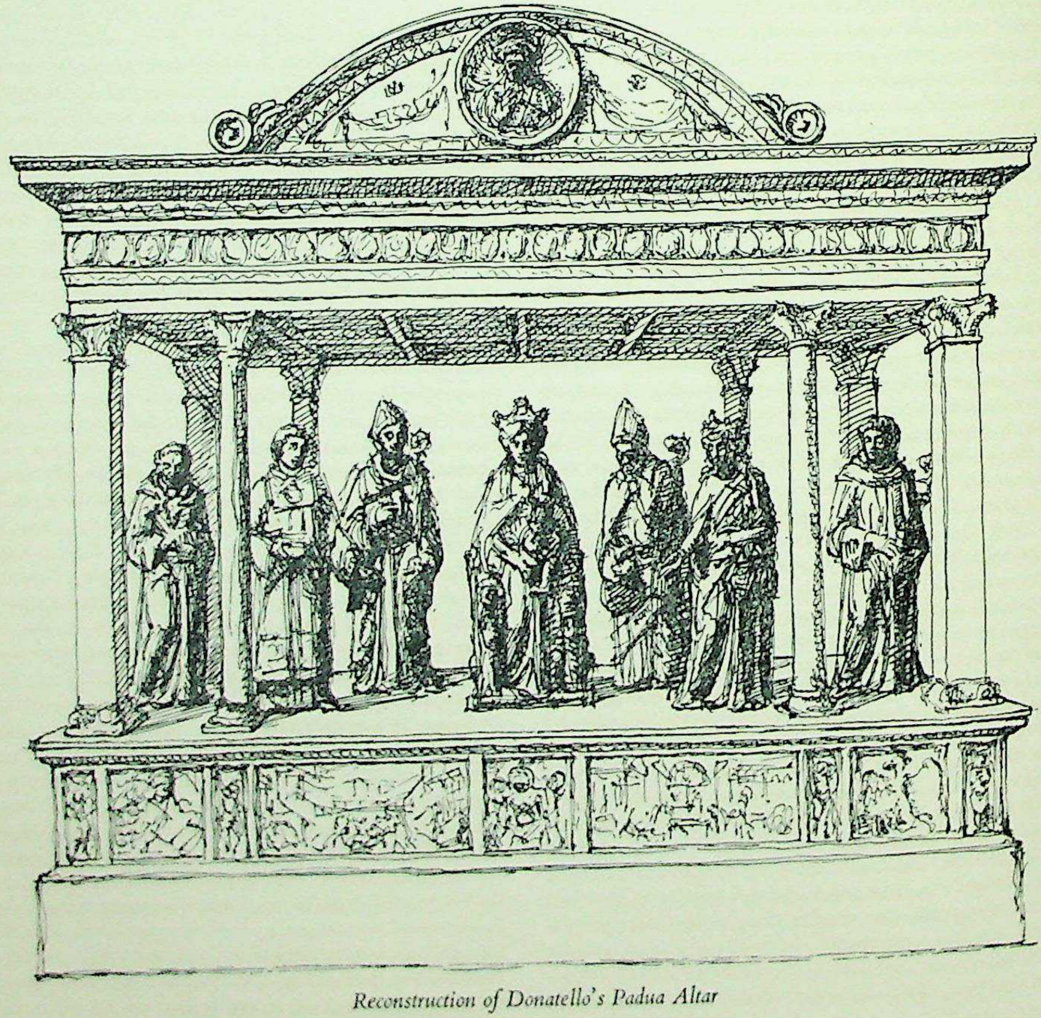
In 1443 Donatello was still resident in Florence, where he entered on the lease of a house, garden and workshop ('domum cum horto, apotheca et aliis edificiis in populo S. Michaelis Vices dominorum'). In the course of this year however, he seems to have left Florence for Padua, where on 24 January 1444 we find him employed on a bronze Crucifix for the church of S. Antonio. Wax for the modelling of the Christ was supplied on 19 June 1444, and the figure was presumably cast soon after this time. On 19 June 1447 a stonemason, Giovanni Nani da Firenze, received a payment for carving the base, between 7 January 1449 and 20 January 1449 the cross was gilded, by 22 January 1449 it was equipped with a gilt bronze halo, and on 23 January 1449 Donatello received the balance of the money due to him for this work. It has been suggested that in 1444 Donatello was also engaged in work on the choir-screen of the church (demolished 1651–2) and that the Crucifix was designed in relation to this (Kauffmann). Conclusive arguments against this view are advanced by Janson, and it appears that the Crucifix was originally mounted on or behind the High Altar of the church, was transferred in 1449 to another site in the choir as a result of the erection of Donatello's High Altar (see below), and was finally mounted on the choir-screen in 1487. The commission for the Crucifix alone is insufficient to explain Donatello's departure from Florence, which was probably motivated (Vasari) by the prospect of obtaining the commission for the monument of Gattamelata (see Plates 28, 29 below), who had died in Padua on 16 January 1443. The successful completion of the Cavalcanti Annunciation in the Franciscan church of S. Croce in Florence may also have played its part in ensuring Donatello employment in the Santo.

The High Altar executed by Donatello for the Santo has been dismantled, but the figure sculpture from it is preserved on the present High Altar of the church (Figs. 26, 27). This comprises (i) seven free-standing bronze statues of the Virgin and Child enthroned (H. 159 cm.) (Plate 22), and SS. Louis of Toulouse (H. 164 cm.) (Fig. 17), Prosdocimus (H. 163 cm.) (Fig. 18), Daniel (H. 153 cm.) (Plate 21), Giustina (H. 154 cm.) (Plate 23), Francis (H. 147 cm.) (Fig. 16) and Anthony of Padua (H. 145 cm.) (Fig. 15); (ii) four bronze reliefs with miracles of St. Anthony of Padua (the Miracle of the Mule, the Miracle of the New-Born Child, the Miracle of the Repentant Son, and the Miracle of the Miser's Heart) (H. 57 cm., W. 123 cm.) (Plates 25–7, Figs. 23–5); (iii) four bronze reliefs with the Symbols of the Evangelists (H. 59·8 cm, W. 59·8 cm.); (iv) a bronze relief of the Dead Christ supported by two Putti (H. 58 cm., W. 58 cm.); (v) twelve bronze reliefs of music-making Angels (H. 58 cm., W. 21 cm.); and (vi) a stone relief of the Entombment of Christ (H. 138 cm., W. 188 cm.).

This history of the altar is very fully documented, and opens on 13 April 1446 when a donation of 1,500 lire was accepted from a Paduan citizen, Francesco da Tergola, for the construction of a High Altar ('in fabricha et constructione pale ad altare magnum dicte ecclesie Sancti Antonii confessoris et non alibi'). Plans for the new structure may, however, have been advanced before this time. The initial contract with Donatello is not preserved. Work on the altar seems to have been begun in the second half of 1446, since on 11 February 1447 there is a reference to wax made available to Donatello for modelling figures for the altar. At this time his studio seems to have consisted of five assistants, the sculptors Urbano da Cortona, Giovanni da Pisa, Antonio Chellini and Francesco del Valente, and the painter Niccolò Pizzolo. On 4 April 1447 the bronze caster Andrea dalle Caldiere was supplied with bronze, apparently for casting some or all of the reliefs of angels on the altar. A further document (29 April 1447) stipulates the sums to be paid for the reliefs of Angels (which were at that time to have been ten in number) and for the Symbols of the Evangelists. By 10 May 1447 the ten Angels, two of the Symbols of the Evangelists and one of the narrative reliefs were cast. Six weeks later (23 June 1447) three narrative reliefs had been cast, and two statues, the SS. Francis and Louis of Toulouse, were modelled in wax. The narrative reliefs are named in the document as the Miracle of the Mule, the Miracle of the New-Born Child, and the Miracle of the Repentant Son, and it is expressly stated that the fourth scene, the Miracle of the Miser's Heart, had not so far been modelled. On 4 August 1447, however, metal was supplied to the foundry for the casting of this scene. During these months the reliefs of Angels and the Symbols of the Evangelists were in course of being chased. On 23 April 1448 a sum was expended on 'oto colone con li suo capiteli per far uno altaro el di del Santo per demostrar el desegno de la pala over ancona ali forestieri' (eight columns with capitals to make an altar on which, on the feast of St. Anthony, 13 June, the design of Donatello's altar could be shown to visitors). By 25 May 1448 the central statue of the Virgin had been cast, and on 5 June 1448 payment was made to Andrea dalle Caldiere for the casting of all seven statues, which must by that time have been complete. Through the second half of 1448 the documents refer mainly to the chasing of the sculptures and to the gilding and silvering of the narrative reliefs. The latter were finished by 29 January 1449. At the extreme end of 1448 and through the first half of 1449 there are repeated references to the carving of the architectural components of the altar. Those mentioned in the documents comprise eight marble columns ('cholone' or 'colonete'), of which four were rectangular and four were circular and fluted, bases for the columns, mouldings, and blocks both for the interior and exterior of the altar ('molte cornixe et priede grande ande dentro e de fuore de la pala'), and a cupola with a carved figure or relief of God the Father ('un dio padre de praeda de sora da la chua grande dal altaro'). By 11 June 1450 the statues had been transferred to the High Altar, and the whole structure was presumably dedicated two days later on the feast of the Saint. The last parts of the sculpture to be executed were the two additional reliefs of Angels and the bronze Pietà (payment of 23 June 1449) and the stone relief of the Entombment on the back of the altar (payment of 26 April 1449).

In 1579 it was decided that Donatello's altar should be replaced, and in 1582 a new altar was built in which use was made of many of Donatello's sculptures. This was rebuilt once more in 1651. Finally, in 1895, the altar was again reconstituted in its present form. The present altar was designed by Boito as an academic reconstruction of Donatello's altar, but the impression which it leaves is a totally misleading one, and a number of attempts have been made to reassemble the surviving pieces of the altar in their original architectural context. The single significant piece of literary evidence for the reconstruction is a description prepared about 1520 by Marcantonio Michiel: 'Nella chiesa del Santo sopra l'altar maggiore le quattro figure di bronzo tutte tonde attorno la nostra donna, et la nostra donna. Et sotto le ditte figure nello scabello le due istoriette dauanti et le due da dietro pur di bronzo di bassorilieuo. Et li quattro euangelisti nelli cantoni dui davanti et dui da diredo, di bronzo et di bass rileuo, ma mezze figure. Et da dietro laltar sotto il scabello il Cristo morto cun le altere due da man sinistra, pur di basso rileuo, ma di marmo, forono di mano di Donatello.' (In the church of the Santo above the high altar, the four bronze figures entirely in the round grouped round the Virgin, and the Virgin. And beneath the aforesaid figures in the predella the two bronze narrative low reliefs in front and the two behind. And the four Evangelists at the corners, two on the front and two on the back, of bronze and in low relief, but in half length. And behind the altar beneath the altar-piece the dead Christ with other figures round, and two figures to the right and two to the left, also in low relief but in marble, were by the hand of Donatello.) There are many ambiguities in this description, but it emerges clearly (i) that the altar-piece was double-sided, (ii) that the four narrative reliefs were set at the height of a predella, two in front of the altar and two behind, (iii) that the Symbols of the Evangelists were arranged in a similar way, and (iv) that the relief of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ was set (as it is today) beneath the predella at the back of the altar, and was accompanied by further reliefs showing four Saints. A mistaken attempt has been made to identify the latter with two fragmentary reliefs now in the Museo di S. Spirito, Florence (Fiocco, 'Fragments of a Donatello Altar', in *Burlington Magazine*, lx, 1932, pp. 198–204). A pair of volutes at the entrance to the library of S. Antonio may have come from the High Altar.

Within the limits of this volume, no thorough account can be given of the many attempts to reconstruct the altar. The most important of these are those of F. Cordenons (*L'altare di Donatello al Santo*, Padua, 1895), D. von Hadeln (in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsamlungen*, xxx, 1909, pp. 35–55), Kauffmann, R. Band (in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, v, 1940, pp. 315–41), Planiscig and Janson. It must be noted, however, (i) that since the figures are fully worked on all sides and the reliefs of Adam and Eve on the back of the throne are related iconographically to the Entombment on the back of the altar, the reconstruction of Kauffmann is wholly unacceptable,



Reconstruction of Donatello's Padua Altar since it presumes that the figures could be seen only from the front; and (ii) that Michiel's reference to four Saints does not warrant the assumption of Planiscig that the two remaining Saints were set elsewhere than on the altar. The most plausible hypothesis regarding the architectural framework is that of Band, who assumed that the four rectangular supports were set at the corners of the altar and that the four circular columns separated two Saints at the end from the five figures of the central group. This is consistent both with Michiel's reference to four Saints and with the character of the statues themselves. Michiel's use of the term 'attorno' offers an argument in favour of the view that the Saints were not disposed on a single plane, and it was proposed for the first time by Band that the figures were not set in a single line but were disposed in space. At this point the predella assumes some importance, since it affords our only clue to the length of the altar. If the front of this consisted (as Band proposed) of the central Pietà, two of the narrative scenes, and two Symbols of the Evangelists each flanked by a pair of angels, its overall length would have been roughly five metres, and this, with a depth which cannot be calculated but may have been of the order of two metres, represents the space in which the statues were deployed. On all these points the reconstruction of Band is superior to that of Janson. On the other hand, the placing of the individual statues has all of the disadvantages of the earlier reconstructions, since it is postulated that their relationship was to the spectator and not to the central group, and the complex for this reason (as in the reconstruction of Janson) remains artistically meaningless. The alternative reconstruction outlined in the text is shown on p. 282. It has been suggested that the terracotta altar-piece ascribed to Niccolò Pizzolo in the church of the Eremitani at Padua and the S. Zeno triptych of Mantegna at Verona both reflect features of the Padua High Altar. While this can be accepted only in a general sense, it remains the case that in the Eremitani altar-piece the Saints are represented in colloquy, as they were by Donatello, beneath an arched superstructure with a half-length God the Father, and that in the S. Zeno altar-piece the participants stand beneath a roof in space which is delimited at the back (as it was in Donatello's altar) by two supports.

Owing in the main to the fact that the names of the members of Donatello's Paduan studio are recorded in surviving documents, the autograph character of the individual sculptures of the altar was repeatedly questioned by earlier scholars. An excellent analysis by Janson confirms the now widely prevalent view that all of the sculptures were modelled by Donatello and finished under his supervision. The most remarkable of them are the four narrative reliefs of the predella. Their aesthetic significance and space structure are discussed by J. White. The gilding on these reliefs is well preserved, but the silvering (for which there is evidence in documents) has disappeared, but is reconstructed in part by White, who notes a progressive use of silver in the two last reliefs. Though the first three reliefs seem to have been modelled together in a relatively short space of time, some measure of development can be read into them, and a strong case has been stated in favour of the view that the Miracle of the New-Born Child is the earliest of the reliefs, followed in turn by the Miracle of the Mule and the Miracle of the Repentant Son. It is known from documents that the Miracle of the Miser's Heart was modelled subsequently to the other three reliefs. The scenes derive from an abstract of a life of St. Anthony prepared in 1433 by the Paduan notary Secco Polentone (C. de Mandach, *St. Antoine de Padoue*, Paris, 1899, pp. 195ff.). Both the central group of the Miracle of the Repentant Son and the Entombment behind the altar have been traced to antique prototypes.

Plates 28, 29: THE GATTAMELATA MONUMENT

Piazza del Santo, Padua

Erasmo da Narni, known as Gattamelata, died at Padua on 16 January 1443. In his will (30 June 1441) he enjoined that he should be buried in a stone monument inside the Santo, and authorized his executors to spend a stipulated sum on his funeral and tomb. In the event a state funeral was decreed and paid for by the Venetian senate, and was attended by the Doge of Venice. The chain of circumstances which led to the commissioning of Donatello's equestrian monument (Fig. 88) is uncertain. On the one hand, there is a persistent tradition that this was commissioned by the Venetian Senate. This is stated in the epitaph of 1457–8 on Gattamelata's tomb inside the Santo ('Munere me digno et statua decoravit equestri/Ordo Senatorum nostraque pura fides'), is repeated in an epitaph of Ciriaco of Ancona (which dates the decree of the Senate to the year 1447), is reiterated about 1455 by a North Italian humanist wrongly identified as Basinio, and recurs again in Sanudo, Vasari and Giovio. On the other hand, the recorded payments for the monument, dating from the summer of 1447, were made by Onofrio di Palla Strozzi, and on account of Gattamelata's widow, Gentile della Leonessa, and her fellow executor Michele da Foce. In the second half of 1453 an accommodation was reached between Donatello, Gattamelata's son, Giovanni Antonio, and his secretaries, Michele da Foce and Valerio da Narni. The overwhelming weight of evidence is in favour of the view that the monument owed its origin to the initiative of the Venetian Senate, despite the fact that payment for it was made and a (lost) contract was presumably entered into by Gattamelata's heirs. The date of the inception of the monument is not known, and it was possibly the contract for the Gattamelata monument, and not the prospect of employment inside the Santo, that tempted Donatello to leave Florence for Padua, since the monument, unlike the Crucifix and the High Altar, represented a class of commission he could never have received in Florence.

The documents (the earliest of which dates from 16 May 1447) refer to the building of the pedestal, the casting of the horse and the transport of the models of the horse and mounted figure to the foundry of Andrea dalle Caldiere, by whom it was cast. Subsequently a dispute over payment appears to have arisen between Donatello and Gattamelata's executors. This was settled on 29 June 1453, when Donatello agreed to place the statue on its pedestal in September of the same year. On 3 July 1453 the value of the statue was estimated at 1,650 ducats. There are no documentary references to the cleaning and chasing of the statue after casting, and it is not therefore known by what date it was complete.

The statue stands on a plinth a little under eight metres high, bearing on the front the inscription OPVS DONATELLI. FLO. On the sides of the plinth are marble reliefs of lamenting putti with military trophies (now replaced by copies). The site occupied by the monument was formerly the cemetery of the Santo, and it has been suggested (Lanyi, Keller) that it was initially planned as a tomb. For the conclusive arguments against this view and against the Christian interpretation of the imagery proposed by Lanyi see Janson. As noted by Janson, 'the only clear cut element of mortuary significance' is the mausoleum doors on the base, which are related to those in the upper section of the Brancacci monument and derive from the same class of classical sarcophagus. For all these reasons it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the death of Gattamelata was seized upon, by humanist circles in Padua or Venice or by the sculptor himself, as an occasion for producing a contemporary equivalent for a classical equestrian monument. That it was viewed in this light in the fifteenth century is suggested by a poem of about 1455 (for which see Janson) ironically contrasting Gattamelata with Scipio, Cato and other Roman heroes who were not commemorated by equestrian monuments, by a passage in Filarete's *Trattato d'Architettura*, in which the statue is used as an example of the hazards of employing classical costume, and by a sentence of Michele Savonarola comparing it to a 'Caesar in triumph'.

Plate 30: DAVID
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The bronze David of Donatello is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'Trovasi di bronzo, nel cortile del palazzo di detti Signori, un David ignudo, quanto il vivo, ch'a Golia ha troncato la testa, e alzando un piede, sopra essa lo posa, ed ha nella destra una spada: la quale figura è tanto naturale nella vivacità e nella morbidezza, che impossibile pare agli artefici che ella non sia formata sopra il vivo. Stava già questa statua nel cortile di casa Medici, e per l'esilio di Cosimo in detto luogo fu portata.' (In the courtyard of the palace of the Signoria there is a nude David of life size, who has cut off Goliath's head and places his raised foot upon it, while his right hand holds a sword. This figure is so natural in its lifelikeness and softness that to artists it seems impossible that it was not moulded from a living body. This statue stood in the courtyard of the Medici palace, and was carried to its present place on the exile of Cosimo.)

The earliest reference to the statue occurs in 1469, in an account of the festivities for the wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici and Clarice Orsini, when the statue stood on a column in the centre of the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici. In August 1495, after the expulsion of the Medici, the David was moved along with the Judith to the Palazzo della Signoria, and was placed in the courtyard, where it was replaced in the middle of the sixteenth century by Verrocchio's Putto with a Fish (see Plate 78 below). In the Palazzo Medici the statue was displayed on a base which is stated by Vasari to have been prepared by the young Desiderio da Settignano. This base was moved to the Palazzo della Signoria along with the statue, and is now lost. A composite picture of it can, however, be built up from references of 1469 ('the beautiful column'), 1510 ('a column of variegated marble'), 1511 ('a column resting on a base with four leaves' in bronze), 1550 ('some very beautiful marble harpies and some vine tendrils of bronze') and 1568 ('una semplice colonna sula quale posava l'imbasamento di sotto fesso ed aperto, ma fine che chi passava di fuora vedesse dalla porta da via l'altra portadi dentro dell'altro cortile al dirimpetto'), (a simple column on which he placed a hollowed open base, so that passers by outside might see from the street entrance through the inner doorway of the other courtyard opposite). These passages suggest that the figure, both in the Palazzo Medici and in the Palazzo della Signoria, was set relatively high, and that the circular wreath at the base rested on a column rising from a pierced pedestal decorated with bronze foliage. As noted by Janson, the hole in the centre of Goliath's helmet must originally have held a crest or stud. The helmet or headdress of the David is also damaged, and may have terminated in a plume.

There is no direct evidence of the date at which the figure was cast. Michelozzo's Palazzo Medici was not begun till 1444, and was completed in part only in 1452. If, therefore, the statue were designed for the courtyard of the palace, it would have been produced after Donatello's return from Padua. A dating after 1454 is accepted by Kauffmann and, more tentatively, by Middeldorf. The overpowering arguments against this view and the attempt of Kauffmann to establish a programmatic connection between this statue and the Judith are well stated by Janson, who points out that the base, if executed by Desiderio in his youth, must date from the late forties, during Donatello's absence in Padua. Kauffmann apart, the presumption is generally entertained that the David was made at an earlier time for some other destination on the commission of Cosimo de' Medici, and was subsequently set up in the Palazzo Medici. The majority of scholars (Tschudi, Dvorak, Colasanti, Schottmüller, Planiscig, Janson) assign the figure to a date about 1430–2, while a minority (Frey, Knapp, Goldscheider) date it about 1440. These dates imply two different views of the character and progress of Donatello's development. The niche figures of Donatello supply imperfect analogies for the free-standing David, but in the light of these its elegant and elaborate pose can be more readily reconciled with the later than the earlier dating. Technically it most closely recalls the Crucifix at Padua, and the balance of probability is that it was executed in Florence in the years immediately preceding Donatello's departure, that is about 1440–2.

It has been established that the putti on the helmet of Goliath depend from a sardonyx cameo in the Medici collection. The treatment of the body is strongly naturalistic, and the attempts of Kauffman and other students to relate the pose and system of modelling to Ghiberti are irrelevant. The head, however, seems to depend from a classical Antinous type, while the fact that the body is represented nude would be consistent with the view that this was imitated from a fragmentary Hellenistic bronze statue or statuette. An attempt (Janson) to relate the iconography to Donatello's presumed homosexuality is an *ex post facto* interpretation which throws no light on the original intentions of the artist. The suggestion (Lanyi) that the figure is a combination of David and Mercury is rightly rejected by Janson, but it is none the less a product of Medicean humanism, and is intelligible only if it is regarded as a synthesis, by an artist of preponderantly naturalistic tendency, of three or more separate antique elements.

Plates 31, 32: JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES

Piazza della Signoria, Florence

Donatello's Judith (Figs. 9–11) is described by Vasari (ii, pp. 405–6) in the following terms: 'Fece per la Signoria di quella città un getto di metallo, che fù locato in piazza in uno arco della loggia loro ed è Giudit che ad Oloferne taglia la testa; opera di grande eccellenza e magisterio: la quale, a chi considera la semplicità del di fuori nell'abito e nello aspetto di Giudit, manifestamente scuopre nel di dentro l'animo grande di quella donna, e lo aiuto di Dio; siccome nell'aria di esso Oloferne il vino ed il sonno, e la morte nelle sue membra, che per avere perduti gli spiriti si dimostrano fredde a cascanti. Questa fù da Donatello talmente condotta, che il getto venne sottile e bellissimo; ed appresso fù rinetta tanto bene, che maraviglia grandissima è a vederla. Similmente il basamento che è un balaustro di granito con semplice ordine, si dimostra ripieno di grazia, ed agli occhi grato in aspetto: e si di questa opera si soddisfece, che volle (il che non aveva fatto nelle altre) porvi il suo nome, come si vede in quelle parole, *Donatelli opus*.' (For the Signoria of Florence he made a metal cast, which was placed in the piazza in an arch of their loggia. It shows Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes, and is a work of great excellence and mastery. To anyone who considers the outward simplicity of the dress and aspect of Judith, it makes manifest within the great spirit of that lady and the aid of God; just as in the aspect of Holofernes are revealed the effects of wine and sleep, and death in his limbs, which because he has lost his senses are represented as cold and drooping. This work Donatello executed in such a way that the casting came out thin and beautiful; and afterwards it was cleaned so well that it is a marvel to behold. Similarly the base, a granite baluster of simple design, looks graceful and pleasing to the eye. He was so satisfied with this work that he wished to place his name on it—which he had not done elsewhere—as can be seen in the words *Donatelli opus.*)

The group is inscribed on the cushion between the hands of Holofernes OPVS. DONATELLI. FLOR. A second inscription round the top of the pedestal dates from 1495. There is some evidence (for which see Janson) that prior to this time the base bore the inscription 'Regna cadunt luxu surgent virtutibus urbes caesa vides humili colla superba manu' (Kingdoms fall through luxury, cities rise through virtues; behold the neck of pride severed by humility), and a second inscription: 'Salus Publica. Petrus Medices Cos. Fi. libertati simul et fortitudini hanc mulieris statuam quo cives invicto constantique animo ad rem pub. redderent dedicavit' (Piero son of Cosimo de' Medici has dedicated the statue of this woman to the liberty and fortitude bestowed on the republic by the invincible and constant spirit of the citizens). Vasari's statement that the statue was made for the Signoria is incorrect; it was moved to the Piazza della Signoria only after the expulsion of the Medici in 1495, and was later placed in the Loggia dei Lanzi. A document of 9 October 1495 refers to the transfer of the statue to the Piazza della Signoria from the garden of the Palazzo Medici. There is also conflicting evidence that it stood in the Medici garden at San Marco. It is certain that, whatever the position it occupied, it was a free-standing fountain figure, in which water poured from the four corners of the cushion and from the three reliefs in the base.

There is no documentary evidence for the date at which the figure was produced. Initially regarded as a pre-Paduan work (Semper, Schmarsow and others), it is now universally accepted (Kauffmann, Planiscig, Janson) as executed after Donatello's return to Florence in 1453. A document of September 1457 records a payment by the authorities of Siena Cathedral for bronze for a 'mezza fighura di Guliatte' (half-figure of Goliath), and an attempt has been made (Janson) to explain this as a misliterated reference to the Judith. This is unconvincing, as is the suggestion that the statue was originally planned for a location in Siena, and the presumption remains that it was commissioned *ab initio* by Cosimo de' Medici. If the document of 1457 refers to the commencement of the Judith, this must have been completed after 1460. On purely stylistic grounds, however, the Judith seems to precede the Siena St. John of 1457, and must therefore be regarded as a work of about 1453–5. The three bacchanalian scenes on the triangular base are also most readily explained if they fall midway between the Angels on the Padua altar and the S. Lorenzo pulpits. The group is mentioned in a letter written to Piero de' Medici on 5 August 1464, transcribed in the *Zibaldone* of Bartolommeo della Fonte, and must therefore have been completed by this time.

Technical examination by B. Bearzi (*Donatello, San Ludovico*, New York, Wildenstein, 1948, p. 27, and 'Considerazioni di tecnica sul S. Lodovico e la Giuditta di Donatello' in *Bolletino d'Arte*, xxxvi, 1951, pp. 119–23) has shown that the figure is cast in eleven pieces, that in the drapery the wax was superimposed on actual cloth, and that the legs of Holofernes were moulded from nature. The last of these conclusions has been contested (Janson). In the case of the St. Louis of Toulouse, which was also cast sectionally, the procedure was designed to facilitate the gilding of the statue. Traces of gilding are found locally on the Judith, and it is probable, but not certain, that the whole figure was gilt. A number of somewhat later examples of drapery modelled on actual cloth are known (e.g. a male portrait bust ascribed to Riccio in the Museo Correr in Venice). It is possible that in the studio of Vecchietta (whose technical procedure derived from that of Donatello) life casting was also employed.

The most satisfactory interpretation of the imagery of the group is that of Wind ('Donatello's Judith: a Symbol of Sanctimonia' in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, i, 1937–8, pp. 62–3), who interprets the figure of Holofernes, in the light of Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, as a symbol of Luxuria and Superbia. That both of these interpretations were in Donatello's mind when the statue was planned is shown first by the orgiastic reliefs on the base, which relate to the first of these vices, and second by the medallion with a rearing horse worn by Holofernes, correctly identified by Kauffmann as an emblem of Superbia. The Judith represents the opposing virtues of Sanctimonia and Humilitas. On a narrative plane the interpretation of the group is more problematical. The tendency of earlier students (Schmarsow, Semper, Schottmüller) was towards a literal interpretation of the action, whereas that of later students (Kauffmann), who visualize the group through a curtain of mediaeval iconographical analogies, is towards a symbolic reading. Janson concludes that 'the question as Schottmüller posed it is an idle one; Donatello did not conceive the statue in terms of a specific phase of action'. The question is, however, central to an understanding of Donatello's creative mentality, and if the statue is interpreted in the light of Donatello's other works, it is scarcely open to a doubt that the earlier is more fully consistent than the later interpretation with what we know of his imaginative processes.

Plate 33: ST. MARY MAGDALEN

Baptistry, Florence

The wooden figure of St. Mary Magdalen (Fig. 13) in the Baptistry is described by Vasari: 'Vedesi nel medesimo tempio, e dirimpetto a quest'opera, di mano di Donato una Santa Maria Maddalena, di legno, in penitenza, molto bella e molto ben fatta, essendo consumata dai digiuni e dall'astinenza; in tanto che pare in tutte le parti una perfezione di notomia, benissimo intesa per tutto.' (There is to be seen in the Baptistry, opposite the Coscia monument, a penitent Magdalen in wood by Donatello. This is very beautiful and well made. She is consumed by fasting and abstinence, and in all the parts there appears a perfect comprehension of anatomy.) The first documentary reference to the figure occurs on 3 October 1500, when it was replaced in the church and equipped with a halo. It is possible (Paatz, Janson) but not certain that the figure was carved for the position on the south-west wall which it occupies today. The Libro di Antonio Billi suggests that the figure was carved in competition with the lost wooden Magdalen of Brunelleschi in S. Spirito and for this reason it was regarded by some early authorities as a relatively early work. It is now generally agreed (Kauffmann, Planiscig, Janson and others) that the statue was carved after Donatello's return from Padua. The presence at Empoli of a wooden figure of the Magdalen dated 1455 has led some students (Planiscig, Janson) to regard this date as a *terminus ante quem* for the production of the statue in the Baptistry. The relationship between the two is, however, insufficiently explicit to warrant this inference, and the former may have been influenced by Brunelleschi's lost statue. Since the style of the figure is more advanced than that of the Frari Baptist (1451), and the Siena St. John (1457), there is a high degree of probability that it was carved after 1460 in the last years of Donatello's life (Paatz). There is some evidence of a recrudescence of interest in the cult of the Magdalen in Florence in the late fifties, e.g. in the altar-piece by Antonio Pollajuolo at Staggia, which represents the Miraculous Communion of St. Mary Magdalen and not the Assumption of St. Mary of Egypt (cf. G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, p. 719). Examples of the widespread influence exercised by Donatello's statue are a wooden figure by Desiderio da Settignano and Benedetto da Majano in S. Trinità (Fig. 98) and a number of terracotta reliefs and busts by Rustici. The figure in S. Trinità must have been begun before the death of Desiderio in 1464; this affords the only valid *terminus ante quem* for Donatello's statue.

Plates 34–37 PULPITS

S. Lorenzo, Florence

In their present form (Figs. 34, 35) the two pulpits in the nave of S. Lorenzo are free-standing, and contain the following scenes:

PULPIT A (north side of nave):
Front (i) Christ in Limbo.
(ii) The Resurrection.
(iii) Christ appearing to the Apostles.
East end (iv) Pentecost.
Back (v) The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence.
(vi) St. Luke.
(vii) The Mocking of Christ.
West end (viii) The Maries at the Sepulchre.

PULPIT B (south side of nave):
Front (ix) The Crucifixion.
(x) The Lamentation over the Dead Christ.

East end (xi) Christ before Pilate and Christ before Caiaphas.
Back (xii) The Flagellation.
(xiii) St. John the Evangelist.
(xiv) The Agony in the Garden.
West end (xv) The Entombment.

All of the reliefs are in bronze save Nos. (vi), (vii), (xii) and (xiii), which are in bronzed wood, and are additions to the series made when the pulpits were reconstructed between 1619 and 1637.

The earliest reference to the two pulpits occurs in Vespasiano da Bisticci's life of Cosimo de' Medici (*Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, Milan, 1951, pp. 418–19): 'Fù molto amico di Donatello e di tutti gli pittori e scultori e perche ne' tempi sua quest'arte degli scultori alquanto venne, che egli erano poco adoperati, Cosimo a fine che Don. non istesse gli allogò certi pergami di Bronzo per San Lorenzo; e ordinò al banco, ogni settimana, che avesse una certa quantità di danari, tanto che bastassino a lui e quattro garzoni che teneva; e a questo modo lo mantenne.' (He was a good friend of Donatello and of all painters and sculptors; and because in his time sculptors were little employed, Cosimo, in order not to have Donatello be idle, commissioned him to do some bronze pulpits for San Lorenzo and some doors which are in the sacristy. He ordered the bank to pay every week enough money for the master and his four assistants, and in this way supported him.) The pulpits are mentioned again in 1510 in Albertini's *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della Città di Firenze* (ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1863, p. 11), where it is stated that they were used respectively for the reading of the Gospel and Epistle ('Donato . . . il quale fece li due Pergami di Bronzo per l'Evangelio et Epistola'). The earliest source which refers to the pulpits as unfinished is the Libro di Antonio Billi. This is elaborated by Vasari in three separate passages. The first reads: 'Ordinò ancora i pergami di bronzo . . . quali non potendo egli per vecchiezza lavorare, finì Bertoldo suo creato, ad a ultima perfezione li ridusse. (He also designed the bronze pulpits . . . As he could not work them himself because of old age, his pupil Bertoldo finished them and reduced them to their last perfection.) The second reference confirms the first: 'Rimase a Bertoldo, suo creato, ogni suo lavoro, e massimamente i pergami di bronzo di San Lorenzo; che da lui furono poi rinetti la maggior parte, e condotti a quel termine che e'si veggono in detta chiesa.' (All his work he left to his pupil Bertoldo, and especially the bronze pulpits of San Lorenzo; these in large part were cleaned by Bertoldo, and brought to the state in which they are now to be seen in the church.) The third reference occurs in the life of Michelangelo, where it is stated that Bertoldo owed his reputation in part to work which he had undertaken on the pulpits ('non solo per avere diligentissimamente rinettato il getto de' pergami di Donato suo maestro').

A document of 1515 records that at this time the bronze pulpits were brought into the church and set up with wooden supports in connection with a formal visit paid to the church by Pope Leo X, and it has sometimes been assumed that the pieces of the pulpits were disassembled until this time. Strong arguments have been advanced (Kauffmann, Paatz, Janson) against this view, and the balance of probability is that the pulpits were set up in the church at a considerably earlier date. Permanent installations for the two pulpits were effected respectively in 1558 and 1565. At this time they were set on the columns on which they now stand on either side of the nave against the piers of the crossing of the church. They are shown in this position by Buontalenti, Callot and other artists. Between 1619 and 1637 they were moved to their present positions in the nave, and reconstructed as free-standing pulpits. Study of the physical construction of the pulpits has shown conclusively (Kauffmann, Janson) that the positions in which they were set up in the middle of the sixteenth century were those for which they were originally designed, and that they were planned to rest against the piers with a single bronze relief and an aperture for access exposed at the back. The original form projected for the supports is not known.

It is generally assumed (Janson and all earlier writers) that the pulpits were commissioned about 1460, after Donatello's return to Florence from Siena, and were left unfinished at Donatello's death in 1466. The authorship of the reliefs is susceptible to a wide variety of interpretation, and varies between the view of Semrau, who assigned certain panels to Bertoldo (putto frieze on Pulpit B, Entombment, parts of Lamentation and Martyrdom of St. Lawrence) and Bellano (Crucifixion, Agony in the Garden and Christ before Caiaphas and Pilate in part), and Semper, who regarded the panels as autograph. It has alternatively been suggested (Bode) that Donatello designed the figurated sections of both pulpits but did not work them up himself, and (Janson) that he left behind him 'wax reliefs intended for the foundry, in various stages of completion', which were then articulated by Bertoldo, Bellano and other pupils. So far as concerns the authorship of the reliefs, it should be remembered that Vasari's reference to Bertoldo's intervention specifically states that this occurred during the master's lifetime, and that this may explain, e.g., the Entombment, where the composition is Donatellesque though the figurative language is characteristic of Bertoldo. An extreme instance of the attributional difficulties presented by the pulpits occurs on the front of Pulpit B, where a relief of supremely high quality of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ is juxtaposed with a Crucifixion which is not only roughly modelled and coarsely executed, but appears to have been planned by an altogether less sophisticated and less enterprising mind. It is difficult to reconcile this scene or the Agony in the Garden on the back of the same pulpit with the compositional procedure of Donatello.

Though the two pulpits appear from the first to have been planned as a pair, their designs are strikingly dissimilar. Whereas the front of Pulpit A consists of three scenes separated by walls thrown forward from the relief plane, the front of Pulpit B consists of two scenes set between flat pilasters with figures placed in front of them. This contrast is also found in the end reliefs of the two pulpits, e.g. the Christ before Caiaphas and Pilate at the east end of Pulpit B, where use is made of interior, projected space, and the Maries at the Sepulchre at the west end of Pulpit A, which is set in a building protruding from the background of the scene. Since the compositional types and the space structure of the reliefs on Pulpit B are more closely related to those of the Padua altar than the reliefs on Pulpit A, it may be inferred that the conception of Pulpit B preceded that of Pulpit A, perhaps by a considerable period of time. It is, for example, not impossible that Pulpit B was planned before, and Pulpit A was planned after Donatello's residence in Siena. The extent of Donatello's direct intervention in Pulpit A is, however, far greater than in Pulpit B, since all six reliefs in Pulpit A were manifestly designed by Donatello in the last years of his life, and must have been cast under his supervision and in large part worked up with his own hand. The discrepancy between the pulpits may be explained by the hypothesis that Pulpit B was begun about 1455 and was abandoned when Donatello left Florence for Siena, that after 1460 work on the pulpits was resumed, Donatello designing and executing Pulpit A, and that at the extreme end of his life he reverted to Pulpit B, which had been left unfinished and was completed, in part under his supervision and in part after his death, by Bertoldo, Bellano and other artists.

The iconographical sources of the pulpit reliefs have not been fully investigated, and some confusion has been caused by the unfounded assumption (Janson and earlier students) that the relief of Christ appearing to the Apostles on Pulpit A represents an unorthodox form of the Ascension. It cannot be postulated that the programme of the reliefs is necessarily due to Donatello, since certain features of the scenes find a parallel in the frescoes of Castagno in S. Apollonia (mid-fifties), and both may owe their origin to a common current of religious thought.

MICHELOZZO DI BARTOLOMMEO

(b. 1396; d. 1472)

Michelozzo was born in Florence in 1396. His father Bartolommeo di Gherardo, was of Burgundian origin, and had become a Florentine citizen twenty years earlier (9 April 1376). For a large part of his sculptural career, Michelozzo was associated, first with Ghiberti, then with Donatello, and finally with Luca della Robbia. He is mentioned as an assistant of Ghiberti in 1420, and was employed between 1417 and 1424 on the first bronze door of the Baptistry and the statue of St. Matthew on Or San Michele. Michelozzo's name seems to have become linked with the latter figure (Libro di Antonio Billi), though this is indubitably by Ghiberti. From approximately 1437 till 1442 Michelozzo was re-employed by Ghiberti, working, in association with Ghiberti's son Vittorio, on the cleaning and chasing of the reliefs of the Porta del Paradiso (Krautheimer). Michelozzo's association with Donatello dates from the period of work on the St. Louis of Toulouse (see Plate 16 above) and the Feast of Herod on the Sienese baptismal font (see Plate 17 above). From 1425 till about 1433 the two sculptors shared a common studio; the beginning of this collaboration is established by a Portata al Catasto (tax return) of 1427, in which Michelozzo refers to 'due anni o incircha siano stati conpagni' (they have been companions two years or just about). This Portata refers to four unfinished works in course of execution in the studio, the Coscia monument in the Baptistry, the Brancacci monument in S. Angelo a Nilo in Naples (see Plate 38 below), the Aragazzi monument in the Duomo at Montepulciano (see Plates 39, 40 below), and the Jeremiah on the Campanile (see Plate 14 above). Vasari, in his life of Michelozzo, states with reference to the Coscia monument, that 'la maggior parte fù condotta da lui' (the greater part was executed by him). Whereas in his earlier collaborative works Michelozzo seems to have been regarded as a specialist in bronze-casting, in the Coscia monument only those parts in bronze are the work of Donatello, and Michelozzo was responsible for the greater part of the marble figure sculpture. Two figures of the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate on the tabernacle containing Ghiberti's St. Matthew on Or San Michele are perhaps Michelozzo's earliest marble sculptures. The Prato pulpit was commissioned jointly from Donatello and Michelozzo (14 July 1428, see Plate 10 above), and the bronze capital beneath the pulpit was cast by Michelozzo (9 December 1433). Michelozzo's collaboration with Luca della Robbia relates to the bronze door of the north sacristy of the Cathedral. The initial documents (15 January 1445–30 June 1447) seem to refer solely to the framing of the door; in these reference is made to Michelozzo di Bartolommeo e chonpª chonduttori della porta del bronzo della prima sagrestia' (Michelozzo di Bartolommeo and his assistant executants of the bronze door of the first sacristy), and there can be little doubt that Michelozzo played a substantial part in the planning of the door. Michelozzo's name appears again in 1463 and 1464 in connection with the preparation of the reliefs for the door. It has been suggested that the four reliefs of Doctors of the Church are the work of Michelozzo (Reymond) and that they are the work of Michelozzo modified by Luca della Robbia (A. Venturi); both cases are hypothetical. The completion of the Aragazzi monument (q.v.) dates from 1437–8. Three half-length terracotta figures of the Virgin and Child and SS. John the Baptist and Augustine on the façade of S. Agostino at Montepulciano date from this or from a rather later time. From the mid-thirties on Michelozzo was increasingly active as an architect. After working in the 1420's on the Medici church of S. Francesco in Mugello, he was employed (1436–51) on the reconstruction of the church and convent of S. Marco, and (1444–55) on the tribune, atrium, cloister and sacristy of SS. Annunziata. On 11 August 1446 he succeeded Brunelleschi as Capomaestro of the Cathedral, retaining this post till 1451. The most important of the many smaller works which he designed at this time are the Cappella del Crocifisso in S. Miniato al Monte (1447–8; no document) and the tabernacle in SS. Annunziata (completed 1448). For the latter church he executed, about 1445–50, a marble relief of the Virgin and Child in the Chiostrino dei Voti and a terracotta figure of St. John the Baptist. A silver figure of St. John the Baptist for the altar of the Baptistry, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, dates from this time (commissioned 3 June 1452). From 1444 till approximately 1459 Michelozzo was responsible for the building of the Palazzo Medici, as well as for work at S. Girolamo at Fiesole (after 1451) and for two tabernacles in the church at Impruneta (about 1460; not documented). Later he seems to have been employed in connection with the Palazzo del Banco Mediceo in Milan and the Portinari Chapel in S. Eustorgio; the extent of his responsibility for these structures has been disputed. On 4 May 1462 Michelozzo was summoned to Ragusa to rebuild the Palazzo del Rettore; his contract for this work was renewed on 13 May 1463. In the last part of his life he was also engaged on work in the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence. Michelozzo died in Florence in 1472 (buried 7 October 1472). Despite his record of collaboration, Michelozzo was a sculptor of marked individuality, the skeleton of whose strongly classical style may be filled out with Madonna reliefs in marble in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, in terracotta in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 73, destroyed) and at Budapest, and in stucco in S. Michele a Raggiolo at Ortignano.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The work of Michelozzo as a sculptor has not been thoroughly investigated. An adequate monograph by F. Wolff (*Michelozzo di Bartolommeo*, Strasburg, 1900) deals briefly with both aspects of Michelozzo's activity, as does a well-illustrated volume by O. Morisani (*Michelozzo architetto*, Florence, 1951). The documents relating to Michelozzo are published in a notable article by C. von Fabriczy ('Michelozzo di Bartolommeo', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxv, 1904, Beiheft, pp. 34–110) and, less accurately, by R. Mather ('New Documents on Michelozzo', in *Art Bulletin*, xxiv, 1942, pp. 226–39). For Michelozzo's relations with Ghiberti see R. Krautheimer (*Lorenzo Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1957), and for his relations with Donatello articles by H. Geymüller ('Die architektonische Entwicklung Michelozzos und sein Zusammenwirken mit Donatello', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, I, 1894, pp. 256–9) and C. von Fabriczy ('Der hl. Ludwig und sein Tabernakel an Orsanmichele', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxi, 1900, pp. 242–61), and Janson's *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, 1957). Michelozzo's part in the bronze door of Luca della Robbia is discussed by A. Marquand (*Luca della Robbia*, Princeton, 1914) and R. Mather ('Nuovi Documenti Robbiani', in *L'Arte*, xxi, 1918, pp. 190–209). The most useful discussions of the sepulchral monuments of Michelozzo are those of F. Bürger (*Das Florentinische Grabmal bis Michelangelo*, Strassburg, 1904) and A. Schmarsow ('Nuovi studi intorno a Michelozzo', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, vi, 1893, pp. 241–55). A general account of Michelozzo's work is supplied by Bode.

Plate 38: THE MONUMENT OF CARDINAL RAINALDO BRANCACCI

S. Angelo a Nilo, Naples

The Brancacci monument in Naples (Fig. 59) is described by Vasari in his life of Donatello in the following terms: 'Fece ancora, e fù mandato a Napoli, una sepoltura di marmo per uno arcivescovo, che è in Sant'Angelo di Seggio di Nido; nella quale son tre figure tonde che la cassa del morto con la testa sostengono, e nel corpo della cassa è una storia di bassorilievo, che infinite lode se ne convengono.' (He also made and sent to Naples a marble tomb for an archbishop, which is in Sant'Angelo di Seggio di Nido. In this there are three figures in the round which support the sarcophagus on their heads, and on the body of the sarcophagus is a narrative scene in low relief which has attracted infinite praise.) The only documentary source for the Brancacci monument is a Portata al Catasto prepared by Michelozzo in 1427, which refers to three unfinished monuments commissioned from the joint studio of Donatello and Michelozzo. The first of these is the Coscia monument in the Baptistry in Florence, the second the Brancacci monument in Naples and the third the Aragazzi monument at Montepulciano (see Plates 39, 40 below).

There is some doubt as to the date of inception of the Coscia monument, which owes its origin to a clause in Coscia's will (22 December 1419) instructing four executors to provide for the memorial. One of the executors was Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, and payment for this monument was made through the Banco Mediceo (and not, as indicated by Vasari, personally by Cosimo de' Medici). A record of 28 January 1427 relates to the sale of four blocks of white marble by the Capomaestro to one of Coscia's executors, Bartolommeo Valori, for use in the tomb. The siting of the monument appears to have been agreed on 9 January 1421, and work on it was under way by 1424. There is an oblique connection between the Coscia and Brancacci monuments, since it was Cardinal Brancacci who had crowned Baldassare Coscia as Pope John XXIII outside S. Petronio in Bologna (10 June 1410), and who was later responsible for his submission to Pope Martin V (3 June 1419).

The single payment recorded for the Brancacci monument was also made through the Banco Mediceo. The reference to this tomb in the Portata of 1427 reads as follows: 'la. sepoltura per a Napoli di mess. Rinaldo cardinale de Branchaci dinapoli dobiamo avere fi. ottociento cinquanta di camera e a tutte nostre spese labiano aconpiere econdurre a napoli, lavorianlla a Pisa, stimiamo ne sia fatto il quarto dessa chennabiano perparte di spese acondurere fi. treciento cioè fj. 300 doro oincircha, arbitrare lutile che in essa si possa fare no so essendo tutto adeto chom'è.' (One tomb, for Naples, is that of messer Rinaldo cardinal Brancacci of Naples. For this we should receive eight hundred and fifty florins. The tomb is to be completed and despatched to Naples at our expense, and is being prepared at Pisa. We estimate that a quarter of the tomb is complete, etc.). From this we learn that the monument was one quarter complete, and was to be shipped from Pisa (where Donatello and Michelozzo then had their joint studio) to Naples. If the Brancacci monument was one quarter completed in 1427, and the Coscia monument was begun soon after 1421, a period of five or six years may separate the designs of the two tombs. The scheme of the Brancacci tomb, which is placed under a Renaissance tabernacle supported on columns and backed by pilasters, is indubitably Michelozzo's; it has often been observed (Bürger, Wolff and others) that the plan, with its tabernacle and caryatids, is a Renaissance transcription of the traditional Neapolitan sepulchral monument introduced by Tino di Camaino in e.g. the Mary of Valois monument in S. Chiara. So far as concerns the figure sculpture of the tombs, the share of Donatello in the Coscia monument is by common consent limited to the effigy, and the marble sculpture is regarded as the work of Michelozzo (perhaps with the assistance of Pagno di Lapo Portigiani). Probably the two putti supporting the cartellino (where the design is more inventive than in the lunette or the Virtues beneath) were planned by Donatello. In the case of the Brancacci monument the relief of Assumption is universally accepted as the work of Donatello (see Plate 8 above), and the remaining figure sculpture is ascribed to Michelozzo (with the assistance of Pagno di Lapo Portigiani and other sculptors). Comparison of the head and hands of the effigy with those of the effigy from the Aragazzi monument (q.v.) suggests that the former is substantially by Donatello. A similar view is hinted at by A. Venturi. There is also a marked difference in handling between the head of the central caryatid and those at the sides, and here again it is possible that Donatello was responsible either for carving the figure or for finishing a figure carved by Michelozzo. The lunette of the monument and a head of God the Father above are of poor quality, though generically related to the style of Michelozzo. A novel feature of the tomb is the use at the sides of the upper part of the monument of the classical sarcophagus motif of the open door.

Plates 39, 40: THE ARAGAZZI MONUMENT
Duomo, Montepulciano

The monument (now disassembled) of Bartolommeo Aragazzi (d. 1429) in the Duomo at Montepulciano was commissioned during Aragazzi's lifetime from the joint studio of Donatello and Michelozzo. It is mentioned for the first time in 1427 in the Catasto return of Michelozzo after the Coscia and Brancacci monuments: 'la. sepoltura per Montepucliano di mess. Bartolomeo da Montepulciano secretario di papa, della quale niuno pregio se fatto se non che quando il lavorio sara fornito, si deve stimare per amici comuni potra essere di maggiore spesa odi minore che non si stimano prima secondo sirimutasse dipensiero. Abiano per fare venire marmi fj. ciento cioe fj. 100.' (A tomb for Montepulciano of messer Bartolommeo of Montepulciano secretary of the Pope, for which no price has been fixed. When the work is delivered, its value is to be assessed by common friends. It may be of greater or lesser cost than the initial estimate according to whether or not the plan is changed.) In 1430 Michelozzo is known, from a Catasto return prepared by his brother, to have been absent from Florence on account of business at Montepulciano, presumably in connection with the Aragazzi tomb, and on 30 December 1437 a further contract was agreed between Michelozzo and Aragazzi's heirs in which the sculptor bound himself to complete the tomb within six months ('quod sepulcrum jam diu incepit, et pro majori parte laboraverit . . . infra sex menses tunc proxime futuros complebit et perficiet dictam sepulturam'). The final payment for the tomb seems to not have been made, and it is mentioned again in Portate al Catasto prepared by Michelozzo in 1457 ('perresto duna sepoltura glifecj e circha annj 20 passatj') and 1467 ('per resto duna cappella fattali et una sepoltura insino nel 1436'). Contributory evidence for the date of the monument is provided by a letter of Leonardo Bruni to Poggio Bracciolini (*Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum Libri VIII*, Florence, 1741, ii, pp. 45–6), paraphrased on p. 41, which is referred by Baron (*Leonardo Bruni Aretino Humanistisch-Philosophische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 210) to the year 1430–1. From this material it may be inferred that the monument was commissioned in or before 1427, and that a sum covering the purchase of part of the marble for it had been paid, though work on the monument had not been begun. By 1431 part of the monument (including the architectural framework and the effigy) was either complete or sufficiently advanced to be transferred to Montepulciano. The monument was completed in 1437–8. The tomb is mentioned by Vasari as a work of Donatello: 'Appresso, ritornatosene in Toscana, fece nella Pieve di Montepulciano una sepoltura di marmo, con una bellissima storia' (On his return to Tuscany, he made a marble tomb in the Pieve at Montepulciano with a most beautiful narrative relief), and on account of this an attempt has been made to ascribe the two angels from the monument jointly to Donatello and Michelozzo. There is no documentary or stylistic warrant for supposing that Donatello intervened in the design or execution of the tomb.

Reconstruction of the Aragazzi monument is complicated (i) by Michelozzo's reference, in his tax return of 1469, to a memorial chapel ('per resto duna cappella fattali') which is not otherwise mentioned in the documents, and (ii) by the claim of Bruni to have seen not only the effigy of Aragazzi but an effigy of Aragazzi's mother which was to be placed beside his own ('Atque haec est imago ejus, quam cernis, altera vero parentis, quam juxta se collocari jussit'). The pieces of the tomb preserved at Montepulciano (all of which seem to originate from a single monument) comprise: (i) the recumbent effigy of Aragazzi, (ii) two reliefs, probably from the sarcophagus, showing the Virgin and Child enthroned with members of the Aragazzi family, and Bartolommeo Aragazzi taking leave of his family, (iii) a frieze carved with garlands and putti, from the base of the monument, now built into the high altar of the church, (iv) two allegorical figures in full-length, probably representing Justice and Fortitude, and (v) a full-length male figure alternatively identified as God the Father, the Risen Christ, St. Bartholomew and St. John the Baptist. Two reliefs of adoring angels in half-length are in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Efforts to reconstruct the monument made by Marcucci and Bürger (both reproduced in the latter's volume) are unsatisfactory. The width of the tomb is established by the base listed as (iii) above. Bruni's letter refers to 'columnae . . . marmoreae . . . & arculi, & hyperstylia'. If interpreted literally, this would suggest that the monument was flanked by columns, not pilasters, and had an arched upper section; it would thus have followed the model of the Brancacci monument, to which the upper section, as assumed by Marcucci, may also have conformed. The analogy of the Brancacci monument lends force to the view of Schmarsow that the figures of Virtues listed as (iv) above served as caryatids for the sarcophagus. The assumption (Marcucci, Bürger) that the male figure listed as (v) above was placed behind and above the effigy is probably correct. The outer parts of the wings of the two angels are later additions, and these figures must therefore have been cut by the inner edge of the columns or rear pilasters or by the moulding of a lunette.

LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

(b. 1399/1400; d. 1482)

From a tax return prepared by Luca della Robbia's father, Simone di Marco della Robbia, it is known that in 1427 Luca was aged twenty-seven: he was therefore born in 1399 or 1400. He matriculated in the Guild of Sculptors on 1 September 1432. For such details of his private life as we possess, we are indebted to Portate al Catasto prepared by the sculptor in 1442, 1446, 1451, 1457, and 1480, and to a will drawn up in 1471. Till 1446 he appears to have shared a house in the Via S. Egidio with his brother Marco, and after the latter's death to have lived in the Via Guelfa with his nephews, one of whom, Andrea, inherited his studio. He died on 20 February 1482, and was buried in S. Pier Maggiore.

Nothing is known of Luca's early work, and by the time of his first documented commission, that for the Cantoria in the Duomo in Florence (see Plates 41–3 below), he was already an established artist. Stylistic evidence suggests that he was trained in the studio of Nanni di Banco, and it is possible that he worked on the Assumption of the Virgin over the Porta della Mandorla which was left unfinished by Nanni di Banco on his death in 1421. The Cantoria is carved in marble, and there is no proof that at this time Luca practised in any other capacity than as a marble and bronze sculptor. A payment of 1434 shows that Luca della Robbia and Donatello were modelling colossal heads for the *gula* of the cupola of the Cathedral. Shortly before the completion of the Cantoria, he received a commission (30 May 1437) for five reliefs of the Arts and Sciences for the Campanile, in completion of the series begun by Andrea Pisano; and after the termination of these (10 March 1439) he was employed on marble altars for the Chapels of St. Peter and St. Paul in the Cathedral (records of 12 April 1439 and 20 September 1439), the first and second chapels in the apse to the right of the North Sacristy. Two sections of the unfinished predella of the Altar of St. Peter (the Deliverance of St. Peter and the Crucifixion of St. Peter) survive in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. The St. Peter altar was followed by a marble tabernacle for the Cappella di S. Luca in S. Maria Nuova, now at Peretola (begun before 20 January 1441, completed 1443) (Fig. 39). At approximately the same date Luca executed a group of the Visitation for S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas at Pistoia (record of 11 October 1445); opinion is divided as to whether a Visitation group at present in the church is that executed by Luca della Robbia or a later substitution for Luca's group (for the case in favour of an attribution to Luca see Marquand, for the contrary case see Horne and Bacci). The latest of Luca's documented works in marble is the Federighi monument in S. Trinità (see Plate 47 below). Concurrently he worked in bronze. The earliest of his works in bronze are two angels from the Cantoria (Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris), and the most important is the bronze door of the North Sacristy of the Cathedral (Fig. 32). After an abortive proposal that Donatello should execute bronze doors for the two sacristies of the Cathedral (1437), the project was revived at the end of 1445, and models were prepared by Michelozzo, Luca della Robbia and Maso di Bartolommeo, who were commissioned (February 1446) to execute a door of two wings, each with twelve medallions of prophets in the frame and containing five reliefs with three figures each, representing the Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, the four Evangelists and the four Doctors of the Church. The principal difference between the project outlined in the contract and the door as it exists today is that in each relief the central figure was to have been placed in a protruding tabernacle decorated with damascening. Part of the door, probably the framework, was cast by February 1447. After the death of Maso di Bartolommeo (1457) work was suspended till 1461, and in August 1464 a new contract was made with Luca della Robbia to complete the doors. The concluding payments to Luca date from 1468 and 1469. The share of Michelozzo in the door has been much discussed, and it is likely that he was responsible for planning the frame, though the modelling of the projecting beads is fully consistent with the style of Luca della Robbia.

The medium with which Luca is most closely associated is that of enamelled terracotta. His earliest documented work in this medium is a Resurrection lunette in the Duomo (1442–5, see Plate 44 below), but it is also employed in the Peretola tabernacle. It has been widely assumed (Bode, Marquand and others) that works in enamelled terracotta were produced by Luca at a still earlier date, and a number of reliefs (e.g. a lunette with the Virgin and Child with two Angels from S. Piero di Buonconsiglio, now in the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa) have been identified as early works. The assumption that works by Luca revealing the influence of Ghiberti are necessarily early and that works in a more classical style were executed at a later stage is at variance with the picture of his stylistic development that can be formed from documented works, and there are strong arguments in favour of the view of Horne that no enamelled terracottas were produced earlier than the earliest documented reliefs. The Resurrection lunette in the Cathedral was followed by a companion relief of the Ascension (see Plate 45 below), the decoration of Michelozzo's Cappella del Crocifisso in S. Miniato al Monte (no documents; probably executed between 27 June 1447 and 27 March 1448), two angels bearing candlesticks for the Duomo, now in the sacristy (28 May 1448–5 August 1451), thirteen reliefs for Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel (see Plate 46 below), a lunette for S. Domenico at Urbino (documented 19 June 1450), two altars to right and left of the tribune in S. Maria at Impruneta (marble relief of the Recovery of the Miraculous Painting not by Luca della Robbia), and the ceiling of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato al Monte (see Plate 49 below) (1461–6). Luca's last major work is an altar-piece in the chapel of the Palazzo Vescovile at Pescia, possibly made for S. Jacopo at Altopascio after 1472. Throughout the whole of this period Luca and his studio produced many smaller works, but at the end of his life his control over his workshop seems to have relaxed, and with the advent of his nephew, Andrea della Robbia, the artistic quality of the work which it produced deteriorates, and it assumes a largely pictorial character.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The standard volume on Luca della Robbia's work is the fundamental study of A. Marquand (*Luca della Robbia*, Princeton, 1914). A slighter volume by L. Planiscig (*Luca della Robbia*, Florence, 1948) adds little to Marquand's conclusions in a factual sense, but is more adequately illustrated. Of special importance is an article by H. Horne ('Notes on Luca della Robbia', in *Burlington Magazine*, xxviii, 1915–16, pp. 3–7). Some supplementary documents are published by R. Mather ('Nuovi Documenti Robbiani', in *L'Arte*, xxi, 1918, pp. 190–209). For Andrea della Robbia see A. Marquand (*Andrea della Robbia*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1922), and for later members of the Della Robbia studio the appropriate volumes by the same student. Written before the researches of Marquand were made available, M. Cruttwell's *Luca and Andrea della Robbia and their Successors* (London, 1902) provides a readable account of the activity of the Della Robbia; many of the judgements are, however, at fault.

Plates 41–43: CANTORIA
Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence

The Cantoria or Singing Gallery of Luca della Robbia (Fig. 19), which was originally set over the doorway of the North Sacristy of the Cathedral and is now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'Perlochè i detti Operai, che oltre ai meriti di Luca furono a ciò fare persuasi da messer Vieri de' Medici, allora gran cittadino popolare, il quale molto amava Luca, gli diedero a fare, l'anno 1405 [*sic*], l'ornamento di marmo dell'organo, che grandissimo faceva allora far l'Opera per metterlo sopra la porta della sagrestia di detto tempio. Della quale opera fece Luca nel basamento in alcune storie, i cori della musica che in varj modi contorno; e vi mise tanto studio e così bene gli riuscì quel lavoro, che ancora sia alto da terra sedici braccia, si scorge il gonfiar della gola di chi canta, il battere delle mani di chi regge la musica in sulle spalle de' minori, ed in somma diverse maniere di suoni, canti, balli ed altre azioni piacevoli che porge il diletto della musica. Sopra il cornicione poi di questo ornamento fece Luca due figure di metallo dorate; cioè due Angeli nudi, condotti molto pulltamente, siccome è tutta l'opera, che fù tenuta cosa rara; sebbene Donatello, che poi fece l'ornamento dell'altro organo che è dirimpetto a questo, fece il suo con molto più giudizio e pratica che non aveva fatto Luca, come si dira a suo luogo: per avere egli quell'opera condotta quasi tutta in bozze e non finita pulitamente acciochè apparisse di lontano assai meglio, come fa, che quella di Luca, la quale sebbene è fatta con buon disegno e diligenza: ella fa nondimeno con la sua pulitezza e finimento che l'occhio per la lontananza la perde e non la scorge bene, come si fa quella di Donatello quasi solamente abbozzata.' (The Operai, being thus made cognisant of Luca's merits and persuaded by messer Vieri de' Medici, an important and popular citizen of the time, who greatly loved Luca, commissioned him in 1405 to undertake the marble decoration of the organ, which was being built on a large scale to be placed over the door of the sacristy of the church. For the base of this work Luca made scenes representing choirs of music singing in various ways; and so much study did he put into them, and so successful was his work, that although it is sixteen braccia from the ground, one can see the swelling of the throats of the singers, the beating of the hands of those directing the music on the shoulders of the lesser figures, and in short the various ways of playing, singing, dancing and other agreeable actions which constitute the charm of music. Above the cornice of this decoration Luca made two figures of gilded metal, that is two naked angels, beautifully finished, as indeed is the whole work, which was considered something exceptional. It is true that Donatello, who afterwards did the decoration of the other organ opposite this one, carried out his task with much more judgement and skill than Luca, as will be said in the proper place, since he did almost the whole of the work like a sketch and did not finish it carefully in order that it should appear better from a distance, as it does, than that of Luca. Though Luca's is skilful and well designed, the eye from a distance loses it because of its polish and finish, and perceives it less clearly than that of Donatello, merely sketched-out as the latter is.)

The Cantoria was taken down in 1688, when its reliefs were utilized in an unspecified position near the ground, was later transferred to the Opera del Duomo and in 1822 was placed in the Uffizi. In 1841 the consoles (which had been left in position in the Duomo) were also removed, and in 1883 a conjectural reconstruction of the Cantoria was attempted. The principal objection to this reconstruction (Marrai, Marquand) was that the reliefs in the upper part of the Cantoria were separated by wide single pilasters, and not, as in the original, by linked pilasters. A section of the original linked pilasters survives. As it was planned by Luca della Robbia, the Cantoria consisted of the gallery proper, the front of which was decorated with four reliefs; at each end was a narrow relief. This was supported on five consoles, between which were four further reliefs. The ten figurated reliefs illustrate Psalm CL (which is inscribed on the front of the Cantoria), and show (at the ends) two panels with singing boys (Alleluia), (front of upper section, left to right) trumpeters (Laudate eum in sono tubae), players on the psaltery (Laudate eum in psalterio), players on the cithara (et cithara), drummers (Laudate eum in timpano), (front of lower section, left to right) choral dancers (et choro), players on the organ and harp (Laudate eum in chordis et organo), tambourine players (Laudate eum in cymbalis benesonantibus), and cymbal players (Laudate eum in cymbalis jubilationis). The two bronze angels described by Vasari are in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris (identified by E. Bonnafé, J. Lanyi); these show traces of gilding. The left ear and temple of the angel with head turned over its left shoulder are unfinished.

The initial contract for the Cantoria does not survive, but the progress of the work can be traced through payments which run from 4 October 1431 to August 1438, when the gallery had already been set in position over the sacristy door ('è posto e murato nella chiesa maggiore sopra l'uscio della sagrestia di verso i Servi'). It is established from documents that part of the cornice was in course of manufacture on 29 April 1432, and a payment of the same year (29 November 1432) was made 'pro faciendo tabulas perghami'. By 26 August 1434 two large and two small figurated reliefs had been carved ('Item similis modum et forma extimaverunt et extimatum fecerunt quatuor petia seu quatuor petiis storiarum cuiusdam perghami locati luce simonis marci della robbia, videlicet duo maiora et duo minora'). For the large reliefs Luca received fl. 60 each and for the smaller fl. 35. On 22 April 1435 it was agreed that the price paid for certain reliefs should be increased on the ground that more time and greater work had been involved in them than previously, and that they were better and more beautiful than the earlier reliefs ('Prefati operarii . . . considerantes dictum Lucam fecisse certas alias storias dicti perghami que nondum fuerunt extimate et in quibus maiorem laborem et longius tempus misit, et quod, in magisterio, dicte storie quas facit ad presens sunt pulcriores ac meliores'). The new rate of payment agreed upon on this occasion was fl. 70 for the larger and a proportionately smaller sum for the smaller reliefs. The total sums paid to Luca in connection with the Cantoria were fl. 872 (Marquand).

In the absence of the initial contract for the Cantoria it is impossible to determine how far Luca della Robbia was himself responsible for designing the architectural unit in which the figurated reliefs are set. From other works in which architectural features are incorporated (e.g. the Peretola tabernacle and the Federighi monument), it does not appear that his capacity as a designer was so great as to permit him to plan an architectural work of such originality and on so large a scale, and the design and detail suggests either that the Cantoria was designed by Brunelleschi or that Brunelleschi was an active participant in the designing stage. The figurated reliefs show remarkable variations of style and scale, and with the help of the published payments these can in large part be explained. Since there are only two smaller reliefs on the Cantoria, the Alleluia reliefs (Fig. 31) at the end of the gallery, these must have been carved before 26 August 1434. It may be conjectured that the two large reliefs completed at this time were the Players on the Cithara (where the figures, and particularly the children in the foreground, are on a small scale) and the Players on the Psaltery (where the figures and children are somewhat larger, though less large than the full-scale reliefs). The document of 22 April 1435 states specifically that more work was involved in the more recent reliefs, and this can have been due only to technical change in the form of deeper undercutting by means of which the reliefs would register more clearly from the ground. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that the reliefs with large figures (e.g. the Drummers and the Cymbal Players) are more deeply carved. In these, moreover, interest in movement, resulting from experience of the reliefs of Donatello's Cantoria or of the Prato pulpit, is more evident.

Plate 44: THE RESURRECTION

Duomo, Florence

The enamelled terracotta relief of the Resurrection in the lunette over the entrance to the North Sacristy of the Cathedral was commissioned from Luca della Robbia on 21 July 1442: 'Item locaverunt Luce Simonis della Robbia, scultori, ad faciendum in archo supra sacrestiam sui perghami Resurrexionem Domini in terra cotta invetriata prout videntur alia laboreria fieri et secundum designum factum et melius si melius fieri potest . . . Presentibus Filippo Brunelleschi, Ridolfo (Lotti), Andrea Lazeri, Simone Laurentii et aliis.' (They commissioned Luca di Simone della Robbia, sculptor, to make in the arch over the sacristy where his singing gallery is, a Resurrection of Our Lord in enamelled terracotta . . . according to the design already made and better if this is possible.) An interim payment for the work took place on 18 January 1445, and on 26 February 1445 Luca received 'L. 440 sunt pro recta et integra solutione unius laborerii invetriati (in quo est Resurrexio Domini nostri) facti et positi in prima sacrestia'. By this time the relief had been set in place. The figures in the relief are white, and the background is blue; no use is made of other colours save in the cloud (light blue), the eyes (dark pupils and yellow irises in the Christ, grey-blue irises in the angels), and the hair and wings of the angels, the nimbus of Christ and the glory, where surface gilding is employed. The composition has been related (Marquand) to the Resurrection on Ghiberti's first bronze door and to the Resurrection window designed by Uccello (cartoon completed July 1443), but is not closely connected with either work.

Plate 45: THE ASCENSION

Duomo, Florence

The enamelled terracotta relief of the Ascension in the lunette over the entrance to the South Sacristy of the Cathedral was commissioned from Luca della Robbia on 11 October 1446: 'Unam storiam terre cocte Invetriate illius materie qua est illa posita in arcu sacristie que storia debet esse vid. Ascensio dni nri Yhu XRI cum duodecim figuris apostolorum et matris ejus virginis marie et quod mons sit sui coloris arbores etiam sui coloris et secundum disegnum factum in quodam modello parvo' (document incompletely transcribed by Marquand following Runohr). (A scene in enamelled terracotta of the same material as that in position in the arch over the sacristy, which shall have as its subject the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ with eleven figures of apostles and His mother, the Virgin Mary, the mountain to be of its own colour and the trees of their own colour, following the design made in the little model.) Interim payments for the work are recorded on 23 December 1450 and 30 June 1451, and on 5 July 1451 the completed relief was valued by Bernardo Rossellino and Pagno di Lapo Portigiani at L. 500. The figure of the Ascending Christ shows some affinities both with the Christ of Uccello's Resurrection window and with that of Ghiberti's Resurrection relief, and the style is less monumental and less classical than that of the earlier lunette. Grey-green glaze is employed on the surface of the hill, and darker green glaze in the foliage, and in the heads the use of polychromy is not, as in the Resurrection, limited to the iris of the eye, but extends to the stippled blue eyelashes and eyebrows.

Plate 46: APOSTLE ROUNDELS

Pazzi Chapel, S. Croce, Florence

There is no documentary reference to the thirteen enamelled terracotta roundels by Luca della Robbia in the Pazzi Chapel. The construction of the chapel was begun in 1429 by Brunelleschi, and by 7 January 1443 was so far advanced that Eugenius IV 'desinò nella camera d'Andrea de' Pazzi a fatta fare sopra al Capitolo di nuovo fatto' (dined in the room which Andrea de' Pazzi has caused to be built over the newly constructed Chapter House). On his death (19 October 1445) Andrea de' Pazzi bequeathed a sum for the completion of the chapel, and in 1451 agreement was reached between his sons on the continuance of this work, which was in progress till after 1457 but was completed by 1469. The enamelled terracotta decorations of the Chapel (excluding the cupola of the atrium) comprise (i) a circular relief of St. Andrew over the entrance, (ii) four circular reliefs of the Evangelists in the pendentives of the interior, and (iii) twelve circular reliefs of the Apostles on the walls. Vasari states that Luca della Robbia 'fece tutti l'invetriati di figure che dentro e fuori vi si veggiono' (made all of the figurated enamelled terracottas which are to be seen inside and out). The four pendentive reliefs (Fig. 3) are distinct in style from the remaining thirteen roundels, and were not modelled by Luca della Robbia. These appear to be the earliest of the terracotta roundels in the Chapel, and may date from soon after 1443. The Apostle reliefs in the interior show (*East wall, left to right*) SS. Matthew, Peter, John the Evangelist and James the Great, (*South wall*) SS. Andrew and James the Less, (*West wall*) SS. Simon, Thaddeus, Thomas and Philip, (*North wall*) SS. Matthias and Bartholomew. Though attempts have been made to ascribe the Apostle roundels to a late date (1450–60 Reymond; 1470–8 Bode), there is a high degree of probability that they were produced in the decade 1440–50, since their style finds its closest point of reference in the Resurrection lunette in the Cathedral. The colour range also supports this view. Marquand correctly observes that the figures of SS. Matthew, Peter, John the Evangelist and James the Great are set on blue ground representing the seven circles of heaven, whereas the remaining Apostles are set on neutral blue grounds. All of the reliefs are slightly concave, whereas the pendentive reliefs are flat. The background apart, colour is limited to yellow irises, dark blue round the pupils and in the eyelashes and eyebrows, gilded haloes and auras of gold rays.

Plate 47: THE MONUMENT OF BENOZZO FEDERIGHI

S. Trinità, Florence

The tomb of Benozzo Federighi, Bishop of Fiesole (d. 1450), is described by Vasari: 'Fece ancora per messer Benozzo Federighi vescovo di Fiesole, nella chiesa di San Brancazio, una sepoltura di marmo, e sopra quella esso Federigo a giacere ritratto di naturale, e tre altre figure. E nell'ornamento dei pilastri di quell'opera dipinse nel piano certi festoni e mazzi di frutti e foglie si vive e naturali che col pennello in tavola non si farebbe altrimenti a olio: ed in vero questa opera è maravigliosa e rarissima, avendo in essa Luca fatto i lumi e l'ombre tanto bene, che non pare quasi che a fuoco ciò sia possibile.' (For messer Benozzo Federighi, bishop of Fiesole, he made a marble tomb in the church of S. Pancrazio. On this is the life-like recumbent effigy of Federigo, and three other figures. In the ornamentation of the pilasters of this work he painted on the flat some festoons and bunches of fruit and leaves so lifelike and so natural that they could not be painted better on panel in oil. In truth this work is most wonderful and rare, for Luca has rendered the lights and shades so well that it would seem impossible to obtain such results in glaze.) The tomb was constructed on the commission of Federigo di Jacopo Federighi for the Federighi Chapel in S. Pancrazio, was later moved to a position by the side door, was transferred in 1808 to the Federighi church of S. Francesco di Paola, and was finally set up in its present position in S. Trinità in 1896. The unusual form of the monument has been attributed (Marquand) to lack of space in S. Pancrazio. On 2 May 1454 Luca della Robbia bound himself to complete the tomb in two years and ten months. Documents establish that Federigo di Jacopo Federighi was dissatisfied with the tomb in certain respects, and an appeal was made by both parties to the Tribunale di Mercanzia. In the course of this Luca della Robbia declared to the tribunal (16 February 1458) that 'decta sepultura già fa uno anno fù facta et compiuta interamente', and the tomb must therefore have been completed early in 1457. Some light is thrown on the genesis of the monument by a statement of Federighi's procurator that 'insino dell'anno 1454 et a di 2 di magio esso Federigo aluoghò a Lucha di Simone della Robia maestro d'intaglio a fare una sepoltura e rilevo di marmo con fogliami messi a oro e diversi colori invitriati intorno a uno quadro di braccia $4\frac{1}{2}$ o cira, nel quale a essere decta sepultura suvi il corpo d'un Vescovo di rilevo di marmo con altre figure et adornamenti come appariscie per uno disegno di mano di Giovanni di ser Paulo'. (On 2 May 1454 the aforesaid Federigo commissioned Luca di Simone della Robbia, sculptor, to make a tomb in relief in marble with foliage round it enamelled in gold and other colours in the form of a square of approximately four and a half braccia, and inside it the body of a bishop in relief in marble with other figures and ornaments as are seen in a drawing by the hand of Giovanni di ser Paolo.) On 21 July 1459 the sculptor Buggiano was appointed 'spetialiter et nominatim ad videndum dictum opus jam factum si in aliquo est defectivum seu si quid in eo deficit et tali defectum declarandum integram monetur' (expressly and specifically to see whether the work now completed is deficient in any respect). A month later Buggiano reported that the tomb was not in any way defective, and recommended that it should be gilded under his own direction and at the joint expense of Luca della Robbia and Federighi. Traces of colour are noted by Marquand (now almost imperceptible) on the eye and eyebrows of the angels; the haloes appear to have been gilt. The tomb consists of a marble sarcophagus surmounted by the sepulchral effigy, with, behind, marble reliefs of the dead Christ, the Virgin and St. John. The sarcophagus, with its laurel wreath containing the inscription: R.P./BENOTTI DEFEDE/RIGIS EPI FESVLANI./QVI VIR INTEGERIMAE/VITAE SVMA CVM LAVDE/VIXIT. ANNO QVE/M.CCCCL. DEFVN/CTVS EST, depends from Ghiberti's Arca of the Three Martyrs of 1428 (Museo Nazionale, Florence), while the effigy and angels seem to have been influenced by those of Bernardo Rossellino's Bruni monument in S. Croce. The reliefs behind the sarcophagus appear to be a conscious reminiscence of fourteenth-century monuments like the Aleotti tomb in S. Maria Novella. The frieze (which includes the Federighi arms in the upper corners) is composed as a mosaic of small pieces of polychrome enamelled terracotta set on a glazed gold ground. It has been suggested that the design of this part of the tomb is due to the painter Baldovinetti (R. W. Kennedy, *Alesso Baldovinetti*, New Haven, 1939, pp. 81–7); there is no documentary support for this view.

Plate 48: STEMMA OF THE ARTE DEI MEDICI E SPEZIALI

Or San Michele, Florence

The three circular stemme made by Luca della Robbia for positions above the guild niches at Or San Michele comprise (i) the stemma of the Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname, above the niche containing Nanni di Banco's Quattro Santi Coronati on the north side of the oratory, (ii) the stemma of the Arte della Seta, above the niche containing Baccio da Montelupo's St. John the Evangelist on the south side of the oratory, and (iii) the stemma of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, above the niche containing Niccolò di Pietro Lamberti's Madonna della Rosa also on the south side. The first is a flat design in polychrome enamelled terracotta, the second (executed in association with Andrea della Robbia) is a figurated relief showing two putti supporting a doorway, and the third contains a representation of the Virgin and Child enthroned between lilies. There is no documentary evidence of the date of any of the emblems, and the Madonna is plausibly assigned by Marquand (on account of the relation of the moulding of the throne to mouldings in the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal) to the bracket 1455–65. The rich polychromy (hair yellow, robe violet with a yellow neckband and green sleeves, mantle blue with green lining, back of throne decorated with white-centred yellow quatrefoils set against cruciform green fern-leaves) tends to corroborate this relatively late date.

Plate 49: THE FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES
S. Miniato al Monte, Florence

The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato al Monte (see Plates 55–7 below) was begun in 1460 from a model by Antonio Manetti (payment of 7 June 1460) and dedicated in 1466. The decoration of the ceiling is ascribed by all early sources to Luca della Robbia; this tradition is confirmed by a document known to G. Lami (*Sanctae Ecclesiae Florentinae Monumenta*, i, 1758, pp. 583–4): 'Altra scritta finalmente stipulata ne' 14 Aprile 1461 ho veduta col famoso Luca di Simone di Marco della Robbia per i lavori da farsi di terra cotta della Cupola di essa Cappella del Cardinale, per il prezzo di fiorini 150 larghi, ove esso Luca si soscrive.' (Finally I have seen another document of 14 April 1461, signed by Luca di Simone di Marco della Robbia, providing for the work in terracotta to be undertaken in the cupola of the chapel of the Cardinal, for the price of 150 large florins.) The original of this document is untraced. The ceiling consists of five circular reliefs, in the centre the Holy Ghost surrounded by seven candlesticks representing the seven gifts, and at the corners facing reliefs of Prudence and Justice, and Fortitude and Temperance. The reliefs, which are slightly concave, are surrounded by variegated blue frames and are set in a pattern of large tiles decorated with cubes of green, yellow and dark violet. The hand of Andrea della Robbia has wrongly been detected (Cruttwell, Bode) in the relief of Temperance.

BERNARDO ROSSELLINO
(b. 1409; d. 1464)

Bernardo Rossellino, son of Matteo di Domenico Gambarelli and elder brother of Antonio (q.v.) was born at Settignano in 1409. On 24 April 1433 he assumed responsibility for the façade of the Misericordia at Arezzo, where he executed his earliest surviving work, a relief of the Madonna of Mercy with kneeling figures of SS. Lorentino and Pergantino and statues of SS. Donatus and Gregory (Fig. 50), which was commissioned in the following year (21 March 1434). The final payments for this work date from 20 August 1435 and 26 August 1436. He is possibly identical with a 'magister Bernardus architector' who was at work in the Vatican in the summer of 1433. In 1435 and 1436 he carved tabernacles respectively for the Badia di SS. Fiora e Lucilla at Arezzo and the Badia in Florence (see Plates 50, 51 below), and between 30 December 1441 and 11 February 1444 was employed on work for the Duomo in Florence. On 20 January 1443 Rossellino served as a member of a commission dealing with the stained glass windows of the Cupola of the Duomo and the decoration of the Sagrestia dei Canonici, and from 1444 on was engaged on the monument of Leonardo Bruni in S. Croce (see Plates 53, 54 below). Between 1446 and 1451 he in part designed and supervised the building of the Palazzo Rucellai, and on 24 June 1446 was commissioned to carve a doorway for the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena; this doorway is of importance by reason of its early date, and anticipates the later commissions to Benedetto da Majano for doorways for the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence and to Desiderio da Settignano for the doorway of S. Maria Novella. On 2 August 1447 Bernardo Rossellino was working on two figures of the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate for S. Agostino dei Scolopi, Empoli (now in S. Stefano). The commission for a tabernacle for the church of S. Egidio dates from 1449 (see Plates 50, 51 below), and was followed in 1451 by the commission for the tomb of the Beata Villana in S. Maria Novella (see Plate 52 below). From December 1451 till May 1453 Rossellino was employed in Rome by Pope Nicholas V as 'ingegniere di Palazzo', designing the apse of St. Peter's, restoring the church of S. Stefano Rotondo, and undertaking much other work. His only recorded Catasto return belongs to the year 1457. A number of sepulchral monuments date from the last decade of Rossellino's life; among these are the tombs of Orlando de' Medici in SS. Annunziata, Florence (1456–7) (where Rossellino was also employed on other work between 4 April and 6 November 1462), of the Beato Marcolino da Forlì now in the Pinacoteca Communale at Forlì (1458) (extensive intervention by Antonio and a hand probably to be identified as Giovanni Rossellino's), of Neri Capponi in S. Spirito, Florence (1458), of Giovanni Chellini in S. Domenico at S. Miniato al Tedesco (1462–4), and of Filippo Lazzari in the Duomo at Pistoia (commissioned 20 April 1462; execution principally by Antonio Rossellino and assistants). From 1460 till 1 June 1463 Bernardo Rossellino was extensively employed by Pope Pius II at Pienza in connection with the building of the Cathedral and the Palazzo Piccolomini; along with the interior of the Palazzo Rucellai in Florence these form his main achievement as an architect. Concurrently, from 1461 until his death on 23 September 1464, he was Capomaestro of the Duomo in Florence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The standard monographs on Bernardo Rossellino are by M. Tyskiewicz (*Bernardo Rossellino*, Florence, 1928) and L. Planiscig (*Bernardo und Antonio Rossellino*, Vienna, 1942). The former is written in Polish, but is valuable for its documentation, which includes some material not available elsewhere. A summary of the main points made in the book will be found in a review by C. Kennedy (in *Rivista d'Arte*, xv, 1933, pp. 115–27). The volume by Planiscig is slight but well illustrated. Of the periodical literature of Bernardo Rossellino special importance attaches to articles by C. von Fabriczy ('Ein Jugendwerk Bernardo Rossellinos und spätere unbeachtete Schöpfungen seines Meissels', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxi, 1900, pp. 33–54, 99–113) and M. Weinberger and U. Middeldorf ('Unbeachtete Werke der Brüder Rossellino,' in *Münchener Jahrbuch für Bildende Kunst*, v, 1928, pp. 85–92).

Plates 50, 51: TABERNACLE

S. Egidio, Florence

There are records of three tabernacles executed by Bernardo Rossellino. The first of these, carved in the first half of 1435 for the Badia of SS. Fiora and Lucilla at Arezzo, has been wrongly identified (Fabriczy) with a tabernacle from the workshop of Benedetto da Majano still existing in the church. The second was carved between September 1436 and June 1437 for the sacristy of the Badia in Florence; the eagle console and part of the architrave of this tabernacle exist in the cloister of the Badia (Weinberger and Middeldorf, Tyskiewicz). The third is in the church of S. Egidio in Florence; payments for this are recorded between 11 February 1450 and 23 April 1450, and the construction of the tabernacle was presumably completed in the first half of this year since between 30 July 1450 and 27 November 1450 Ghiberti and his son Vittorio were engaged on the preparation of a bronze door. The tabernacle is referred to in documents as 'uno tabernacolo . . . per lo sacramento dallato delle donne', and the words OLEA INFIRMORVM on its base are an indication of the use to which it was later put. The attribution of the tabernacle to Bernardo Rossellino is due to Bode (in Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, 5th ed., Leipzig, 1884, ii, p. 386) and the publication of the documents to Poggi. It has been suggested that the decorative parts of the tabernacle should be regarded as the work of Antonio Rossellino (Tyskiewicz) or alternatively that Antonio Rossellino intervened in the lunette (Kennedy). There is no reason to doubt that Bernardo Rossellino was responsible both for the design and for virtually the entire execution of this remarkably accomplished work.

Plates 52, 54:

THE MONUMENT OF LEONARDO BRUNI

S. Croce, Florence

In his will Leonardo Bruni, State Chancellor and historian of Florence, expressed the wish to be buried in the church of S. Croce: 'Sepulturam vero elegit apud ecclesiam S. Crucis in Florentia, in qua sepulcrum sibi fieri voluit in loco convenienti suae qualitati cum lapide marmoreo puro sine pompa.' (He chose to be buried in the church of S. Croce in Florence, in which he wished a tomb to be prepared for him in a place suitable to his quality with a plain marble slab.) After his death (9 March 1444) the College and Council of his native town of Arezzo determined that, in view of the fame which he had conferred on the town, two citizens should be appointed to confer with Bruni's son Donato with authority 'fieri faciendi unam statuam in figura dicti quondam Domini Leonardi in illis modis et in illo loco et de illa expensa et sorto prout et sicut eisdem duobus civibus Aretinis sicut supra eligendi videbitur et placebit' (to commission a statue with the figure of the late lord Leonardo in such a fashion and in such a place and at such a cost as it shall please the same two citizens of Arezzo). It is possible (Stegmann and Geymüller) that the monument in S. Croce resulted from this decision. It has also been suggested that the tomb was commissioned by the Signoria of Florence as a memorial to Bruni in his capacity as State Chancellor, and that a sum mentioned in the Portata al Catasto prepared by Bernardo Rossellino in 1457 ('Da Cosimo de' Medici Lire 100') arose from expenses in connection with the tomb. There are no documents relating to the monument, which is generally assumed to have been commissioned soon after Bruni's death, and was probably completed by 1446–7, though later terminal dates (1450 Planiscig, 1451 Tyskiewicz) have also been proposed. Vespasiano da Bisticci describes the funeral of Bruni, which was held 'according to the custom of the ancients', with the corpse dressed in a long silk robe like that which Bruni had worn in life, and with a copy of his history of Florence placed in his hands. At the climax of the ceremony Gianozzo Manetti, after apostrophizing Bruni, crowned the head of the dead man with a laurel wreath. This ceremony explains the representation of Bruni on his bier in the centre of the monument, wearing a toga-like robe and a laurel wreath. Beneath, on the sarcophagus, a tablet supported by two angels contains an epitaph by Bruni's successor as State Chancellor, Carlo Marsuppini:

> POSTQUAM LEONARDUS E VITA EMIGRAVIT
> HISTORIA LUGET, ELOQUENTIA MUTA EST
> FERTURQUE MUSAS TUM GRAECAS TUM
> LATINAS LACRIMAS TENERE NON POTUISSE.

(After Leonardo departed from life, history is in mourning and eloquence is dumb, and it is said that the Muses, Greek and Latin alike, cannot restrain their tears.)

The Libro di Antonio Billi is the earliest source in which the tomb is ascribed to Bernardo Rossellino. The hypothesis has been advanced that the monument was designed by Alberti; this cannot be seriously sustained. It has also been claimed, wrongly, that the effigy is by Antonio Rossellino, and that the Virgin and Child in the lunette is an early work of Verrocchio (Vasari: 'Mentre che egli conduceva la detta statua [the bronze David], fece ancora quella Nostra Donna di marmo che è sopra la sepoltura di messer Lionardo Bruni Aretino in Santa Croce; la quale lavorò, essendo ancora giovane, per Bernardo Rossellino, architetto e scultore, il quale condusse di marmo, come si è detto, tutta quell'opera.' [While he was engaged on the aforesaid statue, he also made the marble Virgin which is over the tomb of messer Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo in S. Croce. Being still young, he undertook this work for Bernardo Rossellino, the architect and sculptor, who, as has been said, executed the whole tomb in marble.])

The design of the monument is indubitably by Bernardo Rossellino, as is all of the figurated sculpture with the exception of the angel on the right of the lunette, which was carved by another member of the Rossellino studio (not, however, Antonio Rossellino). The Bruni tomb, with its use of a triumphal arch containing the sarcophagus and effigy, inaugurates a new type of sepulchral monument. Though the triple division of the wall behind the effigy and the half-length Virgin and Child in the lunette are developed from motifs in the Coscia monument of Donatello, the design as a whole is profoundly un-Donatellesque. Of special boldness is the crowning feature, which consists of two climbing putti supporting a wreath and garland surrounding the stemma of Leonardo Bruni. A drawing of the tomb in the Zibaldone of Buonaccorso di Vittorio Ghiberti (*c.* 1472–83) indicates that it was originally coloured, with a blue curtain with gold edge behind the niche, gilded garlands, a blue ground in the central medallion of the lunette, and gilding on the effigy and angels on the sarcophagus. The effect of polychromy is now limited to the red marble ground behind the tomb. (See R. Corwegh, 'Farbige Wandgräber der Renaissance', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, i, 1911, pp. 168–72).

Plate 53:

MONUMENT OF THE BEATA VILLANA

S. Maria Novella, Florence

The tomb of the Beata Villana dei Botti (d. 1360) (Fig. 43) was commissioned from Bernardo Rossellino by her nephew, Fra Sebastiano di Jacopo Benintendi, on 12 July 1451. The contract, which is extremely detailed and throws useful light on the form of the tomb, bound Rossellino to complete the monument by December 1451. The operative passages read as follows: 'una sepoltura di marmo la quale ad astare nelmuro sotto il crocifisso che è disopra al corpo della beata villana in questo modo cioè chella detta sepoltura comincj in terra uno fregio dimarmo Nero alto uno terzo lungho braccia tre e sette ottavj, disopra aquesto una basa dimarmo biancho Lungha braccia tre e mezzo crossa uno sesto scorniciata pulita. disopra una tavola dimarmo rosso. Lungha braccia tre e uno quarto. alta uno braccia e uno terzo recinta Ladetta tavola duna corniciuzza morta dolce e bene pulita. E di sopra Ladetta tavola una cornice di marmo biancho, scorniciata bene con intaglij bellj crossa uno sesto. l'archo uno terzo tutte le dette chose faccino una testa di chassa di sepoltura concornice di sotto e di sopra alta in tutto br. 1 col fregio Nero braccia due. E poj disopra alla detta chassa. Uno padiglione di marmo bianca di larchezza il difuorj di braccia quatro iscarso, alto dalla chassa in su braccia due e mezzo colla testa dillione sotto il detto padiglione la figura della beata Villa achiacere intagliata di mezzo rilievo di lunghezza di braccia tre come sta quella che ve di pocho rilievo. E questo ve aessere dimezzo rilievo. Dipoj sotto el detto padiglione ve aessere due angnolj di mezzo rilievo. iqualj anno atenere colluna mano il panno del padiglione e collatra una carta cioè uno epitaffio con quelle lettere che Lo gli diro intagliate e messe dj nero a olio. El detto drappo cioè il panno del padiglione vadj giù insino appresso alla basa della chassa. El detto drappo sia frangiato intorno isbrizzato d'oro. E poi dentro nel campo del padiglione di direto brocchato doro edaltro colore Nero e brochato di fuorj variato da quello di dentro. E tutto il detto lavorio ritornj alto con ugnj suo lavorio braccia quattro emezzo, elargho come edetto disopra.' (The contract provides for a tomb to be placed on the wall beneath the crucifix surmounting the grave of the Beata Villana. The tomb is to rest on a black marble frieze, with, above it, a white marble base and a slab of red marble of specified dimensions. Above the sarcophagus there is to be a white marble tent two and a half braccia high, and beneath it a recumbent figure of the Beata Villana carved in half relief with two figures of angels, each holding the curtain of the tent with one hand and an incised and painted epitaph with the other. The curtains of the tent are to reach to the base of the sarcophagus and to be fringed in gold. The brocade in the interior of the tent is to be gilded and painted, and the brocade on the outside is also to be painted, but in another colour.) An amendment to the contract made on 27 January 1452 relates to the provision of a lunette and tabernacle over the monument in connection with the Crucifix suspended over it. This was a trecento Crucifix before which the Beata prayed, and is perhaps identical with a Crucifix now in the Cappella della Pura (Paatz). The monument was moved from its original position in 1579, and is now in the right aisle of the church, and no trace of the tabernacle originally set above it survives. Certain architectural and other features (e.g. the lions' heads) mentioned in the contract no longer form part of the monument. On the cartellino held by the two angels are the words: OSSA. VILLANE. MVLIERIS. SANCTE/ IN. HOC. CELEBRI. TVMVLO. REQVIESCVNT. The tomb type is pronouncedly mediaeval in character, and the motif of the two angels drawing curtains to disclose the body of the Beata is frequently found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The figure of the Beata is an autograph work by Bernardo Rossellino, as is the angel drawing the curtain on the left. The corresponding angel on the right has been identified (Becherucci) as an early work of Desiderio da Settignano. This is evidently by a different hand from that on the left, but the relationship with Desiderio is not conclusive, and the figure is perhaps by an unidentified member of the Rossellino studio. The intervention of Antonio Rossellino in the execution of the angels has also been postulated (Kennedy).

ANTONIO ROSSELLINO

(b. 1427; d. 1479)

Antonio Rossellino was born in 1427, and was thus seventeen years younger than his brother Bernardo (*q.v.*), under whose direction he appears to have been trained in association with his brothers Giovanni (b. 1417), Domenico (b. 1407) and Tommaso (b. 1422). He was employed, with Tommaso, in 1449 in carving capitals for S. Lorenzo in Florence, and in 1452 appears as an independent artist acting as joint assessor at the valuation of Buggiano's pulpit in S. Maria Novella. His first signed and dated work (1456) is the bust of Giovanni Chellini (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, see Plate 59 below), and his first recorded commission that for the monument of the Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato al Monte (1461, see Plates 55–7 below). The St. Sebastian altar in the Collegiata at Empoli (Fig. 53) (figure of the Saint and two angels by Antonio Rossellino and assistant, painted wings by Botticini), the form of which was perhaps modified (Schottmüller), was probably carved about 1460 (Weinberger and Middeldorf), though it is now generally assigned to a considerably later date (Gottschalk, Planiscig). Before the commencement of work in the Portuguese Chapel, Antonio Rossellino seems to have worked on two monuments commissioned from Bernardo, the shrine of the Beato Marcolino at Forlì (1458, in association with Giovanni Rossellino) and the tomb of Neri Capponi in S. Spirito (after 1457). On 27 October 1464, while the monument in S. Miniato al Monte was still incomplete, he signed a contract jointly with his brother Giovanni for the completion of the monument of Filippo Lazzari in the Duomo at Pistoia, which had been commissioned from Bernardo Rossellino in 1462, but on which work had scarcely been begun at the time of Bernardo's death (1464). A bust of Matteo Palmieri (Fig. 77) in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, is dated 1468. In 1471 Antonio Rossellino was employed on work on the Baptistry in Florence, and two years later (27 October 1473) he acted as assessor for Matteo Civitali's monument of Piero da Noceto in the Duomo at Lucca. In the same year (payment of 23 August 1473) he contributed three reliefs (the Assumption of the Virgin, the Stoning of St. Stephen, the Funeral of St. Stephen) to the internal pulpit of the Duomo at Prato (Fig. 49); the pulpit itself appears to have been designed and (with the exception of two reliefs by Mino da Fiesole) executed in the Rossellino studio. Four payments between 12 February and 12 October 1476 relate to the monument of Lorenzo Roverella in S. Giorgio at Ferrara; these are concerned with isolated sculptures on the monument, which was designed and in part executed by Ambrogio da Milano. The central Virgin and Child is the only substantially autograph section of the tomb. Two works for Naples, the monument of Mary of Aragon in the Piccolomini Chapel in S. Anna dei Lombardi, based on the tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal (unfinished in 1479, completed and in large part executed by Benedetto da Majano), and an altar of the Nativity in the same chapel (Fig. 46) probably date from 1470–5. A tondo of the Nativity in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (provenance and function undetermined) is connected in style with the latter work. Payments of 1477 related to the walking figure of the young St. John the Baptist formerly over the entrance to the Opera di S. Giovanni and now in the Museo Nazionale. The picture of Antonio Rossellino's late style is completed by a relief of the Madonna and Child over the Nori grave in S. Croce, which seems to have been commissioned and executed before the death of the donor, Francesco Nori, in 1478. Antonio Rossellino paid the tax of the Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname for the last time in 1478, and died before 1481, when the Duke of Amalfi (who had commissioned the monument in Naples) was in negotiation with his heirs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The most recent monograph on Antonio Rossellino is a well-illustrated volume by L. Planiscig (*Bernardo und Antonio Rossellino*, Vienna, 1942). A more systematic survey of the problems arising from Antonio Rossellino's work is contained in a printed thesis by H. Gottschalk (*Antonio Rossellino: Inaugural-Dissertation des Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel*, Liegnitz, 1930; unillustrated). For the tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal see F. Bürger (*Das Florentinische Grabmal bis Michelangelo*, Strassburg, 1904), C. von Stegmann and H. von Geymüller (*Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana*, Munich, iii, 1885–1907), and W. Paatz.

Plates 55–57: THE MONUMENT OF THE CARDINAL OF PORTUGAL

S. Miniato al Monte, Florence

The genesis of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal is described by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his life of Cardinal Jacopo da Portogallo (d. 1459) in the following terms (*Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*, Milan, 1951, pp. 105–6): 'Ritornando dove abbiamo lasciato, istandi in questi laudabili esercizi, ordinò il suo testamento per autoritate apostolica, che fù d'essere seppellito alla chiesa di Sancto Miniato di Firenze, dell'ordine di Monte Oliveto; e volle che vi si facessi una cappella dotata dove s'avessi ogni mattina a dire messa, come oggi si vede, e lasciovi i paramenti e altre cose appartenenti al divino ufficio. Volle che di quelle sustanze che v'erano, se ne sodisfacesse a quelli che avevano servito, e a' poveri; e così ordinò ogni sua cosa nella morte, come aveva fatto nella vita. Non aveva atteso a cumulare tesoro, perchè nella sua casa da alcuni arienti in fuori, non molti, e assai buona copia di libri, e sua vestimenti e sua massarizi, non v'era altro: che non credo che andassino alla somma di fiorini tre mila; in modo che, sodisfatto a quello che aveva lasciato, la cappella non v'era del suo tanto che si potessi fare; ma questo vescovo Silvense fece fare ogni cosa, e pagò gran parte di quella spesa la duchessa di Borgogna . . . . Nella sepoltura che è oggi a Sancto Miniato, la mano fù formato dalla sua propria, il viso in alcuna parte assai lo somiglia, percha dopo la sua vita fù formato.' (Going back to the point at which we left off, while engaged in these praiseworthy exercises he drew up his will enjoining with papal authority that he should be buried in the church of S. Miniato al Monte in Florence, of the Olivetan order. He wished that a chapel should be constructed and endowed, where mass would be said every morning (as it is now), and to leave it the vestments and other things pertaining to the divine office. He wished that gifts should be made from his possessions to those who had served him and to the poor. Thus he arranged everything in death as he had done in life. He had given no thought to accumulating treasures, and in his house there was nothing but a few silver vessels, a good number of books, and his vestments and household goods. I think that these did not amount to a total of three thousand florins. So that when his legacies had been paid, his estate would have been insufficient to provide for the chapel. But the Bishop of Silves arranged the whole matter, and the Duchess of Burgundy paid a large part of the cost. . . . In the tomb which is now at S. Miniato, the hand was moulded from his own, and the face also closely resembles him, since it was moulded after his death.) The design of the chapel was entrusted to the architect Antonio Manetti, and a document of 7 June 1460 establishes that at this time 'cornici di macigno' were being carved to Manetti's design. It is conjectured that after Manetti's death (December 1460) responsibility for the chapel was vested in Antonio Rossellino, and that Rossellino was responsible for designing not merely the tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal (Fig. 64), but the throne on the opposite wall and the chapel floor. A document relating to the commissioning of the tomb is paraphrased by G. Lami (*Sanctae Ecclesiae Florentinae Monumenta*, i, p. 583: original untraced) who had access to 'alcune scritte di convenzioni originali nel sopradetto Archivio di Monte Oliveto concernenti il lavoro di essa Cappella con gli operanti. Una di esse è soscritta di proprio pugno di Vescovo fatta con Antonio di Matteo di Domenico Gamberelli scultore per far esso la sepoltura del Cardinal di Portogallo, che doveva contare fiorini 425 di suggello, coiè di lire 4 e soldi 5 il fiorino, ed è stipulata nel dì primo di dicembre 1461 essendo Abate di S. Miniato D. Giuliano.' (Some documents with the original agreements with the workmen relating to the work in the chapel. One of these is a contract signed with his own hand by the Bishop for the tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal to be made by Antonio di Matteo di Domenico Gamberelli sculptor.) The tomb proper forms one element in a decorative scheme which includes a ceiling in polychrome enamelled terracotta by Luca della Robbia (see Plate 49 above), frescoes by Antonio Pollajuolo and Alesso Baldovinetti, and an altar-piece by Antonio and Piero Pollajuolo, now in the Uffizi. The chapel was dedicated by Alvaro, Bishop of Silves in Algarve, in October 1466, and the altar-piece seems to have been executed in 1466–7. Baldovinetti's frescoes in the chapel were begun late in 1466, and Antonio Pollajuolo's frescoes on the altar wall at the end of 1467. The decoration of the chapel was complete by 1477. The monument was probably finished before the dedication of the chapel in 1466. The niche filled by the tomb corresponds with niches on the left wall containing the throne and on the facing wall containing the altar, and the circular relief of the Virgin and Child above the monument occupies the same position as the circular window on the altar wall. The niche is flanked by pilasters and closed by curtains, which in turn correspond with the painted curtains in the fresco of Antonio Pollajuolo above the altar. The tomb itself rests on a deep base decorated with a strip of figurated carving with Mithraic and other classical scenes; above this is a shallow platform decorated with an inlaid geometrical design. The effigy of the Cardinal rests on a bier supported by two putti; an analogy for these figures is traced by Bürger on a Roman sarcophagus in the Palazzo Torlonia. The sarcophagus, on the lid of which the putti sit, is correctly stated by Vasari to have been adapted from a classical porphyry sarcophagus in Rome, formerly in the Pantheon and now in St. John Lateram. On the sarcophagus is the inscription:

REGIA STIRPS IACOBVS NOMEN LVSITANIA PROPAGO
INSIGNIS FORMA SVMA PVDICITIA
CARDINEVS TITVLVS MORVM NITOR OPTIMA VIA
ISTA FVERE MIHI MORS IVVENEM RAPVIT
VIX. AN. XXV. MXI. D. X. OBIIT AN. SALVTIS
MCCCCLIX.

Behind and above the effigy on the cornice of the rectangular marble background, are two angels, that on the left holding a crown; the angel on the right formerly held the palm of chastity. Above is a circular relief of the Virgin and Child framed in cherub heads within a garland supported by two flying angels. The tomb is conceived as an integral part of the architectural scheme, and not, like the Brancacci monument of Michelozzo or the Bruni monument of Bernardo Rossellino, as an independent architectural unit. Though it is preserved in its original form, the surface appears to have been extensively pigmented; in the Zibaldone of Buonaccorso Ghiberti it is noted that the columns and capitals and the Cardinal's robes were gilded, that the Virgin and Child was heightened with gold and set on a blue ground, and that the curtain and wall behind the tomb were red. The word 'dipinti' occurs in a number of places on a contemporary drawing from the completed monument in the British Museum (1891-6.17.24).

Plate 58: PORTRAIT OF A LADY
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 77/Sch. 123

For this bust, which was acquired in Florence in 1842, see Plate 66 below.

Plate 59: GIOVANNI CHELLINI
Victoria & Albert Museum, London, No. 7671–1861

The bust is inscribed within the slightly hollowed base: MAG(ISTE)R IOHAN(N)ES MAG(IST)RI. ANTONII DE S(ANC)TO MINIATE DOCTOR ARTIVM ET MEDICINE. M°CCCCLVI, and in the centre OPVS ANTONII. A generally similar inscription appears beneath Antonio Rossellino's bust of Matteo Palmieri of 1468 (Museo Nazionale, Florence). The Giovanni da San Miniato represented in the bust is identified by Weinberger and Middeldorf with Giovanni Chellini, whose monument by Bernardo Rossellino survives in S. Domenico at San Miniato al Tedesco, and who is described in the records of S. Domenico as 'medico reputatissimo in Firenze, dove esercitò ed insegnò con molto credito' (a very well-known doctor in Florence, where he practised and taught with great credit). This identification is confirmed by the close similarity of the head of the recumbent figure on the monument to the present bust. The date of the bust has been questioned on the ground that it appeared to have been based on a death-mask, and must therefore postdate Chellini's death in 1462. It is rightly pointed out by Planiscig that a life-mask was certainly employed. The portrait type is closely similar to the relief portrait of Neri Capponi on the Capponi monument in S. Spirito, Florence, executed after 1457 in the Rossellino studio, probably by Bernardo Rossellino. The characteristic brownish marble is used again in Antonio Rossellino's St. Sebastian at Empoli.

Plate 60: VIRGIN AND CHILD
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

None of the reliefs of the Virgin and Child ascribed to Antonio Rossellino is documented or otherwise authenticated, and the only basis for attribution is that supplied by the Madonnas above the monuments of the Cardinal of Portugal and Lorenzo Roverella, and by the Nori Madonna in S. Croce. All of these works are in deeper relief than the independent Madonna reliefs. Marble Madonnas ascribed to the artist are found in (i) the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, (ii) the Morgan Library, New York, (iii) the Gulbenkian Foundation, (iv) the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 84, destroyed), (v) the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, (vi) S. Clemente, Sociana, (vii) the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Kress Collection), and (viii) the Hermitage, Leningrad. There are four terracotta reliefs which have some claim to be regarded as works by Rossellino, two in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (Nos. 82, 92, destroyed), one at Lyons, and one at Toledo (Ohio). In addition two compositions are known through derivatives in pigmented stucco, of which no marble prototype survives; these are the so-called Madonna of the Candelabra and a composition of which a marble copy exists in S. Vincenzo at Prato. Pigmented stucco versions of many of the marble Madonnas are known. It cannot be assumed that Antonio Rossellino was necessarily responsible for executing all of the reliefs ascribed to him, since, e.g. the type of the Child in (iii) has no precise parallel elsewhere in his work, the pose of the Child in (iv) is ungainly and ill formulated, and it is uncertain whether (viii) is the prototype of or a derivative from the stuccos related to it. A number of mutually inconsistent systems of dating have been advanced for the reliefs. It is likely that (iii) and (iv) if by Antonio Rossellino are relatively early works, while (vii) is related to the style of the Nori Madonna. The finest of the reliefs, (i) and (ii) and the lost original of the Madonna of the Candelabra, are perhaps datable *c.* 1460–5, and would thus be contemporary with work in the Portuguese Chapel. The Madonna in the Metropolitan Museum (Coll. Alessandri, Florence; Hainauer, Berlin; Altman, New York) is in many respects the most accomplished of Rossellino's reliefs.

DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO

(b. *c.* 1430; d. 1464)

The son of a certain Bartolommeo di Francesco, Desiderio was born at Settignano about 1430. A Portata al Catasto of 1458 gives his age in that year as twenty-nine, while a Portata al Catasto of two years later gives it as twenty-eight. If the first of these statements were correct, he would have been born in 1428–9; according to the second, he would have been born in 1431. His two elder brothers Francesco (b. 1413) and Geri (b. 1424) were stonemasons and matriculated in the guild of the Maestri di Pietra e Legname in 1447 and 1451 respectively. Their father is mentioned as 'scarpellino' after 1451. Desiderio himself matriculated in 1453, and was already an established master by this time, since in this year (26 February 1453) he acted as joint assessor with Antonio Rossellino for the narrative scenes carved by Buggiano for the pulpit in S. Maria Novella. The personal circumstances of Desiderio's life (reconstructed in the main by Kennedy) show that in 1456 he bought a house in the Via S. Maria jointly with his brother Geri, and that both sculptors rented a studio near the Ponte S. Trinità from Andrea Panciatichi (1457). The tax returns of 1458 and 1459 were prepared jointly by Geri and Desiderio. On 28 April 1461 the latter received a payment for a competitive design submitted in connection with the chapel of the Madonna della Tavola in the Duomo at Orvieto (not carried out). Desiderio was buried in S. Pier Maggiore on 16 January 1464. During his lifetime and soon after his death Desiderio da Settignano seems to have enjoyed great fame; Giovanni Santi refers to 'il vago Desider si dolce e bello', and Filarete, in his *Trattato d'Architettura*, also mentions him in connection with sculpture of a decorative character. The only works by Desiderio which are approximately datable are the Marsuppini monument in S. Croce (begun after 1453; see Plates 67, 68 below) and the Altar of the Sacrament in S. Lorenzo (completed in 1461; see Plates 62–4 below). The fact that a heterogeneous group of works has accumulated round his name is due in large part to uncertainty as to the course and character of his development. A relief of the Child Christ and young St. John is noted by Vasari in the Medici Guardaroba; this appears to be identical with a relief now in the Louvre. Vasari describes a ciborium executed by Desiderio for S. Pier Maggiore; parts of this are now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. A wooden Magdalen in S. Trinità (Fig. 98) is mentioned by Vasari as a late work left unfinished at Desiderio's death and completed by Benedetto da Majano. It has been suggested that, on account of its relationship to Donatello's Magdalen in the Baptistry, this should be regarded as an early work (Planiscig), but the stylistic arguments in favour of this view are too fragile to command support. The diary of the painter Neri di Bicci twice mentions work in connection with reliefs of the Virgin and Child by Desiderio; the first entry (3 January 1461) reads: 'Fa un tabernacolo dorato e dipinto a Pietro Dozzi orafo da tenere in camera, dentrovi una Vergine Maria di marmo di mano di Desiderio', and the second (19 February 1464): 'Colmo da camera grande dentrovi una Nostra Donna di gesso di mano di Desiderio con Nostro Signore in collo ch'e mezzo facciata.' Stuccos after Desiderio's marble Madonna reliefs seem to have enjoyed much popularity, and a number of these were certainly pigmented in the Neri di Bicci studio. Two works by Desiderio are mentioned in the Medici inventory of 1492; these are 'una testa di marmo di tutto rilievo di mano di Desiderio', and 'una storia di fauni e altre figure di mano di Desiderio'. For the problem of Desiderio's portrait busts see Plate 66 below. No mythological relief by the sculptor survives. Vasari states that Desiderio as a youth carved the base of the bronze David of Donatello. The authenticated works give no warrant for crediting Desiderio with a number of low reliefs of excellent quality (e.g. the stiacciato relief of the seated Virgin and Child in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and the relief called St. Cecilia in the Museum of Art at Toledo). The work of Desiderio's brother, Geri, is still unidentified, and it is possible that works by hands that are clearly not identical with Desiderio's may have been produced within the framework of the Desiderio studio (among these are the hands responsible for a Madonna relief in the Via dei Martelli and a chimney-piece in London, and for reliefs of the Virgin with the seated Child in London and of the Child Christ and the young St. John in Washington). So far as concerns the chronology of the homogeneous body of autograph works, it seems that Desiderio proceeded from a more to a less static style. The terminal points of this development are first a group of works produced before the Marsuppini monument (a frieze of putto heads on the exterior of the Pazzi Chapel, probably after 1451, a related relief of the young Baptist in the Museo Nazionale, a Virgin and Child in the Pinacoteca Sabauda at Turin), and secondly a group of works probably produced after the Altar of the Sacrament (a relief of the Child Christ and the young St. John the Baptist in the Louvre, the St. Jerome before the Crucifix in Washington, the Panciatichi Madonna in the Museo Nazionale, Florence). The later of these reliefs in particular are executed with great virtuosity and power. The Martelli Baptist (Museo Nazionale, Florence) (Fig. 52) appears to have been carved by Desiderio in this final phase.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The basis for the study of Desiderio's style was laid in a number of articles by Bode, two of which are reprinted in *Florentinische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1910; these are now mainly of historical interest. A monograph by L. Planiscig (*Desiderio da Settignano*, Vienna, 1942), adopts a more critical attitude to the Desiderio œuvre catalogue. For the relevant documents see Milanesi's edition of Vasari and C. Kennedy ('Documenti inediti su Desiderio da Settignano e la sua famiglia' in *Rivista d'Arte*, xii, 1930, pp. 243–91), and for the Marsuppini monument C. von Stegman and H. von Geymüller (*Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toskana*, Munich, iv, 1890–1906). Excellent photographs of the Altar of the Sacrament by C. Kennedy are available in Smith College, Northampton. *Studies in the History and Criticism of Sculpture*, V: *The Tabernacle of the Sacrament by Desiderio*, 1929.

Plate 61: VIRGIN AND CHILD

Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia

The relief was originally in the gallery of the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, Florence (Paatz), and later in the Foulc collection, Paris, and is for this reason known as the Foulc Madonna. Along with the Turin Madonna and the Panciatichi Madonna in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, it is one of the three surviving autograph marble Madonna reliefs by Desiderio da Settignano. The three reliefs appear to belong to three separate stages in Desiderio's career, the Turin Madonna to the years 1450–3, before the commencement of work on the Marsuppini monument, and the much-weathered Panciatichi Madonna to the years 1461–4, after the completion of the Altar of the Sacrament. The Foulc Madonna finds a point of reference in the Madonna on the Marsuppini monument, and may be tentatively dated about 1455–60. In composition this is Desiderio's finest and most inventive Madonna relief; the rather dry execution, however, is inferior both to that of the well-preserved Turin Madonna and to the more deeply carved Madonna in the Bargello. Pigmented stucco versions of all three compositions exist in some numbers, and it is suggested by Kennedy that the stucco described in Neri di Bicci's studio after the death of Desiderio (see above) was a version of the present relief.

Plates 62–64:

THE ALTAR OF THE SACRAMENT

S. Lorenzo, Florence

The second of Desiderio's major works, the Altar of the Sacrament in S. Lorenzo (Fig. 45) consists of a tabernacle flanked by angels with candelabra, and a relief, probably designed as an antependium, with the Dead Christ between the Virgin and St. John. It is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'ed in S. Lorenzo finì di marmo la cappella del Sacramento la quale egli con molto diligenza condusse a perfezione. Eravi un fanciullo di marmo tondo, il quale fù lavato, e oggi si metta in sull'altare per le feste della Nativita di Cristo, per cosa mirabile; in cambio del quale ne fece un altro Baccio da Montelulo, di marmo pure, che sta continuamente sopra il tabernacolo del Sacramento.' (In S. Lorenzo he finished in marble the Chapel of the Sacrament, perfecting it with great diligence. On it there was a statuette of a child in marble, which was removed, and is now placed on the altar at the Christmas festival, being a marvellous thing. In substitution for it, Baccio da Montelupo made another, also of marble, which stands continuously on the top of the tabernacle of the sacrament.) On account of its transference to the high altar of the church, the figure of the Child Christ from the apex of the tabernacle became extremely popular, and a number of contemporary versions in pigmented stucco are known. The figure now on the tabernacle is the original statuette by Desiderio. The main figurative elements of the Altar form a programmatic unity, and the mystical adoration of the Sacrament by the angels in the tabernacle proper takes place between the figures of the dead Christ at the bottom and the Child Christ in benediction at the top. It is established (Paatz) that the Altar was completed in the summer of 1461, since an entry in the Libro dei Sacrestani for that year (transcribed by D. Moreni, *Continuazione delle memorie storiche dell'ambrosiana imperial basilica di S. Lorenzo di Firenze*, i, 1816, p. 15) reads: 'Per tutto il mese di Luglio 1461 si murò l'Altar maggiore nostro ec. Per tutto di primo d'Agosto 1461 fù murato interamente il Tabernacolo del Corpo di Cristo.' It is likely that work on the altar was begun after the completion of the Marsuppini monument, about 1458.

Plate 65: ST. JEROME BEFORE A CRUCIFIX

National Gallery of Art, Washington;
Widener Collection

The relief, which is possibly identical with a low relief of St. Jerome listed in the 1553 inventory of the Palazzo della Signoria, was acquired in Florence by K. E. von Liphardt, and was later in the Widener collection, Philadelphia. The attribution to Desiderio is due to Bode, and has been generally accepted; G. Swarzenski ('Some Aspects of Italian Quattrocento Sculpture', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, xxiv, 1943, pp. 283–304) suggests that it was 'unfinished at the master's death, and may have been finished especially in what concerns the background by Benedetto da Majano'. The entire relief is the work of Desiderio. Swarzenski also concludes that 'the pictorial style of the composition is rather advanced for Desiderio, but it can easily be explained by the influence of Ghiberti's reliefs'. A point of reference for the composition is provided by works executed by Fra Filippo Lippi in the bracket 1450–60; analogies here are so close as to afford a supporting argument for the late dating proposed on other grounds by U. Middeldorf ('Two Florentine Sculptures at Toledo', in *Art in America*, xviii, 1940, pp. 13–30). An early dating is proposed by Planiscig (*c.* 1450) and C. Seymour (*Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery of Art*, Washington, 1949, pp. 175–6, *c.* 1450–5). All photographs of the relief are to some extent misleading, since it is carved more boldly and with greater variations of depth than reproductions suggest. The handling resembles that of the relief of the Child Christ and the young Baptist in the Louvre.

Plate 66: PORTRAIT OF A LADY
Museo Nazionale, Florence

Desiderio's activity as a portrait sculptor is attested by a reference of Vasari to a bust of Marietta Strozzi (b. 1448) in the Palazzo Strozzi, and by the presence in the Palazzo Medici of 'una testa di marmo di tutto rilievo di mano di Desiderio'. A number of attempts have been made (notably by Bode) to identify the bust of Marietta Strozzi, and to establish the characteristics of Desiderio as a portrait sculptor. The principal marble portrait busts ascribed to Desiderio are the following: (i) bust of an unidentified lady (Museo Nazionale, Florence), (ii) presumed bust of Marietta Strozzi (Morgan Library, New York), (iii) unfinished bust of a girl (National Gallery of Art, Washington), (iv) presumed portrait of Simonetta Vespucci (National Gallery of Art, Washington), (v) presumed portrait of Marietta Strozzi (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin) (Plate 58 above), (vi) presumed portrait of Isotta degli Atti (Louvre, Paris). Of these (i) is closely related in handling to the angels on the Altar of the Sacrament in S. Lorenzo, and can be confidently regarded as a work of Desiderio of about 1460–4, while (v) differs appreciably in technique from Desiderio's authenticated work (as is hesitantly noted by Schottmüller); comparison with the angel on the left of the tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal establishes that this is an autograph work of Antonio Rossellino. (ii) has a Strozzi provenance, but is so seriously damaged as to be unattributable, and (iii), though unfinished, is closely similar in handling to (v). (iv) is possibly the work of Benedetto da Majano, and (vi) is not necessarily Florentine.

Plates 67, 68: THE MONUMENT OF CARLO MARSUPPINI
S. Croce, Florence

The Marsuppini monument in S. Croce (Fig. 61) is described by Vasari in his life of Desiderio: 'Fece la sepoltura di messer Carlo Marsuppini, aretino, in Santa Croce: la quale non solo in quel tempo fece stupire gli artifici e le persone intelligenti che la guardarono, ma quelli ancora che al presente la veggono, se ne maravigliano dove egli avendo lavorato in una cassa fogliami, benchè un poco spinosi e secchi, per non essere allora scoperte molte antichità, furono tenuti cosa bellissima. Ma fra l'altre parti che in detta opera sono, vi si veggono alcune ali, che a una nicchia fanno ornamento a pie della cassa; che non di marmo, ma piumose si mostrano: cosa difficile a potere imitare nel marmo, attesoschè ai peli e alle piume non può lo scarpello aggiungere. Evvi di marmo una nicchia grande, più viva che se d'osso proprio fosse. Sonvi ancora alcuni fanciulli ed alcuni angeli, condotti con maniera bella e vivace. Similmente e di somma bontà ed artifizio il morto su la cassa, ritratto al naturale; ed in un tondo, una Nostra Donna, di bassorilievo, lavorato, secondo la maniera di Donato, con giudizio e con grazia mirabilissima.' (He made the tomb of messer Carlo Marsuppini of Arezzo in S. Croce, which not only astonished the artists and intelligent persons who looked at it at that time, but continues to astonish those who see it now. In the sarcophagus he introduced foliage which, although a little spiky and dry, since not many antiquities had been discovered at that time, was considered very beautiful. Among the other portions of the work are some wings, which decorate a shell at the foot of the sarcophagus. These seem to be feathers and not marble, a difficult effect to achieve in marble seeing that the chisel cannot easily reproduce hair and feathers. There is also a large shell in marble, more life-like than if it had been made in bone. In addition there are some boys and angels executed in a beautiful and lively style. The effigy on the sarcophagus is lifelike and of the utmost beauty and artifice, and in a tondo there is a Virgin in low relief, worked in the manner of Donatello with most wonderful skill and grace.) The varying dates ascribed to the monument are due to uncertainty as to the date of death of Carlo Marsuppini. A statement that Marsuppini was still alive at Arezzo on 17 February 1455 is incorrect; his death took place on 24 April 1453 and three days later he was buried in S. Croce. Work on the monument was presumably begun soon after this time. There is no means of ascertaining the date of completion of the tomb. Marsuppini succeeded Leonardo Bruni as State Chancellor on the latter's death in 1444, and his tomb is based directly on the Bruni monument. Desiderio's design is somewhat lower and wider than Bernardo Rossellino's (Bruni monument H. 6·104 m., W. 3·160 m.; Marsuppini monument H. 6·013 m., 3·580 m.), and the emphasis throughout rests not on the architectural scheme, but on the ornament and figure sculpture. Two early sources, the Anonimo Magliabecchiano and the Libro di Antonio Billi, speak of the intervention of the young Verrocchio in the execution of the tomb, and Verrocchio has been credited with the angel on the right of the lunette (U. Middeldorf, 'Frühwerke des Andrea Verrocchio', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, v, 1939, p. 209). The two angels in the lunette are by different hands, neither of which can be identified as Desiderio's. It has been suggested (Kennedy) that one of the two children at the base of the tomb represents Desiderio's son Paolo, who was born in the year of Marsuppini's death. The colouristic aspect of the tomb (for which see Stegmann and Geymüller) is difficult to reconstruct, but there are many traces of gilding in the ornament and it can be established that the bier-cloth was originally green.

The inscription on the sarcophagus reads:

SISTE VIDES MAGNVM QVAE SERVANT MARMORA VATEM.
I INGENIO CVIVS NON SATIS ORBIS ERAT
QVAE NATVRA POLVS QVAE MOS FERAT OMNIA NOVIT
KAROLVS AETATIS GLORIA MAGNA SVAE.
AVSONIAE ET GRAIAE CRINES NVNC SOLVITE MVSAE
OCCIDIT HEV VESTRI FAMA DECVS QVE CHORI.

(Stay and see the marbles which enshrine a great sage, one for whose mind there was not world enough. Carlo, the great glory of his age, knew all that nature, the heavens and human conduct have to tell. O Roman and Greek muses, now unloose your hair. Alas, the fame and splendour of your choir is dead.)

MINO DA FIESOLE

(b. 1429; d. 1484)

Mino da Fiesole was born at Poppi (Casentino) in 1429. According to Vasari, he was trained by Desiderio da Settignano (b. 1428); this is not substantiated by his early works. A bust of Piero de' Medici (Museo Nazionale, Florence) was carved in 1453, and is possibly Mino's earliest surviving work (Valentiner). The bust of Niccolò Strozzi (see Plate 70 below) dates from the following year. According to the inscription on the base, this was carved in Rome. This, Mino's first period of activity in Rome, must have been of short duration, since in 1455 he is known to have been in Naples, where he carved a bust of Astorgio Manfredi (National Gallery of Art, Washington), and thereafter returned to Florence. The bust of the apothecary Alessandro di Luca Mini (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin) dates from 1456, and was followed by two busts now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, of Giovanni de' Medici (undated) and Rinaldo della Luna (1461). Mino's last portrait bust is that of Diotisalvi Neroni (1464) in the Louvre, Paris. In 1463 Mino returned to Rome to work, with Paolo Romano, Isaia da Pisa, Pagno da Settignano and other sculptors, on the Benediction Pulpit of Pius II. His presence in Rome is attested by a payment of 5 July 1463. By 28 July 1464, however, he had returned to Florence, and work on the Benediction Pulpit was continued by Isaia da Pisa and Paolo Romano. Four figures of Apostles from the Ciborium of Sixtus IV in the Grotte Vaticane are conjecturally supposed to have been carved by Mino for the Benediction Pulpit. After his return to Florence, Mino was engaged on the Salutati monument in the Duomo at Fiesole and the Giugni monument in the Badia. In 1469 he signed a contract for the monument of Count Hugo of Tuscany in the Badia (see Plate 69 below), and in 1471 he executed a tabernacle in the Duomo at Volterra, which was followed in 1472–3 by reliefs for Antonio Rossellino's pulpit in the Cathedral at Prato. From about 1474 till 1480 Mino was once more active in Rome. His work in these years presents considerable difficulties, since he frequently worked in collaboration with Andrea Bregno, Giovanni Dalmata and other sculptors, and since there was active in Rome at the same time a second sculptor, Mino del Reame (q.v.), whose work has not infrequently been confused with Mino da Fiesole's (Bode, Schottmüller, Langton Douglas). The most important of the complexes on which Mino was engaged in Rome was the tomb of Pope Paul II in St. Peter's (probably 1474–7, see Plate 110 below). Among the other Roman tombs which he executed or which incorporate his work are the Forteguerri monument in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, the Ammanati monument in the former cloister of S. Agostino, the Riario monument in SS. Apostoli (see Plate 112 below), the Della Rovere monument in S. Maria del Popolo, and the tomb of Francesco Tornabuoni (d. 1481) in S. Maria sopra Minerva. He was also responsible for the Altar of St. Jerome in S. Maria Maggiore, commissioned about 1475 by Cardinal d'Estouteville (destroyed, reliefs in the Museo di Palazzo Venezia). With the exception of the Forteguerri tomb, there is some doubt as to Mino's share in the designing of these monuments. Returning to Florence, he executed a tabernacle in S. Ambrogio (1481) and completed the Conte Ugo monument in the Badia. Mino died in Florence in 1484.

A joke made at the expense of Mino by the architect Alberti is quoted by Domenichi (*Facetiae*, Rome, 1584), and at least from the time of Vasari he appears to have been regarded as the inferior of Desiderio da Settignano and the Rossellini. A contrary case is stated by Valentiner. Though he enjoyed a period of popularity in the nineteenth century, his facile sentiment, formal mannerisms and limited technique place him below the level of his great contemporaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The most satisfactory account of Mino's activity is that of Valentiner ('Mino da Fiesole', in *Studies of Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1950, pp. 70–96). A monograph by Hildegard Lange (*Mino da Fiesole*, Greifswald, 1928) supersedes an earlier volume by Diego Angeli (*Mino da Fiesole*, Florence, 1904). The observations of Bode are vitiated by confusion between Mino da Fiesole and Mino del Reame. A renewed attempt to synthesize the work of these two sculptors is made by Langton Douglas ('Mino del Reame', in *Burlington Magazine*, lxxxvii, 1945, pp. 217–24). For Mino's sepulchral monuments see F. Bürger (*Das Florentinische Grabmal bis Michelangelo*, Strassburg, 1904) and for the Roman works of Mino da Fiesole and Mino del Reame D. Gnoli ('Le opere di Mino da Fiesole in Roma', in *Archivio storico dell' arte*, ii, 1889, pp. 455–67) and Biasiotti ('Di alcune opere scultorie conservate in S. Maria Maggiore di Roma', in *Rassegna d'Arte*, v, 1918, pp. 51–7).

Plate 69: MONUMENT OF COUNT HUGO OF TUSCANY

Badia, Florence

The body of Count Hugo of Tuscany (d. 1001), the founder of the Badia, originally rested in an antique porphyry sarcophagus near the high altar of the church. In 1439 (Paatz) it was decided to commission a new commemorative monument. A terracotta sketch-model for this was prepared by Luca della Robbia (tomb not executed), and Count Hugo's remains were temporarily transferred to a painted wooden sarcophagus in the sacristy. Nothing further is heard of the project for the monument till 1469, when it was allotted to Mino da Fiesole, who had undertaken the monument of Bernardo Giugni (d. 1466) in the same church. On 25 June 1471 a new agreement was reached between the sculptor and the monks of the Badia, whereby Mino bound himself to complete the tomb within eighteen months for a total sum of 1600 lire (including sums already paid). Work on the monument was again interrupted by Mino's return to Rome, and it was completed only on 4 June 1481, when the balance of 1777 lire was paid to the sculptor, the increase over the stipulated payment being due to the addition of the marble seat at the bottom of the monument and to the decision to execute in marble certain parts that were originally to have been made of *macigno*. The monument (Fig. 62) was originally set up on the left wall of the Cappella Maggiore of the church, and was transferred to its present position in 1629. It is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'la quale opera fù cagione che l'abate e' monaci della Badia di Firenze, nel qual luogo fù collocata la detta sepoltura, gli dessero a far quelle del conte Ugo, figliuolo del marchese Uberto di Madeborgo, il quale lasciò a quella Badia molte facultà e privilegj; così, desiderosi d'onorarlo il più ch'e potevano, faciono fare a Mino, a marmo di Carrara, una sepoltura, che fù la più bella opera che Mino facesse mai; perchè vi sono alcuni putti che tengono l'arme di quel conte, che stanno molto arditamente e con una fanciullesca grazia, e, oltre alla figura del conte morto, con l'effigie di lui, ch'egli fece in su la cassa, e in mezzo, sopra la bara, nella faccia, una figura d'una Carità con certi putti, lavorata molto diligentemente ed accordata insieme molto bene. Il simile si vede in una Nostra Donna, in un mezzo tondo, col putto in collo; la quale fece Mino più simile alla maniera di Desiderio che potette.' (This work was the reason why the abbot and monks of the Badia in Florence, where the aforesaid tomb was set up, commissioned Mino to make the monuments of Count Hugo, son of the Marquis Hubert of Magdeburg, who left the Badia much property and many privileges. Thus, desirous of honouring him to the greatest possible extent, they arranged for Mino to prepare a tomb in Carrara marble. This was the most beautiful work that he ever produced, containing as it does some boys supporting the Count's arms, who stand on the tomb boldly and with boyish charm. Beside the effigy of the dead Count, which he carved on the sarcophagus, he placed on the back wall in the middle above the bier a figure of Charity with some children, very carefully worked and very well composed. This applies also to a Virgin with the Child in her arms in a lunette, which Mino made as like the work of Desiderio as he could). The base of the monument is planned as a marble seat, on the back of which is a relief with two angels supporting a cartellino with the inscription:

VGONI OTHONIS III IMPER. AFFINI AC
COMITI MARCHIONI ANDERBVRGENSI
HAETRVRIAE Q. PREFECTO Q. DIVO BENEDICTO
HOC OL ET SEX ALIA COENOBIA CODIDIT
PII HVIVS LOCI. MONACHI DE SE BENEMERITO
SEPVLCHRVM VETVSTATE ATTRITVM
ISTAVRARVT ANO SALVTIS M.CCCCLXXXI
H. M. H. N. S.

The meaning of the initials at the end of the inscription is not clear (for three alternative interpretations see G. B. Uccelli, *Della Badia Fiorentina*, Florence, 1858, pp. 11 ff.). The effigy rests on a bier on top of the sarcophagus; the front of the latter is inscribed with the words:

OBIIT ANO SALVTIS MILLESIMO P XII KAL IANVARIAS.

The wall behind the sarcophagus is divided into three sections, of which the centre is filled with a relief of Charity. The forward face of the central rectangle is decorated with a shallow curtain, and the lunette above contains a relief of the Virgin and Child. The scheme recalls that of the Bruni monument, but is not purely Florentine, and reflects the influence of Roman wall monuments.

Plate 70: NICCOLÒ STROZZI

Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 96/Sch. 164

The bust was purchased for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum from the Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, in 1877. In the excavated area beneath is the inscription NICOLAVS. DESTROZIS INVRBE. A. MCCCCLIIII, and on the rim beneath the right shoulder the signature OPVS.NINI. The banker Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi (d. 1469) was exiled from Florence in 1434, and the bust, as is indicated by the words INVRBE, was carved in Rome. The misliteration of the name Mino has led to some confusion, and the signature has also been read wrongly as OPVS. DINI; this has led at least one student (Angeli) to reject the attribution to Mino da Fiesole. The bust is, however, wholly characteristic of Mino's handling and style, and is fully consistent with the bust of Piero de' Medici (b. 1416) in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, which bears the inscription PETRVS COS. S. AETATIS ANNO XXXVII OPVS MINI SCVLPTORIS and must therefore have been carved in 1453 (Valentiner).

BENEDETTO DA MAJANO

(b. 1442; d. 1497)

The son of a stonemason, Leonardo d'Antonio da Majano, Benedetto da Majano appears to have been born in 1442. A Portata al Catasto prepared by Giuliano da Majano in 1469 gives his own age in this year as thirty-eight, that of brother Giovanni as thirty-one, and that of Benedetto as twenty-eight. Throughout his whole life Benedetto's career was bound up with that of his architect brother Giuliano. According to Vasari, he was active initially as a worker in intarsia, but there is no confirmation of this, and his earliest surviving work is the shrine of S. Savino in the Cathedral at Faenza, where Giuliano was also employed. This work, listed by Vasari and stated to be documented (Bode; documents unpublished), is assumed to have been commissioned under the will of Giovanna Manfredi (1468) and executed in 1471–2. The narrative scenes reveal the influence of the marble sculptures of Antonio Rossellino. The second of Benedetto's early commissions was for the Altar of S. Fina in the Collegiata at San Gimignano, in a chapel designed by Giuliano (payment of 16 May 1468) and decorated with frescoes by Domenico Ghirlandaio. The altar was completed in 1475, but the final payment dates only from 13 December 1493. Benedetto matriculated in the Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e Legname in 1473. In the second half of the seventies he carved an imposing ciborium flanked by two angels for the high altar of S. Domenico, Siena, of which the central part depends from the S. Pier Maggiore ciborium of Desiderio da Settignano. Benedetto da Majano's masterpiece, the pulpit in S. Croce, Florence (see Plate 73 below), probably dates from 1472–5. About 1480–1 he was employed in the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence, on a marble doorway in the Sala dei Gigli (see Plate 74 below), where he was once more associated with Giuliano, and later in the same decade (payments of 1484 and 1487) he undertook the making of a lavabo (described by Vasari as an early work) and lunettes of the Evangelists for the Basilica of the Holy House at Loreto. In the eighties he was also employed upon two major works for Naples. One of these was the completion of the tomb of Mary of Aragon, begun by Antonio Rossellino for the church of Monteoliveto (S. Anna dei Lombardi); work on this monument was probably initiated soon after 1481, and was carried out in the main by studio assistants. The other, the masterly altar for the Mastrogiudice chapel in the same church (see Plate 72 below), was completed in 1489. Both works appear to have been carved in Florence. In the late eighties Benedetto da Majano was employed by Filippo Strozzi, whose tomb in S. Maria Novella he designed and carved; this was still unfinished when Filippo Strozzi died (15 May 1491). He was also involved in the designing of the Palazzo Strozzi (laying of foundation stone 1489). A payment of 1494 relates to the Altar of S. Bartolo in S. Agostino at San Gimignano; this was probably begun in 1493 and finished in 1495. At this time he was also engaged on a group of the Coronation of Ferdinand of Aragon for the Porta Capuana in Naples; a number of sections of this work are listed among the contents of his studio at his death, and one of them ('re con vescovo di braccia 2½') is now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. He died on 24 September 1497, and under an earlier will (19 April 1492) bequeathed to the Bigallo, among his other effects, statues of St. Sebastian (Fig. 55) and the Virgin and Child which are now in the Misericordia, Florence, and must be regarded as his last works. These show a remarkable advance, and are important for the development of Florentine Mannerist sculpture. Benedetto da Majano seems to have made extensive use of terracotta models, and a number of these were listed in his studio at his death. He is the only Florentine fifteenth-century sculptor a substantial number of whose terracotta sketch-models survives. His most important independent work in terracotta is the Madonna dell'Ulivo in the Duomo at Prato, in a tabernacle originally made to decorate a chapel on land purchased by Giuliano and his brothers in the vicinity of the town. The tabernacle includes an antependium of the Dead Christ between the Virgin and St. John, which is perhaps the work of Giovanni da Majano.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The only available monograph on Benedetto da Majano (L. Dussler, *Benedetto da Majano*, Munich, 1924) is perfunctory and poorly documented, and should be read in conjunction with an article by Schottmüller in the Thieme *Künstler-Lexikon* and with the Milanesi edition of Vasari's life of Benedetto. Some additional material is supplied by R. G. Mather ('Documents mostly new relating to Florentine Painters and Sculptors of the Fifteenth Century' in *Art Bulletin*, xxx, 1948, pp. 20–65). For the Arca di S. Savino see W. von Bode ('Jugendwerke des Benedetto da Majano', in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vii, 1884, pp. 149–62), for the doorway of the Sala dei Gigli C. von Fabriczy ('Giuliano da Majano', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxiv, Beiheft, 1903, p. 141), for the Neapolitan commissions C. von Fabriczy ('Toscanische und oberitalienische Künstler in Diensten der Aragonesen zu Neapel', in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xx, 1897, pp. 85–120) and L. Serra ('Due scultori fiorentini del 400 a Napoli', in *Napoli Nobilissima*, xv, 1906, pp. 181–5), and for the Filippo Strozzi monument G. Poggi ('Un tondo di Benedetto da Majano', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, ii, 1908, pp. 1–5).

Plate 71: PIETRO MELLINI
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The identity, date and authorship of the bust are attested by inscriptions beneath, which read BENEDICTVS MAIANVS FECIT and PETRI MELLINI.FRANCISCI FILII.IMAGO HEC. AN.1474. The sitter, the merchant Pietro Mellini, was responsible for the construction of the S. Croce pulpit (see Plate 73 below), and for a tabernacle at Arezzo carved in the Majano studio. The bust is thus considerably earlier than the second of the authenticated busts of Benedetto da Majano, the Filippo Strozzi in the Louvre (Fig. 81), which is inscribed PHILIPVS . STROZA . MATHEI . FILIVS . BENEDICTVS . DE . MAIANO . FECIT, and seems to date from shortly before Strozzi's death in 1491. A terracotta sketch-model for this bust exists in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, and it is likely that a similar terracotta sketch-model preceded the carving of the Mellini bust. No other male portrait busts in marble by Benedetto da Majano are known, though three busts, a posthumous portrait of Onofrio di Pietro at San Gimignano (1493), and two heads of unidentified men in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, and the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, appear to have been carved by a studio assistant from models by Benedetto da Majano, perhaps in connection with sepulchral monuments.

Plate 72: ALTAR OF THE ANNUNCIATION
S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples

The Altar of the Annunciation in the church of Monteoliveto (S. Anna dei Lombardi) at Naples (Fig. 47) is described by Vasari, who attributes the commission to the Conte di Terranuova. Mariano Curiale di Sorrento, Conte di Terranuova, died in 1490, and a payment of 1489 proves that work was completed in this year. It was wrongly assumed by Milanesi that the altar was in fact carved for Alfonso Duke of Calabria after 1492. The altar, which along with the S. Croce pulpit must be regarded as Benedetto da Majano's masterpiece, depends in form from the altar-piece executed by Antonio Rossellino for the Piccolomini Chapel in the same church (Fig. 46), and shows in the centre a relief of the Annunciation flanked by niches containing statues of SS. John the Baptist and Jerome. Above the lateral figures are two medallions with Sibyls, and beneath is a predella containing reliefs of (left to right) the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Resurrection, Lamentation over the Dead Christ, Ascension, Pentecost and the Death of the Virgin. The putti with garlands described by Vasari stand on the upper edge of the altar. The lateral figures have been ascribed (Rolfs) to Matteo Pollajuolo: so far as can be judged the entire figure sculpture of the altar is due to the shop of Benedetto da Majano. The carving throughout is of great elegance and fastidiousness, and its effect is calculated in relation to the red marble in which it is set. A terracotta sketch-model for the figure of the Virgin is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Plate 73: PULPIT
S. Croce, Florence

The commission for the S. Croce pulpit (Fig. 51) is described in detail by Vasari: 'Ritornato finalmente a Fiorenza, fece a Pietro Mellini, cittadino fiorentino ed allora ricchissimo mercante, in Santa Croce, il pergamo di marmo che vi si vede; il qual è tenuto cosa rarissima e bella sopra ogni altra che in quella maniera sia mai stata lavorata, per vedersi in quello lavorate le figure di marmo, nelle storie di San Francesco, con tanta bontà e diligenza, che di marmo non si potrebbe più oltre disiderare; avendovi Benedetto con molto artifizio intagliato alberi, sassi, casamenti, prospettive, ed alcune cose maravigliosamente spiccate; ed oltre ciò, un ribattimento in terra di detto pergamo, che serve per lapida di sepoltura, fatto con tanto disegno, che è impossibile lodarlo abbastanza. Dicesi che egli in fare quest'opera ebbe difficoltà con gli Operaj di Santa Croce, perchè volendo apoggiare detto pergamo a una colonna che regge alcuni degli archi che sostengono il tetto, e forare la detta colonna per farvi la scala e l'entrata al pergamo, essi non volevano, dubitando che ella non s'indebolisse tanto col vacuo della salita, che il peso non la sforzasse, con gran rovina d'una parte di quel tempio. Ma avendo dato sicurtà il Mellino, che l'opera si finirebbe senza alcun danno della chiesa, finalmente furono contenti. Onde avendo Benedetto sprangato di fuori con fasce di bronzo la colonna, cioè quella parte che dal pergamo in giù è ricoperta di pietra forte, fece dentro la scala per salire al pergamo, e tanto quanto egli la bucò di dentro, l'ingrosso di fuora con detta pietra forte, in quella maniera che si vede; e con stupore di chiunque la vide condusse quest'opera a perfezione, mostrando in ciascuna parte ed in tutta insieme quella maggior bontà che può in simil opera desiderarsi.' (Returning to Florence, he made for Pietro Mellini, a Florentine citizen and merchant of great wealth, the marble pulpit which is still to be seen in S. Croce. This is considered a work of rare merit, and beautiful beyond all other works in the same style. It contains scenes from the life of St. Francis with small marble figures worked with such excellence and care that more expert marble carving could not be desired, and in them Benedetto with great skill has carved trees, rocks, houses, perspectives and some things which are marvellously detached from the ground. Beside this there is a reflection of the aforesaid pulpit on the pavement, serving as a sepulchral slab, which is made with such design that it cannot be praised sufficiently. It is said that while he was engaged on this work, he had difficulties with the Operai of S. Croce, since he wished to attach the pulpit to a pier which supports some of the arches on which the roof rests, and to bore the column in order to make the staircase and entrance to the pulpit. They did not wish him to do this, since they feared that the pier would be weakened by the empty space inside it, and that the weight would bring it down with great damage to part of the church. But after Mellini had given an assurance that the work would be finished without any damage to the church, they finally concurred. Whereupon Benedetto reinforced the pier outside with bronze bands, that is the part between the pulpit and the ground, and introduced the steps to mount into the pulpit. In proportion as he excavated the pier inside, he strengthened the outside with hard stone, as can be seen; and he perfected the work to the astonishment of everyone who saw it, investing it both in detail and in its entirety with that greater excellence that is desirable in such a work.) The upper part of the pulpit contains five narrative reliefs set beneath a frieze decorated with the instruments of the Passion and separated from each other by pilasters. In the base, between protruding supports, are five small niches filled with statuettes of (*left to right*) Faith, Hope, Charity, Temperance and Justice. The narrative scenes above show (*left to right*) (i) The Confirmation of the Franciscan Order, (ii) St. Francis before the Sultan, (iii) The Stigmatisation of St. Francis, (iv) The Funeral of St. Francis, and (v) The Martyrdom of the Franciscans at Ceuta. An inventory of the contents of Benedetto da Majano's studio at the time of his death (Baroni, *Cenni storici della parrocchia di San Martino a Majano*, Florence, 1875, p. 77f.) lists '6 storie del modella del pergamo di S. Croce'. Three of these terracotta models, for the reliefs listed as (i), (iv) and (v) above, are in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and a fourth, representing the Vision of Pope Innocent III and omitted from the pulpit, was in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. There are a number of small compositional differences between the three terracotta models and the reliefs as they were executed. There is no documentary evidence for the date of the pulpit, which has been assigned to the date of the Mellini bust (1474–5) (Paatz, Dussler and others), to about 1480 (Schottmüller) and to 1480–90 (Reymond). On the evidence of Benedetto da Majano's other works the earliest of these datings is the most probable.

Plate 74: DOORWAY
Sala dei Gigli, Palazzo della Signoria, Florence

On 12 June 1473 it was agreed that the Sala del Orologio (or Sala dei Gigli) and the Sala dell'Udienza in the Palazzo della Signoria should be redecorated. Payments to Giuliano da Majano in connection with this work date from 28 February 1476, 21 December 1480 and 27 November 1481. It is inferred (Fabriczy) that the simpler side of the door facing towards the Sala dell'Udienza was the work of Giuliano da Majano, and that the richer entrance in the Sala dei Gigli was designed and executed by Benedetto. In this event the door and the figures of putti and of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 54) over it would date from 1480–1.

MATTEO CIVITALI
(b. 1436; d. 1501)

Matteo di Giovanni Civitali was born at Lucca on 5 June 1436. His earliest work is a circular portrait relief of Pietro d'Avenza in the atrium of the Duomo in Lucca. Both before and after this time it is likely that Civitali worked in Florence, probably in the Rossellino studio. His first important work, the tomb of Piero da Noceto (d. 1467) in the Duomo at Lucca (Fig. 63), commissioned by Noceto's son Niccolò and completed in 1472, depends from the Bruni and Marsuppini monuments, and makes use of a sarcophagus type deriving from that of the tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal. On its completion, this conspicuously accomplished work was assessed by Antonio Rossellino. The earliest of a number of works commissioned by Civitali's principal patron, Domenico Bertini, the Altar of the Sacrament in the Cathedral at Lucca, was begun in 1473 and finished after 1476 (Angels in the Duomo at Lucca, signed tabernacle in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London), and concurrently with or immediately after this work Civitali supervised the new marble floor of the nave and choir of the Cathedral. The monument of Domenico Bertini and his wife dates from 1479 (Duomo, Lucca). To the same year belongs a Virgin and Child with Bertini's stemma in S. Michele, Lucca, which was followed (1480) by the so-called Madonna della Tosse, formerly in S. Ponziano, now in S. Trinità. The beautiful chapel of the Volto Santo in the nave of Lucca Cathedral also owes its origin to a commission of Bertini (1481); the figurative component of the chapel is limited to a figure of St. Sebastian at the back, but in its architectural design and decorative carving it is comparable with the S. Croce pulpit of Benedetto da Majano. Two half-length figures of the Man of Sorrows at Lammari and Segromigno were also commissioned from Civitali by Bertini. In 1484–5 he designed and carved the Altar of S. Regolo for the Duomo at Lucca; this was commissioned by Niccolò da Noceto, and depends in scheme from the Coscia monument of Donatello. Payments of 1486–8 relate to altars executed by Civitali in the Duomo at Pisa. In 1489 on the commission of Andrea Orsucci he designed a tabernacle for S. Frediano, Lucca, and in 1490 the tomb of S. Romano for the church of this Saint (see Plate 75 below). The tomb of S. Pellegrino at San Pellegrino Alpi dates from this time. Other works carried out for Lucca include a tabernacle for S. Maria del Palazzo (1493) and a pulpit for the Cathedral (1494–8). Towards the end of his life Civitali was employed at Genoa, where he carved statues of Adam and Eve, and Elisabeth and Zacharias for the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Cathedral, and at Sarzana, where he carved a riding statue (lost) of St. George and the Dragon for a position outside the Palazzo Communale (exhibited 21 January 1500). In a will of 1492 Civitali bequeathed a terracotta statue of St. Sebastian to the church of S. Quirico in Monticelli. He died in Lucca on 12 October 1501. Civitali is the only major marble sculptor active in Tuscany outside Florence in the fifteenth century. Many of his principal works derive to a greater or lesser extent from Florentine models, but he was at the same time a designer of some originality and a technician of considerable skill. Certain iconographical features of his work (e.g. the Man of Sorrows, which appears in the tabernacles at Lamari and Segromigno and on the tomb of S. Romano) have no parallel in Florence, and the source of these has not been investigated. No half-length reliefs of the Virgin and Child by Civitali have been identified, though these must have existed in some quantity. The bust of Domenico Bertini on his monument, the medallion of Pietro d'Avenza, and the reliefs Pietro and Niccolò da Noceto on the former's tomb reveal Civitali as a competent portrait sculptor. An unidentified relief portrait of a lady is in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and a bust incorrectly identified as that of Isotta degli Atti, sometimes ascribed to Mino da Fiesole, exists in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Civitali is commemorated by a deplorable monograph by C. Yriarte (*Matteo Civitali: sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1886), and in a number of local volumes and pamphlets of little interest. Coherent accounts of his work are given by E. Ridolfi, in an elaborate appendix to *L'Arte in Lucca studiata nella sua Cattedrale*, Lucca, 1882, and by F. Schottmüller, in Thieme *Künstler-Lexikon*.

Plate 75: THE TOMB OF SAN ROMANO
S. Romano, Lucca

Like the Altar of the Sacrament in the Duomo and some other works by Civitali in Lucca, the tomb of S. Romano has been dispersed (1635), and its original site and form are not known. In the form in which it is at present set behind the high altar of the church (Fig. 42) it consists of a relief with the recumbent figure of the Saint and a lunette with the Man of Sorrows with arms extended, separated by the inscription: CLAVDITVR HOC TVMVLO BEATI ROMANI CORPVS QVI DVM AD TORMENTA LAVRENTI LEVITE INCVMBEBAT SVB DECIO IMPERATORE ANGELORVM VISIONE PERTERRITVS FIDEM XPI CONFESSVS CAESO CAPITE MARTIRIO CORONATVS FABBRICATVM AERE D.B. SALVTIS ANNO. To left and right are the subsidiary inscriptions: VT VIVAM VERA VITA and MCCCCLXXXX. The initials D.B. are those of Domenico Bertini. Some architectural fragments, presumably from the tomb, are built round these elements. The pigmentation of the figure and lunette is substantially original.

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO
(b. 1435; d. 1488)

Verrocchio was born in Florence in 1435. His name occurs for the first time in 1452, when he threw a stone at a fourteen year-old wool worker and was exculpated from a charge of manslaughter. In 1457 he made his first Catasto return jointly with his brother Tommaso. This is of interest only in so far as it reveals that Verrocchio was trained as a goldsmith, and had left this occupation because of lack of work. By the Anonimo Magliabecchiano he is said to have worked in the studio of Donatello. This is not impossible on chronological grounds, since he was eighteen when Donatello returned to Florence from Padua, but is controverted by the style of Verrocchio's earliest works. Pomponius Gauricus refers to him as Donatello's rival ('Andraeas Alverochius Donatelli sed jam senis aemulus'). He is also said to have participated in the execution of Desiderio da Settignano's Marsuppini monument (see Plate 67 above). If this hypothesis is correct, it would go far to explain the style of his earliest marble sculpture, the lavabo in the Old Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, Florence (completed before 1469, probably executed 1465–6). The attribution of the lavabo has been contested, and it is ascribed by one early source (Albertini) to Antonio Rossellino. In 1461 he submitted, in competition with Desiderio da Settignano and Giuliano da Majano, a model for the chapel of the Madonna della Tavola in the Duomo at Orvieto (not executed), and probably between 1465 and 1467 designed the tomb of Cosimo de' Medici in the crypt of S. Lorenzo. At some time between 1463 and 1467 Verrocchio received the commission for the group of Christ and St. Thomas on Or San Michele (see Plates 80, 81 below). In 1467 he cast a bronze candlestick for the Sala dell' Udienza of the Palazzo della Signoria (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), and in these years was also engaged on a copper ball for the top of the lantern of the Duomo (ordered 19 January 1467, erected 27 May 1471, destroyed 1600). Probably in the early seventies, but perhaps somewhat earlier, he executed the Putto with a Fish in the Palazzo della Signoria (see Plate 78 below), and before 1476 the bronze David in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (see Plate 79 below). The first of his major works to reach fruition, the tomb of Piero and Giovanni de' Medici in S. Lorenzo, Florence (Fig. 69), was completed in 1472. In 1473 Verrocchio acted as assessor for the Prato pulpit of Antonio Rossellino, and in the same year began work on the Forteguerri monument for the Cathedral at Pistoia (see Plates 82, 83 below). Verrocchio's only extant work in precious metal, a relief of the Decollation of the Baptist for the silver altar of the Baptistry, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence, was commissioned on 27 July 1477 and delivered in 1480. A year earlier he appears to have begun work on the Colleoni monument (see Plates 84, 85 below). Two reliefs of Alexander the Great and Darius are said by Vasari to have been carved by Verrocchio for Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary. One of these is in the collection of Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, New York, and seems to date from about 1480. The other is known through a copy in enamelled terracotta formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Also from the late seventies or early eighties dates a terracotta relief of the Resurrection from Careggi, now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. Other autograph works by Verrocchio in terracotta are busts of Giuliano de' Medici (Fig. 82) and Lorenzo de' Medici in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and two full-scale sketch-models for the angels of the Forteguerri monument in the Louvre. According to Vasari, Verrocchio was also responsible for the sepulchral monument of Francesca Tornabuoni (d. 1477) in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome; this has been destroyed. A reference to material for a fountain ordered by Matthias Corvinus (28 August 1488) suggests that this was among the commissions with which Verrocchio was occupied at his death (7 October 1488). On 27 January 1496 a list of works executed by Verrocchio for the Medici was drawn up by Tommaso Verrocchio. Verrocchio also practised as a painter, but little of his work in this medium survives. Of his two altar-pieces the more important is the Baptism of Christ painted for S. Salvi, Florence (Uffizi), which was executed after 1470 with the assistance of Leonardo da Vinci. The second, the Madonna di Piazza (Duomo, Pistoia), was painted between 1478 and 1485, in part by Lorenzo di Credi from Verrocchio's cartoon. Painted half-length Madonnas are in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, and the National Gallery, London. Vasari's life of Verrocchio opens with a criticism of his style: 'in vero, nell'arte della scultura e pittura ebbe la maniera alquanto dura e crudetta' (to tell the truth, in the arts of sculpture and painting he had a style which was somewhat hard and crude), and his transcendant importance as a sculptor has not been adequately recognized. Some of his finest works (among them the Portrait of a Lady in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and the sketches for the Forteguerri monument in the Louvre) have been ascribed to his pupil Leonardo, and writers on the latter artist have tended as a whole to underrate Verrocchio's significance. His *œuvre* catalogue as a sculptor presents few problems of attribution, though a statuette of St. Jerome in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, variously dated *c.* 1465 (Planiscig) and *c.* 1480 (Dussler), should probably be regarded as the work of an imitator of Verrocchio's late style. The main chronological problem arising from his work relates to the dating of the Careggi Resurrection, which is wrongly regarded by Planiscig as an early work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A short monograph by L. Planiscig (*Andrea del Verrocchio*, Vienna, 1941) is serviceable and well illustrated, but does not supersede an earlier volume by M. Cruttwell (*Verrocchio*, London, 1904), in which a large number of documents are reproduced. Both books are much inferior to the detailed and systematic study of Verrocchio's style as manifested in the Forteguerri monument by C. Kennedy and E. Wilder (*The Unfinished Monument by Andrea del Verrocchio to the Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri at Pistoia*, Northampton, 1932). The 1496 inventory of Tommaso Verrocchio is reprinted by Cruttwell (without commentary) and, with useful annotations, by C. von Fabriczy ('Andrea del Verrocchio ai servizi dei Medici', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 2nd ser., i, 1895, pp. 163–76). For the lavabo in S. Lorenzo see H. Mackowsky ('Die Lavabo in San Lorenzo zu Florenz', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xvii, 1896, pp. 239–44), and for the Christ and St. Thomas C. von Fabriczy ('Der hl. Ludwig und sein Tabernakel an Or San Michele', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxi, 1900, pp. 243–61) and C. Sachs (*Das Tabernakel mit Andreas del Verrocchio Thomasgruppe an Or San Michele zu Florenz*, Strassburg, 1904). The relief of Alexander the Great is identified and discussed by L. Planiscig ('Andrea del Verrocchios Alexander-Relief', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.f. vii, 1933, pp. 89–96), and the Amsterdam candlestick by W. R. Valentiner (article reprinted in *Studies of Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1950, pp. 97–192). Some useful indications are contained in an entry by L. Dussler in the Thieme *Künstler-Lexikon*.

Plate 76: VIRGIN AND CHILD

Museo Nazionale, Florence

Verrocchio's only autograph Madonna relief, the terracotta Virgin and Child originates from the Spedale di S. Maria Nuova (Paatz). Vasari records that Verrocchio was at one time a patient in the hospital, and Cruttwell suggests that the relief may have been commissioned for the hospital by Tommaso Portinari; there is no corroboratory evidence of this. The dating of the relief is conjectural, and varies between *c.* 1470 and *c.* 1480 (Planiscig); the drapery is less fully elaborated than that of the St. Thomas in the Christ and St. Thomas group on Or San Michele, and the relief can scarcely have been modelled after 1476, when the style of the St. Thomas was evolved. The scheme is reproduced in reverse with some variations in a marble Madonna in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, by a member of Verrocchio's shop. There is no reason to doubt that Verrocchio produced a number of half-length Madonna reliefs, though no other example survives. Stucco Madonnas in the Dibblee collection, Oxford (on loan to the Ashmolean Museum), and in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (formerly), reproduce lost originals by the master.

Plate 77: PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Museo Nazionale, Florence

The bust comes from the Medici collection, and has sometimes conjecturally been identified as that of the mistress of Lorenzo de' Medici, Lucrezia Donati (Dussler and others). It does not, however, appear in the list of works executed by Verrocchio for the Medici prepared by Tommaso Verrocchio, and the portrait of Lucrezia Donati mentioned in the list ('uno quadro di legname dentrovj la fighura della testa della Luchrezia de Donati') was evidently either a painting (Fabriczy) or a marble relief. The attribution of the bust to Verrocchio is generally accepted save by those scholars (Mackowsky and others) who ascribe it to Leonardo da Vinci on account of resemblances to the portrait of Ginevra dei Benci in the Liechtenstein collection and to a drawing of hands at Windsor Castle (No. 12558), sometimes regarded as a study for the missing lower part of the Liechtenstein painting, in which the hands were originally shown. The relationship between the drawing and painting on the one hand and the bust on the other is analysed by K. Clark (*A Catalogue of the Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1935, p. 89). The Liechtenstein portrait seems to date from 1478–80, and there is a strong presumption that this portrait type (to which the Cecilia Gallerani of *c.* 1483 and the Mona Lisa of 1503 also adhere) originates in Verrocchio's bust. The bust is usually assigned to the late seventies (Dussler) and can scarcely have been carved later than 1480 (Planiscig) or earlier than 1475. A second marble bust by Verrocchio, the Portrait of a Lady in the John D. Rockefeller collection, New York, is earlier in style, and seems to date from about 1470.

Plate 78: PUTTO WITH A FISH

Palazzo della Signoria, Florence

The Putto with a Fish, now on a fountain in the cortile of the Palazzo della Signoria, is described in Vasari's life of Verrocchio: 'Fece anco a Lorenzo de' Medici, per la fonte della villa a Careggi, un putto di bronzo che strozza un pesce; il quale ha fatto porre, come oggi si vede, il signor Duca Cosimo alla fonte che è nel cortile del suo palazzo; il qual putto è veramente maravigliosa.' (He also made for Lorenzo de' Medici, for the fountain at the villa of Careggi, a bronze putto clutching a fish. Duke Cosimo has caused this to be placed on the fountain in the courtyard of his palace, where it is now to be seen. In truth this putto is marvellous.) The Putto is described by Tommaso Verrocchio in the list of works executed by Verrocchio for the Medici ('el bambino di bronzo chon 3 teste di bronzo e 4 bocche di lione di marmo per a Chareggi'). It was moved to the Palazzo della Signoria between 1550 and 1568, as the centre-piece of a fountain designed by Vasari, and executed by Ammanati, Francesco del Tadda and Andrea di Domenico di Polo, in which parts of the earlier fountain appear to have been incorporated (Fabriczy). Dates assigned to the figure vary between *c.* 1465–8 (Dussler) and *c.* 1480 (Planiscig); a dating about 1470 is probable. A derivative in terracotta, ascribed to Verrocchio (A. Venturi), exists in a private collection. A figure in terracotta from the Dreyfus collection, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, assigned to Verrocchio by Bode, Planiscig and others, has been connected alternatively with a putto stated to have been executed by Verrocchio for the clock tower of the Mercato Nuovo (Cruttwell) and with a fountain destined for Matthias Corvinus on which Verrocchio was working at his death (Seymour). It is difficult to reconcile this attractive statuette with Verrocchio's authenticated works.

Plate 79: DAVID

Museo Nazionale, Florence

The bronze David appears in the list of works executed by Verrocchio for the Medici prepared by Tommaso Verrocchio: 'uno davitte e la testa di ghulia.' The contract for the statue does not survive, but it was certainly completed before 1476, when it was purchased by the Signoria from Lorenzo de' Medici and placed in the Palazzo della Signoria in front of the entrance to the Sala dei Gigli. It was thus probably executed in 1473–5 (Dussler). The figure is described by Vasari: 'Ritornato poi a Firenze con danari, fama ed onore, gli fù fatto fare un Davit di braccia due e mezzo; il quale finito, fù posto in palazzo al sommo della scala, dove stava la catena; con sua molta lode.' (Returning to Florence with wealth, fame and honour, he was commissioned to make a David two and a half braccia high. When finished this was placed in the palace at the top of the stairs, where the chain used to be, and was received with much praise.)

Plates 80, 81: CHRIST AND ST. THOMAS

Or San Michele, Florence

Verrocchio's masterpiece, the group of Christ and St. Thomas on Or San Michele (Fig. 57), is described by Vasari in these terms: 'Dopo, avendo Donatello per lo magistrato de' Sei della Mercanzia fatto il tabernacolo di marmo, che è dirimpetto a S. Michele, nell'oratorio di esso Orsanmichele, ed avendovisi a far un San Tommaso di bronzo, che cercasse la piaga a Cristo, ciò per allora non si fece altrimenti; perchè degli uomini che avevano cotal cura, alcuni volevano che li facesse Donatello, ed altri il Ghiberti. Essendovi dunque, la cosa stata così insino a che Donatello e Lorenzo vissero, furono finalmente le dette statue allogate ad Andrea, il quale fattone i modelli e le forme, le gettò; e vennero tanto salde, intere e ben fatte, che fù un bellissimo getto. Onde, messosi a rinettarle e finirle, le ridusse a quella perfezione che al presente si vede, che non potrebbe esser maggiore; perchè in San Tommaso si scorge la incredulità e la troppa voglia di chiarirsi del fatto, ed in un medesimo tempo l'amore, che gli con bellissima maniera metter la mano al costato di Cristo, ed in esso Cristo; il quale con liberalissima attitudine alza un braccio, ed aprendo la veste, chiarisce il dubbio dell'incredulo discepolo; e tutto quella grazia e divinità, per dir così, che può l'arte dar a una figura.' (After this, Donatello having made the marble tabernacle on the oratory of Or San Michele for the Magistracy of the Six of the Mercanzia, which is opposite S. Michele, and a St. Thomas feeling the wounds of Christ being required, this work was not carried out, since some of those charged with supervising it wished that the statues should be made by Donatello and others that they should be entrusted to Ghiberti. The dispute having endured throughout the lifetimes of these masters, the aforesaid statues were finally allotted to Andrea, who made the models and the moulds and cast them, and they came out so sound and complete and well made that it was a most beautiful casting. Having afterwards chased and finished them, he brought them to the state of perfection in which they are now, which could not be greater. In the St. Thomas may be discerned his incredulity and an excessive wish to ascertain the fact, and at the same time the love with which he places his hand on the side of Christ. The Christ with a gesture of great freedom raises his arm and opens his robe, thus dispelling the doubt of the incredulous disciple, and in this figure there is all that grace and divinity, so to say, that art can give.) Vasari's claim that the group was originally to have been executed by Donatello or Ghiberti is incorrect, and the story of the commission can be fully reconstructed from documents. The niche in which it is set is the central tabernacle on the east side of the Oratory, which was designed (see Plate 16 above) for the Parte Guelfa and originally housed the statue of St. Louis of Toulouse (Fig. 56). From 1460 negotiations seem to have been in progress between the Parte Guelfa and the Mercatanzia for the sale of the tabernacle to the latter body, and when these were complete the statue of St. Louis of Toulouse, the patron of the Parte Guelfa, was moved, and the stemma of the Parte Guelfa was erased. At a meeting of 29 March 1463 a body of 'operai del pilastro seu tabernacolo' was appointed to consider the filling of the vacant niche, 'considerantes . . . quod in dicto tunc muro vacuo apponeretur aliqua statua et seu figura aliqua digna et venerabilis ut est in alio tabernaculo ibidem circhum circha positum. Et considerantes quod locus est dignissimus et etiam reputatio Universitatis debet excedere alias inferiores.' (Considering . . . that some statue or worthy and venerable figure should be set up in the empty niche as in the other tabernacles round. Considering also that the place is very conspicuous and that the reputation of the guild should exceed that of the other inferior guilds.) The contract does not survive, but was probably awarded to Verrocchio about 1465. The first recorded payment for the group dates from 15 January 1467, and on 30 March 1468 it was agreed that a monthly stipend of twenty-five lire should be paid to the sculptor 'ad faciendum figuras hereas, mictandas et collocandas in dicto tabernaculo'. On 2 August 1470 the bronze 'pro faciendo figuram seu statuam ponendam in pilastro' was weighed. Further payments occur between 1476 and 1480, and by 22 April 1483 the two figures were 'quasi condotte alla loro intera perfetione'. By the Feast of St. John (21 June 1483) the figures were placed in their niche, the Christ being described on this occasion by Landucci as 'la più bella cosa che si truovi, la più bella testa del Salvatore ch'ancora si sia fatto' (the most beautiful thing that can be found, the most beautiful head of the Saviour that has been made so far), and on 19 December 1487 the niche is described as the 'tabernaculo d'Orto Sancto Michele dove sono collocate le figure di bronzo di nostro Signore Iesu Cristo e di sancto Thomaso'. The total remuneration paid to Verrocchio in connection with the group was 800 gold florins, of which 306 were paid before 22 April 1483, 94 were paid on completion and the remaining 400 were distributed over four years. The total payments had not been completed when Verrocchio died. Work on the two figures lasted for between fifteen and eighteen years, and seems to have fallen into two parts, an earlier phase between 1465/7 and 1470, and a later phase between 1476 and 1483. The figure of St. Thomas certainly belongs to the second of these two phases, since on 23 March 1482 the Guild decided to purchase the terracotta model of this figure ('un Sancto Thomaso in bella statua di bronzo') for exhibition in the Council Chamber of the Università dei Mercatanti 'per non lasciare guastarsi e perire la boza et principio di si bella cosa' (not to allow the sketch and source of so beautiful a work to be damaged and perish). Since the St. Thomas is more evolved in style than the figure of Christ, there is thus a possibility that the modelling and casting of the Christ belongs to the first phase of work on the group, and the modelling and casting of the St. Thomas to the second. The reason for the choice of the subject to be represented in the niche is not certain; Passerini (*Curiosità storico-artistiche*, Florence, 1866, p. 131) suggests that 'avendo voluto quei giudici simboleggiare che non debbasi sentenziare finchè non sia toccata con mano la verità' (the judges wished to symbolize that sentence should not be pronounced until the truth has been touched with the hand). On the edge of the robe of Christ are the words QVIA VIDISTI ME THOMA CREDIDISTI BEATI QVI NON VIDERVNT ET CREDIDERVNT. The problem confronting Verrocchio when he designed the group was one of special difficulty, since the tabernacle was designed for a single figure, and it was thus necessary first to raise the figure of Christ on a shallow platform, and secondly to place the figure of St. Thomas outside the niche. The figure of Christ, with its platform, is somewhat lower than Donatello's St. Louis of Toulouse, and the decision to leave the upper part of the niche vacant and to reduce the scale of the two figures is in large part responsible for the conspicuous success of Verrocchio's scheme.

Plates 82, 83:
THE FORTEGUERRI MONUMENT
Duomo, Pistoia

Thanks to an excellent publication by C. Kennedy, E. Wilder and P. Bacci (Smith College, Northampton: *Studies in the History and Criticism of Sculpture*, VII—*The Unfinished Monument by Andrea del Verrocchio to the Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri at Pistoia*, 1932), we are more fully informed on the chequered history of the Forteguerri monument of Verrocchio than on any other sepulchral monument of the fifteenth century. A native of Pistoia, Cardinal Niccolò Forteguerri died at Viterbo on 23 December 1473, and was buried in Rome in S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Shortly before his death he had endowed the Sapienza (now Liceo Forteguerri) in his native town, and on 2 January 1474 a body was appointed 'pro construenda archa honorabilis seu monumentum cum epitaphio in litteris in memoriam sui nominis et honorem civitatis' (to arrange for the construction of an honorable tomb or monument with an inscription in memory of his name and to the honour of the city). The body consisted of four Operarii of the Cathedral and four representatives of the Sapienza, and an expenditure of 300 florins was authorized. By 15 May 1476 five alternative models for the tomb had been submitted, and approval was given to the 'modellum factum per Andream del Verocchio de Florentia, in quo est Deus Pater cum Virtutibus cardinalibus'. The sum demanded by Verrocchio for this monument was 50 florins in excess of the agreed expenditure, and on 23 January 1477 approval was given for the expenditure of 380 florins for the execution of the 'modellum olim obtentum in Consilio, vel secundum aliud modellum pulchrius'. The acceptance of Verrocchio's model had been approved only by a small majority of the Council (forty-three votes to thirty-five), and opposition to it seems to have continued, since on 11 March 1477 the responsible Committee wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici explaining that negotiations had been opened between the Committee and Piero del Pollajuolo, but that the Council had meanwhile, without reference to the Committee, confirmed Verrocchio's contract. In the view of the Committee, and particularly of Piero Forteguerri, the Cardinal's brother, Pollajuolo's model was superior to Verrocchio's ('Ora Piero del Pollajuolo à facto il modello che per noi li fù imposto, il quale ci pare più bello et più dengnio d'arte et più piace à contento di messer Piero, fratello di decto Monsignore, et di tucta la sua famiglia, e simil di noi et di tucti e' ciptadini della nostra ciptà, che l'anno veduto, che non fù quello d'Andrea e d'alchun altro'). Verrocchio's and Pollajuolo's models were both despatched to Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence. The latter's reply is not preserved, but later in the same month the Committee wrote to him again, requesting a decision on which design was the best for the price. The matter of cost seems to have been a preponderant factor with the monument, since it was decided on 7 March 1477 that the money for it should be raised by a tax of one quattrino on every lira of customs dues for a period of two years, and after Verrocchio's death non-payment of certain sums held up delivery of the sculptures. There is no further reference to the monument till 13 March 1483, when the Committee was reformed, but on 9 April 1483 it is referred to as the 'sepultura jam incepta'. On 10 July 1483 we learn that it had been 'in buona parte tracto a fine' by Verrocchio, and on 14 November 1483 that it was 'quasi conducta . . . ad finem suum'. After this time Verrocchio left Florence for Venice, and was occupied with the Colleoni statue, and the Forteguerri monument was still unfinished when he died in Venice in 1488. Later in this year (October 1488) measures were taken to ensure the completion of the monument, responsibility for which was assumed by Lorenzo di Credi (5 May 1489), and by 10 November 1489 it was reported in Pistoia that it had been finished ('si dice quella esser facta'). Further payments were, however, necessary before delivery, and the sculptures were not transported to Pistoia till after 12 April 1493. On 22 April 1489 there was some discussion as to whether the monument should be set up inside or outside the Cathedral (the latter position may have been proposed since it was a cenotaph and not a tomb), and after delivery at Pistoia the pieces of the monument remained disassembled till 1514, when (17 June 1514) Lorenzetto Lotti was commissioned to erect the tomb according to 'un certo modello perciò fatto' (probably the original model of Verrocchio). Lotti was to carve a coat of arms supported by two marble putti, and two angels with candlesticks for positions above the cornice, was to rework the figure of the Cardinal and the Charity above it, remove a *pietra serena* surround and replace this with marble, and supply a marble ground. The only significant contribution of Lotti to the monument was the Charity, for which he was in large part responsible. The contract with Lotti was guaranteed by Giovanni Francesco Rustici, and when Lotti abandoned work on the monument this was continued by Rustici, who recarved the kneeling figure of the Cardinal (now in the Museo Civico, Pistoia). The monument appears to have been erected in a provisional form in the Cathedral without this figure. In 1753 it was moved, and set up in its present position by Gaetano Masoni, who changed its form, cutting down certain of the reliefs, and added a sarcophagus, a bust of the Cardinal and other sculptures. In its present form (Fig. 67) the Christ, the four Angels supporting the mandorla, the figures of Faith and Hope and the inscribed panel were carved in the Verrocchio workshop and are in part autograph. Owing to Masoni's disastrous intervention, the merits of these parts of the monument were for long unrecognized, and Verrocchio's personal intervention in the carvings was denied. Two large sketch-models in terracotta for the upper angels (given by Valentiner to Leonardo da Vinci) are in the Louvre, and a terracotta sketch-model for the complete monument is in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 66). In this the heads of Hope and Charity and of the Cardinal are restored, as is the lower part of the tomb. The pose of the lower angel on the left does not agree with that in the monument as executed, and the model must therefore have been made at a time when this figure had not yet assumed its final form. It has been suggested (Wilder) that the model may represent a simplified version by Piero del Pollajuolo of Verrocchio's original scheme. The balance of probability is that it was produced by Verrocchio or in his studio, and it may thus be used as the basis for a reconstruction of the monument.

Plates 84, 85: THE COLLEONI MONUMENT

Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

The condottiere Bartolommeo Colleoni (d. 1475) in his will bequeathed to the Venetian republic, whose troops he had commanded, part of his personal fortune, stipulating that a bronze equestrian statue should be erected in his memory in the Piazza San Marco. On 30 July 1479 it was decided by the Signoria that a monument should be commissioned, and should be placed in the Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo near the Scuola di San Marco and not in the Piazza San Marco. The circumstances in which the commission was awarded to Verrocchio are not known. According to Vasari the monument was commissioned from Verrocchio, but after Verrocchio had completed a model of the horse it was proposed that the figure should be executed by Bellano. Cruttwell states that 'commissions were given to Verrocchio, to Vellano of Padua, and to Leopardi of Ferrara, to prepare horses of colossal size, the material with which they were to be constructed being left to their own choice'. This inference is based on an account by the Dominican friar Felix Fabri, who, in describing a visit to Venice in 1483 (*The Book of the Wanderings of Felix Fabri, 1483*, London, i, 1892, pp. 95–6), records 'in a chapel attached to the Church of the Minorites . . . a horse, built together with wondrous art. The Venetians, imitating the custom of the heathen nations, once determined to reward one of their captains who had fought bravely for the Republic and gained much new territory for it by his valour, by setting up an everlasting memorial of him, and placing a brazen statue of a horse and his rider in one of the streets or squares of the city. In order that this might be done as splendidly as possible, they sought out sculptors throughout their country and ordered each of them to make a horse of any material he chose, and they would then choose one out of the three best horses, and have a horse cast in brass on the model of that one. Besides the price of the statue, they proposed to bestow especial honours upon the artist who made the best shaped horse. So three sculptors met in Venice, and one of them made a horse of wood, covered with black leather, which is the horse that stands in the aforesaid chapel, and so life-like is this figure that unless its unwonted size and want of motion betrayed that the horse was artificially made, a man would think it was a real living horse. Another sculptor made a horse of clay, and baked it in a furnace; it is admirably formed and of red colour. The third moulded an exquisitely shaped horse out of wax. The Venetians chose this latter, and rewarded the artist. But as to what will be done about casting it, I have not yet heard; perhaps they will give the matter up.' On 12 July 1481 the Ferrarese Ambassador in Florence wrote to the Duke of Ferrara to state that 'uno maestro el quale veria atore a fare bartolamio da bergamo in su uno corsieri ha facto uno cavallo naturale di stracie che è bella fantasia' (a master who had been commissioned to represent Bartolommeo of Bergamo on a charger has made a life-size horse in pieces which is a beautiful invention), and to ask that this should be given free passage to Venice.

The monument was unfinished when Verrocchio died in Venice on 7 October 1488. In a will drafted on 25 June 1488 he enjoined that his pupil Lorenzo di Credi should complete the monument ('Etiam relinquo opus equi per me principiati ad ipsum perficiendum, si placuerit illmo. Duci Do. Venetiarum ducale dominium humiliter supplico, ut digneter permittere dictum Laurentium perficere dictum opus, quia est sufficiens ad il perficiendum') (I leave the work on the horse begun by me to him to finish, if it shall please the Doge. I humbly beseech the Doge that he should agree to allow the aforesaid Lorenzo to complete this work, because he is competent to complete it.) On 7 October 1488 Lorenzo di Credi recorded that he had agreed to complete the work and had entrusted the casting to a Florentine sculptor Giovanni d'Andrea di Domenico.

According to this document, Verrocchio had contracted for a sum of 1800 Venetian ducats, of which 380 ducats were paid before his death. In 1490 responsibility for completing the monument was transferred from Credi to the Venetian bronze caster Alessandro Leopardi whose signature ALEXANDER. LEOPARDVS. V. F. OPVS. appears on the girth of the horse (Fig. 89). The base of the statue was also designed by Leopardi. According to the diary of Sanuto the monument 'el qual fina horra erra stato maestri a dorarlo' was unveiled on 21 March 1496. By Luca Pacioli and other sources the entire monument came to be regarded as the work of Leopardi.

The statement prepared by Lorenzo di Credi on 7 October 1488 specifically states that Verrocchio, at his death, had completed the figure and horse in clay (*terra*) only. There is no reason to believe that Leopardi, in casting this group, modified the scheme in any significant respect. The surface working of the bronze is however rougher and less accomplished than in the David or the Christ and St. Thomas group, and had Verrocchio lived to complete the figure, the treatment of the decorative detail and in particular the handling of the head would have been smoother and more refined.

ANTONIO DEL POLLAJUOLO

(b. 1431/2; d. 1498)

According to the inscription on his tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli (VIX ANN. LXXII. OBIT ANNO SAL. M.IID), Antonio Pollajuolo died in 1498 at the age of seventy-two. If this statement were correct, he would have been born in 1426/7. The Portate al Catasto prepared by his father, Jacopo d'Antonio, in 1433 and 1442, however, give his age in those years as one and a half and ten, and he must therefore have been born in 1431. Perhaps trained by Vittorio Ghiberti, who was engaged till 1466–7 in completing the frieze of the Porta del Paradiso, he practised as a goldsmith and metalworker. In 1457, jointly with Betto di Francesco Betti and Miliano Dei, he received the commission for a silver Crucifix for the Baptistry in Florence (now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo), and thereafter (3 January 1460) prepared a tabernacle for the arm of S. Pancrazio for the church of this Saint (lost). The most important surviving examples of Antonio Pollajuolo's work in precious metals are a relief of the Birth of the Baptist on the silver altar of the Baptistry (commissioned 2 August 1477, completed 13 January 1478), and a reliquary bust of S. Ottaviano in the sacristy of the Duomo at Volterra.

Antonio Pollajuolo was also engaged after 1466 on designs for the embroidered vestments of the Baptistry (now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo). As a painter Pollajuolo was strongly influenced by Castagno, and a portrait by the latter artist in the National Gallery of Art in Washington is widely ascribed to him. About 1460, jointly with his younger brother Piero, he painted three celebrated canvases of the Labours of Hercules for the Palazzo Medici on the commission of Piero de' Medici (lost), the compositions of which were perhaps related to two small panels of the Labours of Hercules painted at a rather later date and until 1939 in the Uffizi. On 1 October 1467 he was engaged on preparing 'l'archo dell'altare' of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at San Miniato al Monte for painting, and the frescoes on the altar wall of this chapel as well as the altar-piece (now in the Uffizi) date from after this time. Later paintings by Antonio Pollajuolo include a celebrated fresco of dancing nudes at Arcetri, and the altar-piece of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the National Gallery, London (1475). His style was also diffused through engravings, of which the most important is the so-called Battle of the Nudes. In 1469 he visited Rome, and the experience of classical sculpture which he gained there was of fundamental importance for his sculptural activity. Only two dated and fully authenticated works of sculpture by Antonio Pollajuolo are known. The first of these is the tomb of Pope Sixtus IV (now in the Grotte Vaticane), which was commissioned soon after the Pope's death in 1484 and was completed in 1492 (see Plates 86, 88, 89 below), and the second the monument of Pope Innocent VIII in St. Peter's, commissioned soon after the Pope's death in 1492 and erected in 1498 (see Plate 87 below). A statuette of Hercules and Antaeus from the Medici collection, now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (see Plate 90 below), presumably precedes the earlier of the papal commissions, and round this a number of other bronze statuettes have been grouped. Antonio enjoyed great celebrity in Florence, and is described in a letter written by Lorenzo de' Medici to Giovanni Lanfredini (12 November 1489) as 'il principale Maestro della città . . . forse per opinione d'ogni intelligente non ci fù mai uno migliore' (the principal master of the city . . . in the opinion of all intelligent people perhaps there was never a better). The style of the papal monuments and of the Hercules and Antaeus group is indebted to Donatello, whose work Antonio Pollajuolo must have studied closely after 1453. Pollajuolo was also involved in the project for the monument to Francesco Sforza in Milan, for which two drawings survive (Lehman collection, New York (Fig. 87), and Graphische Sammlung, Munich). It is not certain whether these precede or follow (Sabatini) Leonardo da Vinci's acceptance of this commission. In a letter of 1494 Pollajuolo proposed to Virginio Orsini the making of an equestrian monument and of a bronze bust: 'E mi fù fatta una imbasciata nello orechie esendo a ostia da parte di maestro angiolo medicho dissemi p. parte della S. vostra che vostra S. arebo avuto charo che io facessi la testa di vostra S. di bronzo quanto al naturale io gli risposi subito che io larej di grazia e chosi rafermo che io mi verro a star dua di a bracciano a ritrarovj i disegnio poi me la rechero a roma a faremola di bronzo ma piu charo avrej farvj tuto itero insu unchavalo rosso che vi farej etterno possiamo p. la prima fare la testa poi penseremo al tutto.' (Maestro Angelo the doctor whispered to me at Ostia, telling me on your Excellency's behalf that your Excellency would have liked me to make a life-size head of your Excellency in bronze. I told him straightway that I would willingly do this, and I hereby confirm that I shall come for two days to Bracciano to make a portrait drawing. Then I shall return to Rome to make the head in bronze. I would much have preferred to make a whole statue on a bronze horse. In this way I would eternalize you. But we can make the head first and then think about the whole.) This letter provides interesting evidence of Antonio Pollajuolo's activity as a portrait sculptor and of the method by which his portraits were produced. The only universally accepted bust by Pollajuolo, a terracotta male portrait in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, may have been planned as a model for a bronze statue or bust. A marble portrait bust, also in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, dated 1495, appears to have been carved from a model by Antonio Pollajuolo; there is, however, no independent evidence that Pollajuolo himself practised as a marble sculptor. Antonio Pollajuolo was also active as an architect, submitting a project for the façade of the Duomo in Florence in 1491, and working in some unspecified capacity on the cupola of the sacristy of S. Spirito (20 May 1495) and S. Maria dell' Umiltà at Pistoia (payment of 18 August 1495). He died in Rome on 4 February 1498. His brother Piero Pollajuolo (b. 1443; d. 1496) is known to have assisted Antonio on the papal tombs, and his share in these can be at least tentatively identified. No other sculptures by Piero Pollajuolo are known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The standard monograph on Antonio Pollajuolo is a well planned but inadequately illustrated volume by A. Sabatini (*Antonio e Piero del Pollajuolo*, Florence, 1944). A well-illustrated volume by S. Ortolani (*Il Pollajuolo*, Milan, 1948) is nebulous and inexact. In English M. Cruttwell's *Antonio Pollajuolo* (London, 1907) offers an adequate, though in part superseded, account of Pollajuolo's work. The material relating to the tomb of Pope Sixtus IV is re-examined in an exceptionally perspicacious and thorough article by L. D. Ettlinger ('Pollajuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV,' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvi, 1953, pp. 239–71), from which the note to Plates 86, 88, 89 below is in large part drawn.

Plates 86, 88, 89:

THE TOMB OF POPE SIXTUS IV

Grotte Vaticane

In 1479 Pope Sixtus IV issued a bull appointing as his burial place a projected chapel, the Cappella del Coro, on the south side of St. Peter's. The Chapel was constructed during the lifetime of the Pope, the altar being flanked by columns and surmounted by a fresco by Perugino showing Sixtus IV presented by SS. Peter, Paul, Francis and Anthony of Padua to the Virgin and Child. A drawing of the altar and fresco exists in Ms. Barb. Lat 2733, f. 131, Bibl. Vat. (repr. Ettlinger). According to Burchard (Johannes Burchardus, *Liber Notarum*, XXXII-i, 1910, p. 16) the Pope indicated a central position in the Chapel in which his tomb was to be set. After the death of Sixtus IV (12 August 1484) his body was temporarily interred in the Cappella del Coro, and the commission for his monument was awarded by his nephew, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the future Pope Julius II, to Antonio Pollajuolo. Though the tomb (Fig. 72) is signed by Antonio Pollajuolo alone (OPVS ANTONI POLAIOLI/FIORENTINI ARG AUR/PICT AERE CLARI/AN DOM MCCCCLXXXXIII), it is stated by the Anonimo Magliabecchiano (C. Frey, *Il Codice Magliabecchiano*, Berlin, 1892, p. 126) that it was executed by Antonio jointly with his brother Piero. It has sometimes been assumed that work on the tomb was begun only in 1489, but it is virtually certain that the making of the monument was started soon after the Pope's death, since a contemporary witness, Raffaello Maffei, states that it occupied Antonio Pollajuolo for ten years (Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, 1878–98, iii, p. 86n.), and since in 1490 the bronze effigy of the Pope was already complete (Lorenzo Buonincontri, *Fasti*, printed by B. Soldati, in *Miscellanea Antonio Graf*, Bergamo, 1903, p. 416). According to the inscription on the monument, the tomb was completed in 1493. The sum paid to Antonio Pollajuolo in connection with the work was 5,000 ducats (Janitschek, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii, 1880, p. 284). After the basilica was reconstructed the tomb was moved to the Chapel of the Sacrament, was later in the Museo Petriano, and is now in the Grotte Vaticane. A drawing by Marten van Heemskerck (C. Huelsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, i, Berlin, 1913, pl. 73) shows the monument in its original state.

The tomb consists of two parts. The first of these is an effigy, in which the head is fully modelled and the body is represented in deep relief, on a flat slab composed of bronze reliefs. These show (*head*) Charity, (*left side, head to foot*) Hope, Prudence, Fortitude, (*right side, head to foot*) Faith, Temperance, Justice. At the foot is an inscription, and at the corners are (*top*) the arms of Pope Sixtus IV and (*bottom*) the arms of Giuliano della Rovere. The second part is a high chamfered base composed of figures of the Liberal Arts in deep relief between acanthus foliage. The reliefs show (*head, left to right*) Philosophy, Theology, (*foot, left to right*) Rhetoric, Grammar, (*left side, head to foot*) Arithmetic, Astrology, Dialectic, (*right side, head to foot*) Geometry, Music, Prospettiva. It has been shown (Ettlinger) that the reliefs of the Virtues beside the effigy, with the exception of the Charity and Fortitude, agree closely with a well-known cycle of paintings of the Virtues commissioned for the Mercatanzia in Florence from Piero Pollajuolo and executed jointly by both brothers. There is a probability that these reliefs are the work of Piero Pollajuolo, and that Antonio Pollajuolo was responsible for the effigy, the relief of Charity, and the entire lower part. Though it is invariably assumed that the monument as it now stands was from the first planned as a unity, the relation of the upper and lower parts is puzzling, since the reliefs of Virtues are not fully legible from the side. It is possible therefore that the monument was designed initially as a raised tomb slab, like the Martin V tomb slab of Donatello in St. John Lateran, which is elevated on a marble step carved with putti. In this event the chamfered base would represent a second phase in the designing of the monument. A Roman precedent for the use of a free-standing monument is supplied by Vecchietta's Foscari monument in S. Maria del Popolo, where the bronze effigy rests on a marble sarcophagus which can only have been intended for a free-standing position since it is carved behind.

Classical motifs are used extensively in the reliefs of the Liberal Arts. Thus the Rhetoric is based on a Hadrianic coin of Tellus Mater (Ettlinger), the Grammar shows the same figure in reverse, and the Theology depends from a classical Diana type. The programme of the reliefs, on the other hand, is proved by Ettlinger to have been scholastic in character. With the exception of the Music, each of the Liberal Arts carried an inscription. The inscriptions on six reliefs are drawn from the *Elementa* of Euclid (Geometry and Arithmetic), the *Centiloquium* of Ptolemy (Astrology), the *Perspectiva Communis* of Peckham (Prospettiva, or Optics), the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* of Aristotle (Philosophy), Genesis and the Gospel of St. John (Theology). The inscriptions on the three remaining reliefs appear to depend from Vincent of Beauvais and Roger Bacon (Grammar), Cicero (Rhetoric) and the *Summulae* of Petrus Hispanus (Dialectic).

Plate 87:
THE TOMB OF POPE INNOCENT VIII
St. Peter's, Rome

In its present form (Fig. 71) the monument consists of a sarcophagus and effigy beneath a seated figure of the Pope in benediction. Beside the seated figure are reliefs of (*left*) Fortitude and Justice and (*right*) Temperance and Prudence. Above is a lunette with reliefs of (*left to right*) Hope, Charity and Faith. It is known, however, from a drawing by Marten van Heemskerck (C. Huelsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, ii, Berlin, 1916, pl. 27) and an early seventeenth-century drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (Fig. 70), that the seated figure and the four Virtues beside it were originally placed below the effigy, and that the entire monument was inset in a marble triumphal arch with ornamented pilasters resting on bases decorated with the arms of Pope Innocent VIII. The seated figure of the Pope is shown holding in the left hand the relic of the Holy Lance, which was presented to him by the Sultan Bajazet on 31 May 1492, two months before his death, and the wish to commemorate this scene is perhaps accountable for the innovation whereby a life figure was introduced on to the monument. According to the Anonimo Magliabecchiano, the tomb was originally placed near the altar of St. Lucy, where it was associated with the Ciborium of the Holy Lance (for this see E. Müntz, 'L'architettura a Roma durante il Pontificato d'Innocenzo VIII,' in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, vi, 1891, pp. 363–70), which was commissioned by Pope Innocent VIII and contained a fresco by Pinturricchio of the Pope kneeling before the Virgin and Child. In 1507 both the tomb and Ciborium were moved to temporary positions where they are shown in a drawing of Grimaldi (repr. F. Gregorovius, *Le tombe dei Papi*, ed. C. Huelsen, Rome, 1932, pl. cix). The tomb was disassembled once more in 1606, and in 1621 was re-erected in its present position; the marble inscription dates from this time. The tomb was commissioned from Antonio Pollajuolo by Cardinal Lorenzo Cibo at a cost of 4,000 ducats (Janitschek, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, iii, 1880, p. 284), and according to Vasari was begun in 1492. It was completed before 30 January 1498, when the Pope's remains were reinterred in the new monument. The execution of the tomb is of lower quality than that of Pope Sixtus IV, and extensive intervention on the part of Piero Pollajuolo (d. 1496) may be presumed. The reliefs of Virtues depend from those of the Sixtus IV monument.

Plate 90: HERCULES AND ANTAEUS
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The bronze is mentioned for the first time in the Medici inventory of 1495 when it was in the apartment of Giuliano de' Medici ('uno Ercole che scoppia Anteo, di bronzo tutto Alto br.½'). The subject of Hercules and Antaeus, which was to prove exceptionally popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, makes its first appearance in Renaissance sculpture in Pollajuolo's statuette; the academic problems presented by it are mentioned by Alberti in the *Della Pittura* and the *De Statua*. The poses of the figures in the statuette are in general correspondence with a panel of the same subject by Antonio Pollajuolo formerly in the Uffizi, Florence, which may reproduce a lost painting on linen or canvas executed (along with paintings of Hercules and the Hydra and Hercules and the Nemean Lion) for the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Medici about 1465. There is no independent evidence of the date of the statuette, which was perhaps executed about 1475–80. The model does not derive from a classical prototype, though the types of the two figures strongly recall the types of figures represented on sarcophagus ends (e.g. in the Museo del Gesù at Cortona). The only other bronze statuette which can be unreservedly accepted as a work of Antonio Pollajuolo is a Hercules formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, which conforms closely with the style of the Hercules and Antaeus.

BERTOLDO DI GIOVANNI
(b. *c.* 1420; d. 1491)

The date of Bertoldo's birth is not recorded. At the end of his life he is stated by Vasari to have been 'si vecchio, che non potesse più operare' (so old that he could no longer work), and his birth for this reason is assumed to have taken place about 1420. Trained under Donatello, he appears to have gained his reputation 'per avere diligentemente rinnetato il getto de' pergami di Donato suo maestro' (through having carefully chased the casts of the pulpit reliefs of his master Donato).

Many traces of his hand can be identified in the S. Lorenzo pulpits (see Plates 34–7 above), especially in the frieze, for which he was largely responsible, and in the relief of the Entombment. Bertoldo's work on the pulpits must belong in the decade 1460–70, and no earlier works by him are known. At least from the seventies on he was on terms of intimacy with Lorenzo de' Medici, and a letter written by the sculptor to Lorenzo from Castra S. Antonio survives (29 July 1479); in 1485 he accompanied Lorenzo to the Bagni di Morba. A medal of Mohammed II signed by Bertoldo probably dates from 1480–1. In 1483 he was commissioned to execute two bronze reliefs for the choir of the Santo at Padua (see Plate 122 below); this commission was later transferred to Bellano. The Anonimo Morelliano describes a bronze statuette of Bellerophon and Pegasus in the house of Antonio Cappello in Padua ('Lo bellerophonte di bronzo che ritiene el Pegaso, de grandezza d'un piede, tutto tirondo, fù di mano di Bertoldo, ma gettado da Hadriano suo discipulo, ed è opera nettissima e buona'). The bronze, which is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Fig. 140), has been assigned to the years in which Bertoldo was associated with Padua, and derives from a classical prototype of the class of a relief in the British Museum (Frimmel). The bronze is signed EXPRESSIT ME BERTHOLDVS CONFLAVIT HADRIANVS, and was cast by Adriano Fiorentino. Since the Mohammed II medal was based on a likeness by Gentile Bellini and was cast by Guazzalotti, it has been inferred (Hill) that Bertoldo did not cast his own bronzes. This is unlikely since he is praised by Vasari 'per molti getti ancora che egli aveva fatti di bronzo di battaglie e di alcune altre cose piccole, nel magisterio delle quali non si trovava allora in Firenze chi lo avanzasse.' (For many bronze casts that he had made of battle scenes and of other little things, in the mastery of which there was no one in Florence at that time who surpassed him.) Since contact between Bertoldo and Adriano Fiorentino seems to have ended when the latter, about 1486, entered the service of Virginio Orsini, the Bellerophon and Pegasus was probably produced before this time. The Medici inventory of 1492 mentions three other works by Bertoldo, a battle relief (see Plates 92, 93 below), a relief of the Crucifixion with attendant Saints, now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and a 'Centauro' (lost; it is not known if this was a statuette or a relief). On the basis of the Crucifixion relief it is possible to attach Bertoldo's name to a relief of putti in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and on the basis of the Bellerophon and the battle relief he can also be credited with statuettes of Apollo (Museo Nazionale, Florence, see Plate 94 below), Hercules (Frederiks collection, The Hague, formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin), Hercules with the Apples of the Hesperides (Victoria & Albert Museum, London), a Prisoner (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, destroyed), St. Jerome (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, destroyed), Hercules on Horseback (Pinacoteca Estense, Modena) and two bearded male figures with shields (Liechtenstein collection, Vaduz, and Frick collection, New York). In his life of Michelangelo Vasari states that towards the end of his life Bertoldo was appointed to take charge of the Medici academy and collection of antiquities: 'Teneva in quel tempo il Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici nel suo giardino in sulla piazza di San Marco Bertoldo scultore, non tanto per custode o guardiano di molte belle anticaglie che in quello aveva ragunate e raccolte con grande spesa, quanto perchè, desiderando egli sommamente di creare una scuola di pittori e di scultori eccellenti, volveva che elli avessero per guida e per capo il sopradetto Bertoldo, che era discepolo di Donato.' (At that time Lorenzo de' Medici the Magnificent kept Bertoldo the sculptor in his garden on the Piazza di San Marco, not so much as custodian or guardian of the many beautiful antiquities which he had assembled there and had collected at great expense, but rather because, instilled with the great desire to create an excellent school of painters and sculptors, he was anxious that they should have as their guide and director the aforesaid Bertoldo, who had been a pupil of Donatello.) Bertoldo died in Lorenzo de' Medici's villa at Poggio a Cajano on 30 December 1491. The place of his death is established by a letter written by Lorenzo de' Medici to his son Piero from Poggio a Cajano on 28 December 1491 'a maestro Stefano da Prato che medica Bertoldo' (to maestro Stefano da Prato, who is treating Bertoldo), and the date by a letter of ser Bartolommeo Dei of 30 December 1491: 'Bertoldo scultore degnissimo, e di medaglie optimo fabricatore, el quale sempre col magnifico Lorenzo facesse cose degne, al Poggio s'è morto in due dì. Che n'è danno assai e a lui è molto doluto, chè non se ne trovava un altro in Toscana ne forse in Italia di si nobile ingegno e arte in tali cose.' (In two days there died at Poggio Bertoldo, a most worthy sculptor and excellent manufacturer of medals, who always did worthy things with the Magnifico Lorenzo. The loss is very great and he is much lamented, since there is not another artist to be found in Tuscany nor perhaps in Italy with so noble a talent and such skill in these things.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The reintegration of Bertoldo's artistic personality is due largely to Bode, and Bode's essay on the sculptor ('Bertoldo di Giovanni', in *Florentiner Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1910), remains a good general introduction to his work. A later monograph by Bode (*Bertoldo und Lorenzo dei Medici*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1925) is unduly speculative, and reproduces a large number of works wrongly ascribed to the artist. Neither Bode's book nor article is, however, of the quality of two contributions by T. Frimmel ('Die Bellerophongruppe des Bertoldo', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, v, 1877, pp. 90–6) and F. Wickhoff ('Die Antike im Bildungsgange Michelangelos', in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung*, iii, 1882, pp. 408–35). A printed thesis by K. Rohwaldt (*Bertoldo: ein Beitrag zur Jugendentwicklung Michelangelos*, Inaugural-Dissertation der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin, 1896) also provides a careful account of Bertoldo's style. The bronzes ascribed to Bertoldo are briefly discussed by Bode (*Die Italienische Bronzestatuetten der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 12–16) and L. Planiscig (*Piccoli bronzi italiani del rinascimento*, Milan, 1930, pp. 6–7). An admirable account of Bertoldo's medallic activity by G. Hill (*A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1930, pp. 238–40) supersedes all earlier work on this field. For Adriano Fiorentino see C. von Fabriczy ('Adriano Fiorentino', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxiv, 1903, pp. 71–98).

Plate 91: APOLLO
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The subject of the statuette has been variously identified as Aryon, Orpheus and Apollo. In the absence of the dolphin (which appears in the Aryon statuette of Riccio in the Louvre and in the Aryon plaquettes of Moderno) the first identification is improbable. The figure wears a skin over his shoulders terminating in a hoof behind, and a wreath of indeterminate leaves. These features would be admissible both in an Orpheus and an Apollo. The model in its present form is not recognizably related to any known classical prototype. The statuette is worked up only in the head and legs, and work on it was presumably abandoned as a result of casting flaws. In structure it is none the less one of the most complex of Bertoldo's single statuettes.

Plates 92, 93: BATTLE SCENE
Museo Nazionale, Florence

Bertoldo's battle relief in the Bargello (Fig. 139) is described in the Medici inventory of 1492 above a chimney-piece 'nella saletta rimpetto alla sala grande', and by Vasari: 'le cose d'arte (Donatello) lasciò ai suoi discepoli: i quali furono Bertoldo, scultore fiorentino, che l'imitò assai, come si può vedere in una battaglia in bronzo d'uomini a cavallo molto bella, la quale è oggi in guardaroba del signor Duca Cosimo.' (Donatello left his works of art to his disciples. These were Bertoldo, a Florentine sculptor who imitated his work closely, as can be seen in a most beautiful bronze relief of a battle of horsemen, which is now in wardrobe of Duke Cosimo). The relief was regarded by Wickhoff as a synthesis of elements from Roman sarcophagi (e.g. a sarcophagus in the Galleria Giustiniana), and was interpreted by him as a battle of Romans and Trojans, the figures to left and right being identified as Menelaus and Helen and the central figure as Hector. If this interpretation is correct, the relief (like the early Battle of the Centaurs of Michelangelo) may have been designed to a programme by Politian. It was subsequently established that Bertoldo's relief was based directly on a damaged sarcophagus in the Campo Santo at Pisa (Fig. 138). Since, however, the lateral figures are additions to the sarcophagus, and the central group is also a free invention of the artist, Wickhoff's interpretation is not invalidated. The lateral figures appear to have been interpolated from a second sarcophagus front, analogous to an example in the Museo delle Terme, Rome. The respective dimensions of the bronze relief and the sarcophagus at Pisa are H. 43 cm. (bronze relief), 101 cm. (sarcophagus), L. 99 cm. (bronze relief), 237 cm. (sarcophagus).

PIETRO TORRIGIANO
(b. 1472; d. 1528)

Pietro Torrigiano was born in Florence on 24 November 1472. A member of the Medici academy and a pupil of Bertoldo, he is recorded as executing, under Bertoldo's supervision, free-standing terracotta statues or statuettes (Vasari). No early work made by Torrigiano at this time has been identified, and he is principally remembered for the fact (recorded in two places by Vasari) that he assaulted, and broke the nose of, Michelangelo. As a result of this incident (which must have occurred before 1492) he was exiled from Florence. Thereafter he worked in Rome on the stucco decoration of the Torre Borgia and making terracotta busts (lost) of the Bolognese doctor Stefano della Torre (18 August 1494) and Pope Alexander VI (prior to 18 August 1494). At this time Torrigiano was resident in the house of Stefano Coppi, rector of S. Salvatore in Suburra, and it has been claimed (Ferrajoli), with a high degree of plausibility, that marble busts of Christ and S. Fina and a terracotta bust of St. Gregory presented by Coppi to the Ospedale di S. Fina at San Gimignano are by Torrigiano. After 1498 Torrigiano served in the forces of Cesare Borgia in the Romagna, and on 13 January 1500 received the commission for an altar-piece for SS. Annunziata dei Zoccolanti at Fossombrone. At some date after 1500 he left Italy, and in 1509–10 was in the Netherlands in the service of Margaret of Austria, where he is mentioned as mending the neck of a bust of 'ma dame Marie d'Angleterre' (Mary, daughter of Henry VII). The first evidence of his presence in London occurs on 23 November 1511, when he signed a contract for the tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort (d. 1509) in Westminster Abbey. It is possible that he was also in England before the death of King Henry VII (1509), and that busts of this King, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and the young Henry VIII (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and Metropolitan Museum, New York) were executed at this time. On 26 October 1512 he received the commission for the tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York (see Plate 94 below). Before completing this, he undertook responsibility for the altar (destroyed) in the Henry VII Chapel at Westminster Abbey, of which the main features were rectangular pigmented terracotta reliefs of (front) the Resurrection and (back) the Nativity and a recumbent terracotta statue of the Dead Christ. Concurrently he executed the terracotta monument of Dr. John Young (d. 25 April 1516) for the Rolls Chapel (now in the Public Record Office, London; marred by modern pigmentation), and about 1518 a bronze relief portrait of Sir Thomas Lovell, now in Westminster Abbey. On 5 January 1519 a project (later abandoned) was advanced for a tomb by Torrigiano for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, larger by one quarter than the Henry VII monument. After a visit to Florence (18 June 1519), where he recruited a number of Italian assistants, Torrigiano seems to have resumed work in London, but in or before 1522 moved to Spain, where he executed terracotta statues of St. Jerome and the Virgin and Child for the convent of Buena Vista at Seville (now in the Seville Museum). According to Francisco d'Hollanda, he also 'fit en argile le portrait de l'Impératrice' (Isabella of Portugal). He died, in the hands of the Inquisition, in 1528. Torrigiano's reputation has suffered from the unfavourable attitude adopted towards his work by Vasari and other supporters of Michelangelo, as well as from the fact that all of his mature works were made in England and Spain. Both the terracotta busts (which depend from the work of Benedetto da Majano) and the St. Jerome (which recalls Bertoldo) are strongly Florentine in character, and his sepulchral monuments at Westminster are some of the finest Tuscan sculptures of their time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For the career of Torrigiano see C. Justi ('Torrigiano', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxvii, 1906, pp. 249–81) and an excellent article by A. Higgins ('On the Work of Florentine Sculptors in England in the early Part of the Sixteenth Century', in *The Archaeological Journal*, li, 1894, pp. 129–220). The documents relating to the tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort are printed by R. S. Scott ('On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby,' in *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 1914–15, pp. 365–76) and those referring to Torrigiano's Roman activity and to the busts at San Gimignano by A. Ferrajoli ('Un testamento dello scultore Pietro Torrigiani e ricerche sopra alcune sue opere', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, ix, 1915, pp. 181–92).

Plate 94: TOMB OF KING HENRY VII AND ELIZABETH OF YORK

Westminster Abbey, London

The foundation stone of the Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey was laid in January 1503, and its fabric appears to have been substantially complete when King Henry VII died (22 April 1509). In a will drawn up shortly before his death the King bequeathed a sum of £5,000 for his own tomb, a 'grate in the manner of a closure', and other furnishings for the chapel. According to this, the tomb was to be placed 'in the myddes of the same chapell, before the high aultier, in such distaunce from the same as is ordered in the plat made for the same chapell and signed with our hande'. The tomb was to contain at the ends and sides 'tabernacles . . . to be filled with ymages, sp'cially of our said avouries of coper and gilt', the Saints concerned being specified elsewhere in the will. Before the commencement of the Chapel preparations had been made for the construction of a tomb at Windsor (1501–2), and it has been suggested (Higgins) that the grille surrounding the present tomb is that designed by Esterfelde for the Windsor monument. Initially it was intended that the tomb should be based on that of Charles VIII of France at Saint Denis, and should be executed by Mazzoni. This project (which provided for recumbent statues of the King and Queen, kneeling figures of the King and four of his lords, and twelve gilt bronze statuettes of Saints) was 'disliked' by King Henry VIII, and on 26 October 1512 the commission was awarded to Torrigiano, who agreed 'to make and worke, or doo to be made and wrought, well, surely, clenly, workemanly, curiously and substancyally, for the sum of £1,500 sterling, a tombe or sepulture of whit marbill and of black touchstone wt. ymags, figures, beasts and other things of coppure gilt'. The tomb (Fig. 74) was complete by 5 January 1519. In Torrigiano's monument the kneeling figures planned by Mazzoni are omitted, and the ends of the tomb are decorated with seated angels holding the epitaph and the royal arms. The Saints are represented not as statuettes in tabernacles, but in pairs in relief. It has been plausibly suggested (Higgins) that this device derives from Donatello's bronze doors in the Sagrestia Vecchia of S. Lorenzo in Florence.

VECCHIETTA

(b. 1412; d. 1480)

Lorenzo di Pietro, called Vecchietta, was born at Castiglione d'Orcia, probably in 1412. His name appears in the guild of painters in 1428, and it is possible (Longhi) that he was active as a painter after this date in the choir of the Collegiata at Castiglione d'Olona in Lombardy. In 1439 he was engaged with Sano di Pietro in painting a wooden Annunciation on the high altar of the Duomo in Siena, and in 1441 he undertook his first fully authenticated work, a fresco in the Pellegrinaio of the Spedale della Scala. Thereafter he was engaged on fresco cycles in the former sacristy of S. Maria della Scala, now the Sala di San Pietro of the hospital (1446–9), and in the Baptistry in Siena (1459–62). The works he executed at this time are some of the most important frescoes produced in Siena in the fifteenth century. Vecchietta remained active as a painter throughout his entire life, completing, among many other works, a fresco of St. Catherine of Siena in the Palazzo Pubblico (1461), a triptych of the Assumption of the Virgin for the Cathedral at Pienza (1461–2), and an altar-piece for S. Maria della Scala, now in the Pinacoteca (after 1476). His sculptural activity seems to have been coterminous with his pictorial work. A 'fighura di Nostro Signore Yhesu Christo, resuscitato, la quale si tiene in sull altarmaggiore' (figure of Our Lord Jesus Christ risen, which is preserved on the high altar) carved for the Cathedral (4 April 1442) has been identified (Carli) with a figure of the Risen Christ at Vico Alto. Vecchietta continued to carve in wood throughout the whole of his career; some of the most notable of his wooden sculptures are statues of St. Paul in the Museo Horne, St. Anthony the Abbot at Narni (signed and dated 1475), and S. Bernardino in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (also from Narni, probably datable 1475). A Burial and Assumption of the Virgin in the Museo Civico at Lucca was left unfinished by Vecchietta at his death in 1480, and was completed by Neroccio. Little is known of Vecchietta's work in marble, save for two statues of SS. Peter and Paul (Fig. 96) on the Loggia di S. Paolo (commissioned 2 March 1460, completed 1462). The medium with which Vecchietta was most closely associated is that of bronze, and it may be inferred that in 1457–9 he was in close contact with Donatello's studio in Siena. There is no evidence that he was active as a bronze sculptor before Donatello's arrival in Siena. The earliest of Vecchietta's major works in bronze, the Foscari effigy in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome, seems to have been cast in Rome in 1463–4; nothing is known as to the form of this monument (which appears, however, to have been free-standing), and the marble bier is by an unidentified Roman sculptor. The bronze effigy of Mariano Sozzini (1467), made in connection with a projected tomb in S. Domenico, is in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. A bronze tabernacle for the high altar of S. Maria della Scala was commissioned from Vecchietta on 26 May 1467; this was completed before 29 November 1472. The tabernacle contains a number of bronze statuettes of exceptionally high quality, and since 1506 has stood on the high altar of Siena Cathedral (preliminary drawing in the Pinacoteca at Siena). A bronze relief of the Resurrection in the Frick Collection (inscribed OPVS LAVRENTII PETRI PICTORIS AL VECCHIETTA DE SENIS MCCCCLXXII) may be connected with this commission (Fig. 97). A Risen Christ on the high altar of S. Maria della Scala, Siena, dates from 1476 (see Plate 95 below). Vecchietta was also active as an architect and as a metal-worker; silver figures of SS. Catherine of Siena and Bernardino (1472–3) and St. Sebastian (1478) and a silver-gilt figure of St. Paul (1475), all executed for the Duomo in Siena, are untraced. Vecchietta died on 6 June 1480.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The relevant documents are printed by G. Milanesi (*Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, Siena, ii, 1859) and S. Borghesi and E. Banchi (*Nuovi documenti per la storiá dell'arte senese*, Siena, 1898). A monograph by G. Vigni (*Lorenzo di Pietro detto il Vecchietta*, Florence, 1937) is available. The treatment of Vecchietta's sculptures in this book is vitiated by an attempt to incorporate the work of the so-called Piccolomini Master in that of Vecchietta (for a detailed statement of this fallacious case see G. Vigni, 'Per il Maestro dei Piccolomini', in *Rivista d'Arte*, xviii, 1936, pp. 367–74). The relationship between Vecchietta and Donatello has not been properly discussed. For the Foscari monument see P. Cellini ('La reintegrazione di un'opera sconosciuta di Lorenzo di Pietro detto il Vecchietta', in *La Diana*, v, 1930, pp. 239–243). An excellent account of Vecchietta's wooden sculptures is supplied by E. Carli (*La scultura lignea senese*, Milan, 1951).

Plate 95: THE RISEN CHRIST
S. Maria della Scala, Siena

In the last years of his life Vecchietta was preoccupied with the construction of a memorial chapel in the church of S. Maria della Scala in Siena. A petition of 26 December 1476 signed by the sculptor and addressed to the Rector and governing body of the Spedale della Scala reads as follows: 'Sia al nome de lo eterno Dio et de la sua Madre gloriosa et di tutti i suoi Sancti, come io Lorenzo di Pietro dipentore et scultore decto el Vecchietta da Siena fa questa petizione a lo Spedale di S. Maria della Scala. E quando al Rectore, Savi, et Capitulo piaccia darmi una cappella murata secondo el disegno et modello ch'io lo do facto di carta, voglio mettere in decta capella uno Christo ho fatto, et non è anco finito, di bronzo di statura di braccia tre, o circa, in su l'altare di decta capella: et dopo l'altare io voglio fare una tavola dipinta di larghezza di braccia tre et alta quattro braccia e mezzo, dietri al Christo, come ho disegnato in decto modello, quando Idio mi presti vita. Et questo fo et voglio sia per l'anima mia, et de la mia donna, et de' miei passati.' (In the name of the eternal God and of his glorious mother and of all his Saints, I, Lorenzo di Pietro painter and sculptor, called Vecchietta, of Siena, make this petition to the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala. When it pleases the Rector, commissioners and Chapter to cede me a walled chapel according to the design and model which I hereby give him made of parchment, I wish to place in the aforesaid chapel on the altar a bronze Christ three braccia high, which I have made but not yet finished. And for the altar, behind the Christ, I wish to make a painting three braccia wide and four braccia and a half high, as I have drawn it in the aforesaid model, if God grants me life. And this I do and purpose for my own soul, and that of my wife, and those of my forebears.) The petition was approved on 20 February 1477. The memorial chapel is mentioned again in a will drawn up by Vecchietta on 10 May 1479: 'Inprimis corpus suum sepelliri voluit in et seu ad cappellam sancti Salvatoris quam sibi construi fecit in

Ecclesia hospitalis sante Marie della Schala de Senis, ubi dicta sui corporis propriam elegit sepulturam.' (In the first place, he wished his body to be buried in or at the chapel of the Redeemer, which he had built in the church of the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala in Siena, where he chose his own tomb in which his body should rest.) Provision was made under the will for a minimum of four masses a week in the chapel, and it was stipulated that in the event of the church being later enlarged or the chapel redecorated, the statue of the Risen Christ should remain in place. If the stipulations of the will were not observed, the figure was to revert initially to the Duomo, and subsequently to the Olivetan community outside the Porta Tufi. The altar-piece painted for the chapel is now in the Pinacoteca at Siena, and the bronze statue of the Risen Christ stands on the high altar of S. Maria della Scala. On the base is the inscription: OPVS LAVRENTII PETRI PICTORIS AL VECCHIETTA DE SENIS MCCCCLXXVI PRO SVI DEVOTIONE FECIT HOC.

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO

(b. 1439; d. 1501/2)

Francesco di Giorgio Martini was baptised in Siena on 23 September 1439. Trained under Vecchietta, he practised as painter, sculptor and architect. In 1464 he received a payment for a wooden statue of St. John the Baptist for the Compagnia di S. Giovanni Battista della Morte; it is established by Carli that this statue is identical with a figure formerly at Fogliano, now in the Pinacoteca at Siena (Fig. 99). In addition to the influence of Vecchietta (to whom it was for long ascribed), the St. John reveals direct experience of the work of Donatello. Until 1475 Francesco di Giorgio shared a joint studio with Neroccio. From this period date an altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Pinacoteca at Siena, painted for Monteoliveto Maggiore (1471), and an altar-piece of the Nativity, also in the Pinacoteca at Siena, painted for S. Benedetto fuori Porta Tufi (1475). At some date between 1475 and 1477 Francesco entered the service of Federigo da Montefeltro, and on 8 November 1477 was living in Urbino. In 1478 he was still in the employment of Federigo da Montefeltro, and though he undertook work for Alfonso Duke of Calabria in 1479–80, he retained his post at Urbino, and had returned there by 26 July 1480, when Federigo da Montefeltro in a letter to the Signoria of Siena describes him as 'vostro citadino et mio dilettissimo architetto.' After Federigo's death (1481) he retained his post at the court of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro. To these years belong a medal of Federigo da Montefeltro and a bronze relief of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, cast for the Oratorio di S. Croce at Urbino and now in the Carmini in Venice. Reliefs of the Flagellation in the Pinacoteca Nazionale dell' Umbria at Perugia (see Plate 96 below) and the so-called Allegory of Discord (known through stucco casts in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and the Chigi-Saraceni collection, Siena) were probably produced in the same bracket of time. In 1484–5 Francesco di Giorgio was engaged on the most important of his surviving churches, S. Maria del Calcinaio at Cortona. On 19 December 1485 he was repatriated as a citizen of Siena, of which he became the official engineer, but he retained his contacts with Urbino and in 1489 was in Gubbio. In the latter year (10 July 1489) he was engaged on two bronze putti for the high altar of Siena Cathedral (completed before 15 April 1490). In 1490 Francesco visited Milan, where he prepared a model for the cupola of the Cathedral and came in contact with Leonardo da Vinci, and after his return to Siena he submitted a plan for the façade of the Cathedral in Florence (5 January 1491). On three occasions between 1491 and 1495 he visited Naples. Two bronze angels on the high altar of Siena Cathedral were probably commissioned in the summer of the latter year and were completed by 5 August 1497 (see Plate 97 below). In 1499 he became Capomaestro of the Duomo. Francesco di Giorgio died probably in 1501 and certainly before 9 February 1502. Francesco di Giorgio's sculptures are not directly related to his paintings. Apart from the works noted above they comprise a wooden figure of St. Christopher in the Louvre (Carli), of considerably later date than the Fogliano Baptist, but also carved in Siena, a number of secondary reliefs in bronze (Judgment of Paris, St. Jerome in Wilderness, roundels of SS. Sebastian and John the Baptist, all in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and roundels of St. Anthony the Abbot in the Liechtenstein collection, Vaduz, and St. Jerome in Berlin, as well as medals and plaquettes), and one terracotta relief of a mythological scene (formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin). A large bronze statuette of Aesculapius in the Albertinum, Dresden, is also by Francesco di Giorgio (Schubring). A statuette of David with the Head of Goliath (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin) is not by Francesco di Giorgio. A marble relief of the Virgin and Child formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, has also been ascribed to him, though there is no independent evidence that he practised as a marble sculptor. The long list of works wrongly attributed to Francesco di Giorgio is well analysed by Weller.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The short account of Francesco di Giorgio's sculptures supplied by P. Schubring (*Die Plastik Sienas im Quattrocento*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 162–200) is superseded by a thorough and well documented monograph by A. Weller (*Francesco di Giorgio*, Chicago, 1943); this contains a detailed examination of Francesco di Giorgio's work in all mediums and a critical catalogue. An earlier monograph by S. Brinton (*Francesco di Giorgio Martini of Siena*, London, 1934, 2 vols.) is inaccurate. The principal additions to the literature of Francesco di Giorgio since the publication of Weller's book are a monograph by R. Papini on Francesco as an architect (*Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, Florence, 1946), which investigates the relationship between the buildings of Francesco di Giorgio and the architecture shown in his reliefs, and studies of the wooden sculpture by E. Carli ('A recovered Francesco di Giorgio,' in *Burlington Magazine*, xci, 1949, pp. 33–9; *La scultura lignea senese*, Milan, 1951).

Plate 96: THE FLAGELLATION OF CHRIST

Pinacoteca Nazionale dell'Umbria,
Perugia

The relief of the Flagellation of Christ at Perugia forms part of a group of four interdependent reliefs. These comprise (i) a bronze relief of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Carmini in Venice, (ii) a relief of Lycurgus and the Maenads, of which stucco casts, presumably made from a lost bronze original, exist in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, and the Chigi-Saraceni collection, Siena, and (iii) a bronze Judgment of Paris in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. The present relief and the reliefs (i) and (ii) above were initially ascribed to Verrocchio (Bode, A. Venturi, Cruttwell), and subsequently given to Leonardo da Vinci (Bode, Müller-Walde), Antonio Pollajuolo (Berenson, Cruttwell), and Bertoldo (A. Venturi). The ascription to Francesco di Giorgio was first advanced by Schubring, and is now universally accepted. Decisive in favour of this attribution are the relation of architectural features in this relief and the Lycurgus and the Maenads to motifs recurring in this artist's buildings at Urbino and elsewhere (for this see Papini), and the connection between figures in the reliefs and drawings by Francesco di Giorgio. The figure style throughout the reliefs is strongly influenced by Antonio Pollajuolo, and finds a parallel in the Massacre of the Innocents by Matteo di Giovanni on the floor of Siena Cathedral (1481), where drawings by Antonio Pollajuolo seem also to have been employed. The Venice Lamentation appears to have been made for the Oratorio di S. Croce at Urbino, and there is a strong presumption that the present relief was also a Montefeltro commission. Since the Venice relief includes a portrait of Federigo da Montefeltro's son, Guidobaldo, as a child, it may be dated *c.* 1475–7. The Flagellation seems to date from approximately the same time, though owing to its smaller dimensions it can scarcely have formed part of the same complex as the Venice relief. The architectural setting is closely related to the architectural background of the Lycurgus and the Maenads in London. There is no analogy in the fifteenth century for a Flagellation scene in which the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist are, as here, represented in the foreground, and the strongly emotional character of the imagery is typically Sienese.

Plate 97: TWO ANGELS

Duomo, Siena

There is no record of the commissioning of the two bronze angels (Fig. 101) by Francesco di Giorgio on the high altar of Siena Cathedral. These were at one time identified with 'due Angioletti' for which payment was made on 10 July 1489 (Schubring), but it has since been demonstrated (Weller) that this document in fact refers to small angel heads in bronze on the sides of the high altar. The two angels were completed before 5 August 1497, when Giacomo Piccolomini, Antonio Bichi and Pandolfo Petrucci were appointed as assessors on behalf of the Balia to determine the sum to be paid to the sculptor. A document of 17 August 1497 sets out in detail the sums due to the sculptor 'pro suo magisterio' (1500 lire) and the money expended on bronze and wax ('ciera per formare li detti angioli in due volte'). Payment of this sum was authorized by the assessors on 21 August 1497. According to a reasonable computation (Weller), the total cost of the two Angels was of the order of 2,429 lire. Two companion angels were executed concurrently for the high altar by Giovanni di Stefano.

AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO

(b. 1418; d. 1481)

Agostino di Duccio is mentioned for the first time in a Portata al Catasto prepared by his father Antonio di Duccio, a textile worker, in 1427; in this he is stated to be nine years old. A second Portata al Catasto prepared by his elder brother in 1433, after his father's death, reveals that Agostino had left Florence with a mercenary soldier Giovanni da Tolentino. In 1442, on the commission of Lodovico Forni, he carved an antependium with scenes from the story of

San Gemignano for the Duomo at Modena; these reliefs (signed AVGVSTINVS DE FLORENTIA F. 1442) are now built into the outside of the Cathedral (Fig. 104). The possibility can, therefore, be excluded, on chronological as well as on stylistic grounds, that Agostino was trained in the studio of Donatello, Luca della Robbia, or some other Florentine sculptor. He returned to Florence, however, before 1446, when we learn (again from a Portata al Catasto) that he had fled with his brother to Venice accused of the theft of silver from the church of the Annunziata. The fact of this theft is mentioned again in a Portata al Catasto of 1451. Unsatisfactory attempts have heen made (Brunetti) to attribute works in Venice to Agostino. On 19 June 1449 the name of 'Mo. Agostino condam Antonii de Florentia incisore lapidum' appears as fellow-witness with Matteo de' Pasti to a document in Rimini. Agostino di Duccio is mentioned again in Rimini in a document of 13 December 1454 (see Plate 100 below). On 17 July 1457 he moved from Rimini to Perugia in connection with work on the Oratory of San Bernardino (see Plate 99 below), and his presence in Perugia is attested between this date and the completion of the Oratory on 26 June 1462. At this time he also executed an altar for the church of S. Domenico, Perugia. In December 1462 he moved from Perugia to Bologna, where he was engaged till 10 February 1463 in preparing a model for the completion of the façade of S. Petronio. Thereafter he returned to Florence, where he matriculated and received from the Operai of the Duomo the commission for a 'Gigante' (16 April 1463; completed 23 November 1463). Another colossal statue was commissioned for the Duomo on 18 August 1464, but was abandoned in December of the same year. Agostino completed a Portata al Catasto in 1469, and on 5 January 1470 received the commission for a terracotta Resurrection for the Annunziata (lost). A number of marble reliefs of the Virgin and Child (see Plate 98 below) appear to date from this time. Thereafter he was again active in Perugia, working on the Altar of the Pietà in the Cathedral (begun 8 May 1473; completed 4 April 1474), the Porta alle due Porte (commissioned 17 May 1473; left unfinished), unspecified decorations in the Chapel of S. Bernardino in the Duomo (23 May 1475), and the façade of the Maestà delle Volte (begun 23 September 1475; remains in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Perugia). Agostino di Duccio's name does not appear in documents after 27 July 1481, and he is presumed to have died in the second half of this year.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The problems raised by Agostino di Duccio's work and style are of great complexity, and are not properly discussed in the existing literature. The standard monograph, that of A. Pointner (*Die Werke des Florentinischen Bildhauers Agostino di Duccio*, Strassburg, 1909) is inadequate. For the documentary background of Agostino di Duccio's career see particularly A. Rossi ('Prospetto cronologico della vita e delle opere di Agostino di Duccio', in *Giornale d'erudizione artistica dell'Umbria*, 1875), C. Grigioni ('I costruttori del Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini', in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, xi, 1908, pp. 117–128, 155–63, 196–203), and R. G. Mather ('Documents mostly new relating to Florentine Painters and Sculptors of the fifteenth Century', in *Art Bulletin*, xxx, 1948, pp. 20–65). C. Ricci's well argued and amply illustrated *Il Tempio Malatestiano*, Milan/Rome, 1925, is of fundamental importance not only for Agostino di Duccio's work at Rimini, but for its many photographs of the sculptor's minor works. For the attribution of the Rimini reliefs (details below) see P. Schubring ('Matteo de' Pasti', in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge August Schmarsow gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 115–28), A. Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, vi, 1908, pp. 388–406, viii-1, 1923, pp. 511–50); L. Venturi ('Studi sul Palazzo Ducale di Urbino', in *L'Arte*, xvii, 1914, pp. 415–73). The chronology of the Madonna reliefs of Agostino di Duccio (see Plate 98 below) is discussed by H. W. Janson ('Two Problems in Florentine Renaissance Sculpture', in *Art Bulletin*, xxiv, 1942, pp. 326–34), and G. Brunetti ('Una questione di Agostino di Duccio: la Madonna di Auvilliers', in *Rivista d'Arte*, xviii, 1953, pp. 121–31).

Plate 98:

VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ANGELS

Louvre, Paris

Discovered by Gonse in the possession of the Bonnières de Wierre family at Auvilliers (Neuilly sous Clermont), the relief was identified by Courajod (in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd series, viii, 1892, pp. 129–37) as Agostino di Duccio, and was acquired for the Louvre in 1903, when it was published by A. Michel (in *Monuments Piot*, x, 1903, pp. 95ff). A somewhat larger stucco (83×79 cm.), in which variations are introduced into the shield and the heads of three of the four angels, now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, was identified at Castello and published by Modigliani (in *L'Arte*, vi, 1903, p. 296); this bears the Salutati and Ridolfi arms and perhaps commemorates a marriage of 1465. A third version, corresponding to that in Florence, exists in the Thyssen collection at Lugano; this is variously stated to be in stucco (Feulner and others) and calcareous stone (Brunetti). The authenticity of the Auvilliers relief has been repeatedly questioned, initially by Brunelli (in *L'Arte*, x, 1907, pp. 146–8) and subsequently by A. Venturi (p. 406n.: 'abile contraffazione del settecento') and Brunetti (version, possibly contemporary, of the Thyssen Madonna). Though the coat-of-arms has been recut, there is no reasonable doubt that the whole relief as it now stands is the work of Agostino di Duccio. Involved in discussion of the authenticity of this relief are two further reliefs, the Rothschild Madonna in the Louvre and a symbolical relief of Christ in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (ex-Aynard coll., Lyons), both of which are certainly by Agostino di Duccio. In addition to the Auvilliers and Rothschild Madonnas, three other Madonna reliefs by Agostino di Duccio are known. These are in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (from the Carmine), the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. The alternative schemes of dating for these works proposed by Janson and Brunetti are:

Washington Madonna (Janson, shortly after 1442; Brunetti, after 1465).

London Madonna (Janson, 1460's; Brunetti, contemporary with Rimini reliefs).

Florence Madonna (Janson, 1460's; Brunetti, contemporary with Rimini reliefs).

Auvilliers Madonna (Janson, 1446–50; Brunetti, after 1465).

Rothschild Madonna (Janson, 1470–5; Brunetti, not by Agostino di Duccio).

Neither system is consistent with what is known of Agostino di Duccio's development. It can, however, be established (i) that the London Madonna is contemporary with the Arca degli Antenati at Rimini and must therefore date from about 1454; (ii) that compositional features of the Washington Madonna are paralleled in the Virtues on the Perugia façade, and that this must therefore date from about 1457–62; (iii) that the angels in the Auvilliers Madonna also find their closest point of reference in the angels on the Perugia façade; (iv) that the Carmine Madonna was very probably carved during Agostino's second Florentine period (1463–70); and (v) that the Rothschild Madonna reveals a knowledge of the work of Verrocchio, and must therefore date from about 1470–5 (Janson).

Plate 99: FAÇADE OF THE ORATORY OF SAN BERNARDINO

Perugia

After the death and canonization of S. Bernardino (1450), funds were raised in Perugia for an Oratory to commemorate the Saint (1451). On 17 July 1457 Agostino di Duccio arrived at Perugia in connection with work on the façade, in August he was awarded the commission, and on 17 August 1457 began the preparation of wax models. The carving of stone for the façade was begun on 25 October 1457. Work on the façade is documented through 1458 and 1459 (when Agostino di Duccio's principal assistant appears to have been Bartolommeo da Torciano). A payment relating to the laying of the pavement dates from 20 May 1461. The building was assessed by the painters Benedetto Bonfigli and Angelo di Baldassare on 13 February 1462, and at the end of May of the same year it was complete. The design of the façade (Fig. 102) is loosely based on that of Alberti's Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini. At the top is a triangular pediment with reliefs of Christ in benediction and angels on a blue ground. Beneath this runs an inscription AVGVSTA PERVSIA MCCCCLXI. Below, to left and right, are tabernacles, containing statues of (*left*) the Annunciatory Angel and (*right*) the Virgin Annunciate, above reliefs with scenes from the life of S. Bernardino. Below these again are tabernacles with statues of SS. Costanzo and Ercolano. The doorway is surmounted by a semi-circular tympanum relief, containing a relief of S. Bernardino in glory with four flying angels at each side. Beneath this are three further reliefs with scenes from the life of the Saint (Fig. 105). The entrance is flanked by six reliefs of Virtues, set at an angle to the plane of the façade, and six reliefs of music-making angels. Many of the carvings on the façade reveal traces of pigmentation, and use is also made of coloured marble (e.g. in the red marble cherub heads surrounding the tympanum relief). For this reason the aggregate effect of the façade differs more markedly from that of the Rimini reliefs than is apparent in photographs. The style of the figures of the Virtues (which, with the exception of a figure of Hope, cannot be satisfactorily identified) depends from that of the Liberal Arts reliefs at Rimini, and in one case a prototype from the Tempio Malatestiano (the Rimini Grammar) is reproduced. The reliefs of the Perugia façade are not only consistently of lower quality than the comparable reliefs at Rimini, but are more mannered in style, and reveal a defective sense of the relation of the figure to its ground which is nowhere to be found in the Chapels of the Planets or the Liberal Arts. On the other hand, the six reliefs of angels are closely related both in style and handling to the angels drawing curtains in the Chapel of St. Sigismund at Rimini. The Perugia carvings are, therefore, the criterion by which the extent of Agostino di Duccio's intervention in the carvings at Rimini must be assessed. There is no reason to doubt Agostino di Duccio's authorship of the tympanum reliefs, the twelve reliefs beside the doorway and the five scenes from the life of S. Bernardino. The four statues, on the other hand, are of lower quality, and should probably be looked upon as the work of Bartolommeo da Torciano or some other member of the master's studio.

Plate 100: THE INTERIOR OF THE TEMPIO MALATESTIANO

Rimini

The Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini is a Gothic church transformed into a Renaissance temple under the direction of Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini. In the interior (Fig. 103) it contains three chapels on each side, the first and second being separated in each case by a closed *cella* or chapel with a carved door but without other sculptured decoration. The chapels are dedicated (*first right*) to St. Sigismund, (*second right*) to St. Michael (usually denominated the Chapel of Isotta degli Atti, whose monument it contains), (*third right*) to St. Jerome (usually denominated the Chapel of the Planets), (*first left*) to the Martyrs (usually denominated the Chapel of the Sibyls), (*second left*) to the Guardian Angel (usually denominated the Chapel of the Infant Games), and (*third left*) to S. Gaudenzio (usually denominated the Chapel of the Liberal Arts). In its present form the church seems to owe its origin to a vow taken by Sigismondo Malatesta in the for him conspicuously successful year of 1446 to construct, in the church of S. Francesco, a chapel dedicated to his patron Saint, St. Sigismund. The foundation stone of the Chapel of St. Sigismund was blessed by the Bishop of Rimini in 1447, and a bull approving the new chapel was issued by Pope Nicholas V in 1448. In the latter year marble was being stripped at Sigismondo's instance from S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna for the decoration of the chapel. In 1449 the building of the Chapel of St. Sigismund, the Cappella delle Reliquie adjacent to it, and the second chapel on the right, the Chapel of Isotta, was finished, and attempts were being made to secure an unspecified 'maestro dipentore' from Florence to fresco the walls, which were still too fresh for decoration. In June of this year the names of Agostino di Duccio and Matteo de' Pasti occur in Rimini for the first time. A medal by Matteo de' Pasti dated 1450 shows the Tempio Malatestiano with the façade designed by Alberti and the cupola projected by Alberti but not executed. It can therefore be inferred that in, or prior to, the jubilee of 1450 the project for the reconstruction of the Tempio had become more radical, and that by this time under the guidance of Alberti a complete transformation of the interior and exterior of the church was planned. On 15 October 1450 two elephants at the base of one of the two piers in the Chapel of St. Sigismund were put in place and blessed, and the erection of other carvings in this chapel began, and in 1451 Piero della Francesca completed in the Cappella delle Reliquie a fresco of Sigismundo Malatesta kneeling before St. Sigismund. In 1452 the Chapel of St. Sigismund was consecrated, and was supplied with a bronze grille by Maso di Bartolommeo. On 1 June 1454 the sculptor Giorgio da Sebenico agreed to procure stone 'per costruire le cappelle' (C. Grigioni, 'Giorgio da Sebenico e la costruzione del Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini', in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, xiii, 1910, pp. 89–91). This was not delivered, and work in the church seems to have been delayed as a result. At the end of the year marble was procured from Verona for use in the church, and on 5 June 1455 Antonio de' Pasti signed an agreement with a Veronese sculptor for red marble perhaps for the balustrade of the Chapel of the Planets.

In 1454 an attempt was made to secure a painting of St. Jerome from Fra Filippo Lippi (presumably for use over the altar in the Chapel of the Planets). A document of 13 December 1454 provides evidence that work in the first chapel on the left, the Chapel of the Sibyls, was under way, and that the Arca degli Antenati (the tomb of Sigismondo's ancestors) in this chapel was virtually complete ('a la sepoltura non mancha se non uno pocho al coperchio e commo m. Agostino retorna da Sezena gliela faro fornire'. (In the tomb there is lacking only a little on the lid, and when messer Agostino returns from Cesena I will get him to supply it.) On 18 December 1454 reference is made to the elephants beneath the piers in this chapel, which were to be installed after Christmas. Though there is no further evidence of his presence at Rimini, it is generally assumed that Agostino remained there until his departure for Perugia on 17 July 1457. It is not known when the third chapels to right and left were completed, but it is assumed by Grigioni with some plausibility that work on them was finished only in 1460. On 30 December 1461 the roofs of certain chapels were reported to be leaking, and thereafter, with the departure of Sigismondo Malatesta for the Morea, work seems to have ceased, save for a reference (6 November 1464) to a proposal by Matteo de' Pasti for the decoration of the Cappella di S. Antonio (the closed chapel between the first and second chapels on the left of the church); this does not necessarily provide a basis for the dating of the sculptured doorway of this Chapel, which is, however, different in style from other carvings in the Tempio.

The Tempio Malatestiano is the most richly sculptured Renaissance building in Italy, and no systematic enumeration of its sculptures is practicable. The essential sculptures are confined to the six principal chapels and are as follows:

Chapel of St. Sigismund: The piers of this chapel rest on sculptured elephants, and are decorated with reliefs of the Virtues (Fig. 106) and shield-bearing figures, arranged in two tiers on three sides of each pier, representing a total of twelve reliefs. Over the altar is a statue of St. Sigismund, flanked by two reliefs of angels. The walls are decorated with two pairs of angels drawing curtains in low relief. A scene from the legend of St. Sigismund which evidently formed an antependium or predella in this Chapel is in the Museo Civico, Milan.

Chapel of Isotta: The piers of this chapel are decorated with reliefs of music-making children (Fig. 109) and children bearing emblems. These are arranged in three tiers, representing a total of eighteen reliefs. Over the altar is a statue of St. Michael, and on one wall is the monument of Isotta degli Atti.

Chapel of the Planets: The piers of this chapel (Plates 101, 102) are decorated with planetary reliefs (for the iconography of these see C. Mitchell, 'The Imagery of the Tempio Malatestiano', in *Studi Romagnoli*, ii, 1951, pp. 77–90). These are disposed in the same way as the reliefs in the adjacent chapel. The altar statue has disappeared.

Chapel of the Sibyls: The piers of this Chapel are decorated with reliefs of Prophets and Sibyls (Fig. 107), arranged in two tiers in conformity with the reliefs in the Chapel of St. Sigismund on the opposite side of the church. On one wall is the Arca degli Antenati, which contains on the sarcophagus two figurated reliefs. A relief in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, perhaps formed part of the predella of the altar in this chapel.

Chapel of the Infant Games: The piers of this Chapel are decorated with reliefs of playing children (Fig. 110), arranged in three tiers in conformity with the Chapel of Isotta opposite.

Chapel of the Liberal Arts: The piers of this Chapel (Plate 103) are decorated with reliefs of the Liberal Arts (for the iconography of these see C. Mitchell, op. cit.), disposed in three tiers in conformity with the reliefs of the Chapel of the Planets.

Regardless of the attribution of the sculptures, it is clear that the high relief style of the Chapel of St. Sigismund, the first chapel to be decorated, was abandoned in favour of the low relief style introduced in the Chapel of Isotta and continued through the Chapels of the Planets and the Liberal Arts. The reliefs in the Chapel of the Sibyls are in lower relief than those in the Chapel of St. Sigismund, and represent a compromise between the two styles. There is no direct evidence for the date of the Chapel of Isotta, but this was unfinished in 1452.

The names of Matteo de' Pasti as architect and Agostino di Duccio as sculptor are recorded inside the church, and the former is generally credited, under the supervision of Alberti, with the architectural scheme of the interior. The sculptures are ascribed by a majority of students (Pointner and others) to Agostino di Duccio and his workshop. Vasari states that the carvings in the church were executed by Luca della Robbia, Simone, a brother of Donatello, and Ciuffagni, and the name of Ciuffagni occurs repeatedly in the earlier literature of the Tempio sculptures, though there is no carving in the church which in any way recalls his work. Other attempts to reattribute the sculptures are due to L. Venturi (who gives the reliefs in the Chapel of St. Sigismund to Francesco Laurana), A. Venturi (who initially regarded the sculptures as the work of Agostino di Duccio and Ciuffagni, and later accepted the reliefs in the Chapel of St. Sigismund as Laurana and the Arca degli Antenati as Matteo de' Pasti), and Schubring (who gave the reliefs in the Chapels of St. Sigismund and the Sibyls to Ciuffagni, along with the statues of SS. Sigismund and Michael, the Arca degli Antenati to Pasquino da Montepulciano, and the Chapel of the Planets and the relief from the Chapel of St. Sigismund to Matteo de' Pasti). In this connection it must be observed (i) that there is no warrant whatever for assuming the intervention of the Tempio of Ciuffagni, Laurana or any sculptor whose name is not mentioned in the documents, and (ii) that the only sound basis for attributing the carvings is the style of the individual reliefs. When these are analysed, it becomes clear that they are substantially the work of two separate artists. The first of these was responsible for the reliefs of the Chapels of St. Sigismund and the Sibyls, the Arca degli Antenati and the Arca of Isotta, the statues of SS. Sigismund and Michael, the antependium or predella from the Chapel of St. Sigismund, and the Chapel of the Infant Games. The second was responsible for the reliefs in the Chapel of Isotta (from which the much inferior reliefs in the Chapel of the Infant Games depend), the Chapel of the Planets, and the reliefs of the Liberal Arts. If the two groups of works are compared with the authenticated sculptures of Agostino di Duccio at Modena and Perugia, it becomes clear that he is identical with the first of these two artists, and this is confirmed by the document in which his name is mentioned in connection with the Arca degli Antenati. It would appear, therefore, that Agostino di Duccio was not responsible for devising the relief style introduced in the Chapel of Isotta, though he imitated it in the Chapel of the Infant Games, the angels drawing curtains on the walls of the Chapel of St. Sigismund and the Perugia façade. The hand of Ottaviano di Duccio (whose work is known through the tomb of Antonio Malatesta, Bishop of Cesena, of 1467 at Cesena) can be traced in the inferior reliefs behind the piers in the Chapel of the Sibyls. In these circumstances we are bound, by a process of exclusion, to ascribe the carvings of the second and superior hand tentatively to Matteo de' Pasti, and to assume that part of the work in both chapels was completed after Agostino di Duccio left Rimini in 1457. The Virtues on the Perugia façade (Plate 99) provide a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the Liberal Arts reliefs.

MATTEO DE' PASTI

(b. *c.* 1420; d. 1467/8)

The earliest references to the activity of Matteo de' Pasti occur with reference to his work as an illuminator, when he was employed (1441) in illustrating the *Trionfi* of Petrarch for Piero de' Medici and (1446) jointly with Giorgio Tedesco on an illuminated breviary for Lionello d'Este. Of Veronese origin, he is assumed initially to have been associated with Pisanello. Before 1446 he was also active as a medallist, producing medals of Guarino of Verona, Timoteo Maffei, and his brother Benedetto de' Pasti (Hill). Matteo de' Pasti's earliest medals of Sigismondo Malatesta and Isotta degli Atti are dated 1446, and it is generally assumed (Hill) that by this date he was already resident at Rimini. The date 1446, however, almost certainly relates to the climacteric year in the career of Sigismondo Malatesta, and has no evidential value as to the date at which the medals were cast. There is no documentary proof of Matteo de' Pasti's presence at Rimini before 30 June 1449, when he sold his house at Verona. He is mentioned on a number of occasions in notarial documents at Rimini in 1451–2, and his name occurs again on 17 May 1454, when he is described as 'aulico prefato Magnifici domini'. There is independent evidence that at this time he enjoyed the close confidence of Sigismondo Malatesta, since he is also referred to as 'socio et familiare excelsi domini Sigismondi pandulfi de Malatestis'. He is again mentioned at Rimini on 15 June 1458, 9 October 1458 and 21 June 1460. On 6 November 1464 his name occurs in connection with the decoration of the Cappella di S. Antonio in the Tempio Malatestiano, and he was still at Rimini on 20 August 1466 and 15 May 1467. He is mentioned as dead in a document assignable to the year 1468. Matteo de' Pasti is supposed to have visited Constantinople at the request of Mahomet II, and to have returned to Venice as a political prisoner from Crete. This journey probably took place at some time between 1460 and 1464. In his capacity as architect Matteo de' Pasti is known to have been responsible for the reconstruction of the interior of the Tempio Malatestiano. No trace survives of his work as an illuminator (though a copy of Valturio's *De Re Militari* at Dresden is wrongly ascribed to him by Schubring). In some respects the most accomplished fifteenth-century Italian medallist (for an analysis of his medals see Hill), Matteo de' Pasti was an artist of great eminence, and may have been responsible for the finest of the carvings in the Tempio Malatestiano. This attribution cannot, however, be demonstrated conclusively either on documentary or stylistic grounds. Matteo de' Pasti is credited by Schubring with the reliefs of the Chapel of the Planets at Rimini and by A. Venturi with the Arca degli Antenati, the tomb of Isotta degli Atti and certain other works (see note to Plate 100 above).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For the medals of Matteo de' Pasti see G. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1930. Remaining bibliography under Agostino di Duccio (above).

Plates 101–103: THE INTERIOR OF THE TEMPIO MALATESTIANO

Rimini

See Plate 100 above.

FRANCESCO LAURANA

(b. *c.* 1430; d. 1502?)

Born at Vrana, near Zara, Francesco Laurana's name first appears in documents in 1453 in connection with work on the triumphal arch of the Castelnuovo in Naples (see Plate 107 below). He is assumed to have been a pupil of Giorgio da Sebenico, and to have accompanied Pietro da Milano from Ragusa to Naples when the latter undertook responsibility for the construction of the triumphal arch. Attempts to identify Laurana's early work in two reliefs of angels on an altar in the Cathedral of Sebenico (A. Venturi) are unconvincing. The theories have also been advanced that before 1453 Laurana was active in Rimini, executing the carvings in the Chapel of St. Sigismund in the Tempio Malatestiano (A. Venturi; L. Venturi), and assisted Domenico Gaggini on the façade of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Cathedral at Genoa (Rolfs). Neither view can be sustained. It has also been suggested (L. Venturi) that in 1459–60 Laurana was employed on decorative carving in the Sala della Iole in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino. In 1461 Laurana (like Pietro da Milano) moved to France, where he was employed till 1466 by René of Anjou, for whom he produced a number of signed and dated medals. In 1467 he was in Sicily, where he worked for between four and seven years. His principal documented work of this time is the Mastrantonio Chapel in S. Francesco at Palermo (see Plate 106 below). Among other authenticated works which he produced in Sicily are statues of the Virgin and Child in S. Maria della Neve at Palermo and at Noto (both dated 1471). In the early seventies he was again active in Naples, where he carved a Madonna over the entrance to the Chapel of St. Barbara in the Castelnuovo (1474) and an undated Madonna over the entrance to S. Maria Materdomini (see Plate 104 below). From 1477 until 1483 he was once more in France, where he worked, in conjunction with Tommaso Malvito, on the Chapel of St. Lazarus in the Old Cathedral at Marseilles (completed 1481). In 1479–81 he executed for the church of the Célestins at Avignon a relief of Christ carrying the Cross between SS. Benedict and Scholastica; since the early nineteenth century this has been installed in St. Didier. Other works ascribed to Laurana in France are the monuments of Giovanni Cossa in St. Marthe at Tarascon and of Charles IV of Anjou at Le Mans. There is no record of Laurana's activity between 1483 and 1498, and it has been suggested (Valentiner) that at this time he returned to Naples, where he would have executed a number of portrait busts (see Plate 105 below), and to Sicily, where he would have been responsible for the tomb-slab of Cecilia Aprilis (d. 1495) in the Museum at Palermo. Laurana died in France prior to 12 March 1502.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Two monographs on Francesco Laurana appeared simultaneously in 1907 (F. Bürger, *Francesco Laurana: eine Studie zur Italienischen Quattrocento-skulptur*, Strassburg, 1907; W. Rolfs, *Franz Laurana*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1907). The volume of Bürger, though shorter and less amply illustrated, is the more soundly based. Both books, however, require to be read in conjunction with subsequent literature, especially that relating to the medals, the portrait busts and the triumphal arch. For the medals see G. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals before Cellini*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1930. The best account of the portrait busts is given in a suggestive article by Valentiner ('Laurana's Portrait Busts of Women', in *Art Quarterly*, v, 1942, pp. 273–98), which proposes a number of modifications in the accepted chronology of Laurana's works. In the vast and inconclusive literature of the Triumphal Arch, reference should be made to: C. von Fabriczy, 'Der Triumphbogen Alfonsos I am Castelnuovo zu Neapel', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xx, 1899, pp. 1–30, 125–58; C. von Fabriczy, 'Neues zum Triumphbogen Alfonsos I', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxiii, 1902, pp. 3–16; L. Venturi, 'Studi sul palazzo ducale di Urbino', in *L'Arte*, xvii, 1914, pp. 415–73; R. Filangieri di Candida, 'L'arco trionfale di Alfonso d'Aragona', in *Dedalo*, xii, 1932, pp. 439–66, 594–626; W. R. Valentiner, 'Andrea dell'Aquila, Painter and Sculptor', in *Art Bulletin*, xix, 1937, pp. 503–36; and R. Causa, 'Sagrera, Laurana e l'arco di Castelnuovo', in *Paragone*, v, 1954, pp. 3–23.

Plate 104: VIRGIN AND CHILD

S. Maria Materdomini, Naples

Marble, with traces of pigmentation. Identified by R. Longhi in 1916, and published by Causa, the statuette is closely related to the Madonna at Noto (1471) and to the damaged Virgin and Child over the entrance to the Chapel of St. Barbara in the Castelnuovo (1474), and was probably produced in this bracket of time.

Plate 105: ISABELLA OF ARAGON (?)

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The nine surviving female portrait busts by Francesco Laurana comprise (i) a portrait of Battista Sforza, wife of Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, in the Museo Nazionale, Florence; (ii) a portrait of Beatrice of Aragon in the Rockefeller Collection, New York; (iii) busts of unidentified sitters in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (formerly), the Frick Collection, New York, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, the Louvre, Paris, the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, the Museo Nazionale, Palermo, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Though usually assigned to Laurana's second Neapolitan period (*c.* 1472–4), these busts reveal marked changes of style, and it is argued by Valentiner, with a high degree of plausibility, that they belong in two separate periods. According to this thesis, the bust of Battista Sforza would have been executed posthumously at Urbino in 1475–6, and the Rockefeller bust would date from about 1473. The Washington bust would represent Ippolita Maria Sforza, wife of Alfonso II of Naples, and would have been carved (along with the busts formerly in Berlin and in the Frick Collection) between 1472 and 1475. The busts in Paris, Palermo and Vienna would be attributable to a third Neapolitan period in the late eighties (probably 1487–8), the latter certainly and the two former probably representing Isabella of Aragon, wife of Gian Galeazzo Sforza.

Plate 106: THE MASTRANTONIO CHAPEL

S. Francesco, Palermo

The documentary material relating to the Chapel is printed *in extenso* by Bürger. According to the initial contract, 'Magister Petrus de Bonitate et magister Franciscus de Laurana, scultores, habitatores Panormi' agreed 'pro unciis auri ducentis' to remodel the chapel of Antonio di Mastrantonio in S. Francesco, providing a marble floor and steps, a marble grave, a tomb and altar each resting on four columns, a life-size Virgin and Child, marble vaulting, and figurated reliefs for the façade of the Chapel 'iuxta designum datum per eosdem magistros eidem domino Antonio'. The façade of the Chapel takes the form of a small triumphal arch, with medallions of the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate in the spandrels, and figurated pilasters at the sides. These are composed of reliefs showing (*left side, bottom to top*): Putto with a Cornucopia, SS. Jerome and Gregory, St. Mark, St. John the Evangelist, the Prophet Jeremiah; (*right side, bottom to top*): SS. Ambrose and Bonaventure, St. Luke, St. Matthew, the Prophet Isaiah. A precedent for the form of the façade is provided by the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Cathedral at Genoa (executed after 1448 by Domenico Gaggini). The arrival of Gaggini in Palermo in 1463 tends to confirm the existence of a direct connection between the two schemes. No authenticated works by Pietro da Bonitate (a Lombard sculptor active in Palermo and Messina from 1468 till 1495) survive, and the distinction between his work and Laurana's therefore rests solely on inference. There is marked inequality between the two putti with cornucopias, that on the left being presumably due to Laurana and that on the right to a second hand, perhaps Pietro da Bonitate. The relief of St. Gregory and Jerome is generally accepted as Laurana's. Bürger regards the figures of SS. Luke and Mark and SS. Ambrose and Bonaventure as by Pietro da Bonitate, and the SS. Matthew and John as by a third hand. Though the quality of execution varies, it is difficult to believe that the six scenes were not designed by one and the same artist. If, as is likely, this artist was Laurana, some importance attaches to the theory (advanced by Bürger) that the reliefs of SS. Luke and Matthew presuppose knowledge of Donatello's reliefs of SS. John the Evangelist and Mark in the Sagrestia Vecchia of S. Lorenzo in Florence. The relationship between the carved pilasters of the Chapel and those of the Tempio Malatestiano is superficial, and the balance of evidence is against the view that the artist who designed them was familiar with the Rimini reliefs.

Plate 107: TRIUMPHAL ARCH

Castelnuovo, Naples

The entrance to the Castelnuovo at Naples (Fig. 114) is constructed in six registers, comprising (*bottom to top*) (i) an entrance in the form of a triumphal arch, surmounted by griffins with the Aragonese arms and flanked by pairs of columns, (ii) a figurated frieze representing the triumph of Alphonso I of Aragon, (iii) a second arch with reliefs of Victories in the spandrels, flanked by pairs of columns in front of one of which (*left*) stands an allegorical figure of uncertain identity, (iv) a row of four niches separated by pilasters, containing statues of (*left to right*) Justice, Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence, (v) a lunette with a relief of two River Gods, (vi) a statue of St. Michael. The latter was originally accompanied by figures of St. George (in large part destroyed) and St. Anthony the Abbot, which are no longer *in situ* on the arch (Causa). Inside the archway are two reliefs showing (*right*) the departure of Alphonso for war and (*left*) the return of Alphonso from a victorious exploit. In addition to the main elements, the arch contains a wealth of decorative carving of a subsidiary character.

The plan for the erection of a triumphal arch in Naples seems to date from the time of Alphonso's triumphal entry into the city on 26 February 1443. Initially this was designed to take the form of a late Gothic entrance to the Castelnuovo in which some classical features were to be incorporated. A record of the scheme in an early phase is contained in a drawing in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam (Planiscig, 'Ein Entwurf für den Triumphbogen', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, iv, 1933, pp. 16–28), which has been ascribed to the painter and medallist Pisanello (Fig. 113). The sheet is inscribed 'Bonomi da Ravenna', presumably in reference to a Bonhoms who is mentioned between 1444 and 1448 as administrator of the reconstruction of the Castelnuovo (Filangieri, 'Un più antico progetto dell'Arco Trionfale di Alfonso d'Aragona', in *Rassegna storica napoletana*, 1933). This scheme reflects the influence of the Catalan architect and sculptor Guillermo Sagrera, who was employed as 'protomagister' of the Castelnuovo in 1448, and till his death in 1454 worked on the Gran Sala and other parts of the building.

The towers flanking the entrance to the Castelnuovo were completed in 1452, and in the spring of this year the sculptor Pietro da Milano was summoned from Ragusa to undertake the construction of the arch. Pietro da Milano arrived in Naples in 1453. Documents of 1453 also record the presence in Naples of two other sculptors, Francesco Laurana and Paolo Romano, who, with thirty-three assistants, were employed on the arch. In 1455 the names of two further sculptors, Isaia da Pisa and Andrea dell'Aquila, appear in the account books, and in 1457 there are added the names of Antonio di Chellino and Domenico Gaggini. This phase of the construction of the triumphal arch ended with the death of Alphonso I in 1458. Work on the arch was resumed in 1465 under Ferrante I, and was completed by 9 May 1466. In this second and concluding phase sole responsibility for the project was vested in Pietro da Milano.

Despite the relatively large number of documents relating to the arch, there has been considerable disagreement first as to the artist who was responsible for the design, and secondly as to the role of individual sculptors. Disregarding fanciful attributions like that to Luciano Laurana (L. Venturi), authorship of the design is now generally credited either to Pietro da Milano or to Laurana. The attribution to Laurana depends from a letter written by the humanist Summonte to Marcantonio Michiel on 20 March 1524, which includes the sentence: 'In la entrata del Castel Nuovo è un arco trionfale fatto a tempo del re Alfonso primo di gloriosa memoria sono circa 80 anni per mano di maestro Francesco Schiavone, opera per quei tempi non mala.' It is difficult, however, to reconcile the documents with any other view than that the arch was designed by Pietro da Milano. The lower arch appears to have been based on the Arch of the Sergii at Pola.

Of the efforts to attribute individual sections of the arch to individual sculptors, the most persuasive are those of Filangieri and Valentiner. In the lowest register, the griffins in the spandrels (which are ascribed by Filangieri to Laurana) are almost certainly by one of the two Florentine sculptors employed on the arch, probably Andrea dell'Aquila (Valentiner). The two reliefs of Alphonso and his Court in the interior of the arch differ markedly in their spatial construction. In one of them (*left*) the spatial construction is Donatellesque, and this relief is probably also by Andrea dell' Aquila (Valentiner). In the relief on the right (Plate 107) the space construction recalls that of the Mastrantonio Chapel, and this relief is probably the work of Laurana (L. Venturi, Valentiner). The names of Domenico Gaggini (Filangieri) and Pietro da Milano (Causa) have also been proposed for this scene. The frieze above represents in an abbreviated form the triumphal procession of 1443 (Filangieri), and the bulk of this is due to Pietro da Milano (Filangieri, Valentiner). The horses drawing the triumphal car, however, and the victory figure which precedes them are the work of Paolo Romano (Valentiner), who also intervened in the projecting areas on either side, while the musicians are perhaps by Domenico Gaggini (Valentiner). Some details in the central area may have been executed by Laurana. The attributions of the figure of the King to Sagrera and of the sections at right angles to the main relief to Laurana (Causa) are improbable. The spandrel reliefs in the third register are possibly by Antonio di Chellino (Valentiner), and the allegorical statue on the left is of uncertain authorship. Of the four Virtues above, the Justice is probably by Laurana (L. Venturi, Causa), the Temperance is by Domenico Gaggini (Valentiner), the Fortitude is by Isaia da Pisa (Filangieri, Valentiner), and the Prudence is possibly by Domenico Gaggini (Filangieri). The lunette with River Gods is probably by Paolo Romano (Filangieri, Valentiner), and the St. Michael and St. Anthony the Abbot are respectively by Pietro da Milano (Filangieri) and Paolo Romano (Causa). Andrea dell'Aquila and Antonio di Chellino seem also to have been extensively employed on decorative carving, as was Laurana, to whom the interior of the vault is perhaps due.

FILARETE

(b. *c.* 1400; d. 1469?)

Antonio di Pietro Averlino appears to have been born in Florence, conjecturally about 1400, and is best known under the name Filarete, which he adopted on one occasion in the dedication of his *Trattato d'architettura* ('a tuo filareto architetto Antonio Averlino fiorentino'). Probably associated with Ghiberti on work on the first bronze door, he was summoned to Rome to undertake the bronze door of St. Peter's (see Plate 108 below). The bronze door was completed in 1445, and is stated by Vasari to have occupied twelve years. For this reason Filarete's arrival in Rome is usually assigned to the year 1433, though the theory that the door was not begun till 1439 has also been advanced. Following the erection of the door Filarete appears to have received the commission for the monument of Antonio Chiaves, Cardinal of Portugal (d. 1447) in St. John Lateran. After the death of his patron Eugenius IV (1447), however, Filarete was charged with the attempted theft of the head of St. John from St. John Lateran, and was compelled to flee from Rome, abandoning the Chiaves monument. All of the surviving sections of the Chiaves monument seem to have been carved by Isaia da Pisa (q.v.), but it is possible that Filarete was responsible for the rigidly classical programme of this tomb. After his return to Florence (1447), Filarete seems to have visited Todi, Rimini, Mantua and Venice (1449). A signed Processional Cross in the Duomo at Bassano is dated 1449; the lower part of this Cross was restored in 1622, but its original form is recorded in a painting by Jacopo Bassano of the Baptism of Lucilla in the Museo Civico, Bassano. In Venice he was associated with the mosaicists Angelo and Marino da Murano. In 1451 Filarete was summoned to Milan by Francesco Sforza, and between this date and 1453 seems to have been engaged on terracotta decoration in part of the Castello. In Milan he practised principally as an architect, designing the central block of the Ospedale Maggiore. In connection with this work, he visited Tuscany in 1456 to study the schemes of the Spedale degli Innocenti in Florence and the Spedale della Scala in Siena. The foundation stone of this part of the hospital was laid in 1457, and work was completed in 1465. By the latter year Filarete had completed his *Trattato d'architettura*, which he dedicated not to Francesco Sforza as had been intended but to Piero de' Medici. An autograph letter to Francesco Sforza of 1464–5 confirms that difficulties had arisen between Filarete and his patron, and on 22 November 1465 he was superseded as architect by Guiniforte Solari. A bronze statuette based on the classical equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, then outside St. John Lateran, was despatched by Filarete to Piero de' Medici in this year; this is now in the Albertinum, Dresden. The terms of the inscription on this statuette (as observed by Oettingen) suggest that it was cast in Rome and is therefore contemporary with the bronze doors. According to Vasari, Filarete, after the completion of the Ospedale Maggiore, returned to Rome, dying there in 1469. Filarete's only certain works are the bronze doors of St. Peter's, the equestrian statuette at Dresden, the Bassano Cross, and a medallic self-portrait (Victoria & Albert Museum, London) which contains on its reverse a reference to the patronage of Francesco Sforza. A number of other works have also been ascribed to him. In the case of four of these Filarete's authorship can be demonstrated on stylistic grounds; these are a relief of the Triumph of Caesar (Louvre, Paris), a plaquette of the Virgin and Child with Angels (Louvre, Paris, and Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin), a tabernacle door (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and a plaquette of Odysseus and Iros (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). Vasari's reference to the 'sciagurata maniera' of Filarete set the tone of the later literature dealing with the artist. His sculptures, though impoverished by poor workmanship, reveal considerable independence and inventiveness.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The sources for Filarete's biography are analysed by W. von Oettingen (*Ueber das Leben und die Werke des Antonio Averlino genannt Filarete*, Leipzig, 1888). This excellent short study also gives a useful account of Filarete's work. A volume by M. Lazzaroni and A. Muñoz (*Filarete*, Rome, 1908) contains many illustrations, but should be read in conjunction with a review by A. Venturi (in *L'Arte*, xi, 1908, pp. 393–400). For the iconography of the bronze door the fundamental study is that of B. Sauer ('Die Randreliefe an Filaretes Bronzetür von St. Peter', in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xx, 1897, pp. 1–22). The identity of the assistants whose names appear on the bronze door is discussed by H. von Tschudi ('Filaretes Mitarbeiter an den Bronzethüren von St. Peter', in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vii, 1884, pp. 291–4). The data relating to the Bassano Cross are summarized by G. Gerola ('Una Croce processionale del Filarete a Bassano', in *L'Arte*, ix, 1906, pp. 292–6). For the plaquette and tabernacle door in Vienna see L. Planiscig (*Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien: Die Bronzeplastiken*, Vienna, 1924, pp. 3–4).

Plate 108: BRONZE DOOR
St. Peter's, Rome

The bronze door (Fig. 115) cast by Filarete for St. Peter's was incorporated in the new basilica, and still fills the central entrance to the church. Two strips of bronze were added in 1620 by Pope Paul V, in order to bring the height of the door into conformity with that of the new entrance. The door was erected by 14 August 1445. According to Vasari, work on the two wings occupied Filarete for twelve years; if this statement is correct, work on the door must have been begun in 1433. It has been suggested (Lazzaroni and Muñoz) that work did not begin till 1439, since one of the historical events represented in a subsidiary section of the door occurred only in this year. The earlier date is, however, the more probable, since Eugenius IV (by whom the door was commissioned) left Rome in 1434. The technique of Filarete's door differs so greatly from that of Ghiberti's Porta del Paradiso, that the pattern established for the production of the latter (Krautheimer, *Ghiberti*, Princeton, 1957) has no relevance for the Roman door. On the one hand the elaborate surface working of the Porta del Paradiso is absent in Filarete's door, and on the other Filarete made use of champlevé enamel ornament for which there is no parallel on the Porta del Paradiso. Traces of blue, red and white enamelling survive. The use of champlevé enamel ornament appears to have been a normal practice in Filarete's studio, and is found again in the Marcus Aurelius at Dresden and in the Vienna tabernacle door. Like the Porta del Paradiso, Filarete's door was originally gilt; evidence for this is supplied by Flavio Biondo and other sources. The names of six assistants of Filarete are given on the door, in the form: ANGNIOLVS. IACOBVS. IANNELLVS. PASSQVINVS. IOANNES.VARRVS.FLORENTIE (for these see Tschudi).

Each of the two wings of the door is divided into three panels of unequal size. These represent (*top left*) Christ enthroned, (*top right*) the Virgin enthroned, (*middle left*) St. Paul with the *vas electionis* beside him, (*middle right*) Eugenius IV receiving the Keys from St. Peter, (*bottom left*) the Condemnation and Decapitation of St. Paul and St. Paul's appearance to Plautilla, (*bottom right*) the Condemnation and Crucifixion of St. Peter. Between the six scenes are four horizontal strips depicting events in the pontificate of Eugenius IV. These are (*upper left*) the Coronation of the Emperor Sigismund and the Pope and Emperor riding in procession to the Castel Sant'Angelo, (*lower left*) the arrival of the Emperor John Palaeologus in Ferrara and his reception by the Pope, (*upper right*) the Council of Florence and the embarkation of the Greeks at Venice, (*lower right*) the Abbot Andrew receiving the decree for the unification of the Eastern and Western churches from Eugenius IV, and visiting the graves of SS. Peter and Paul. Beneath and beside each wing are strips of foliated decoration with small figures, for the most part representing scenes from classical mythology or history. The subjects of many of these are undetermined; those which have been identified (Sauer) include (*bottom left, left to right*) Argus, Hermes, Io, the death of Argus, Hera and the eyes of Argus, Deucalion and Pyrrha, and Europa, (*left side of left wing, bottom to top*) Helle, the transformation of the Tyrrhenian pirates into Dolphins, Pyramus and Thisbe, Apollo and Daphne, Hercules and the Nemean Lion, Hercules and Antaeus, and a self-portrait of the sculptor, (*right side of left wing, bottom to top*) Rape of Proserpine, Jason, Jason and the Argonauts, (*bottom right, left to right*) Marcus Curtius, Hercules, Deianira, Nessus, (*left side of right wing, bottom to top*) Perseus slaying Medusa, the infant Hercules, Ganymede, Persephone, Narcissus, Circe and Picus, Actaeon, Mucius, Scaevola, Daedalus, Eros and Pan, (*right side of right wing, bottom to top*) Daedalus, Theseus and the Minotaur, Icarus, Amalthea, Leda, Romulus and Remus, the Rape of the Sabines, Cloelia, Horatius Cocles, the Punishment of Tarpeia, and Pan and Syrinx.

It is generally assumed that the commission for Filarete's door was inspired by the memory of the bronze doors of the Pantheon and St. John Lateran (from S. Adriano), and both in the style of the door and in its iconography antique models played an important part. It is inferred by Tschudi (with a high degree of probability) that the strips of foliated decoration in the borders of the wings owe their origin to some strips of decorative carving, probably from the Circus of Nero, which are still preserved. The mythological and historical figures incorporated in the borders derive for the most part from Ovid, Livy, Valerius Maximus and Virgil. The case has been stated (Sauer) that these scenes are due to free invention and selection on the part of the artist; this is improbable, and the multiplicity of classical models employed, in conjunction with the overall style of the door, suggests that this was executed to a humanist programme. The antique prototypes from which the figures of Christ, the Virgin and SS. Peter and Paul derive, have not been satisfactorily identified. Mosaics (to which reference has repeatedly been made) do not provide convincing models for these parts of the door. On the other hand, the treatment and posing of the Apostles would be consistent with the view that Filarete was familiar with Early Christian ivory carvings. The two Martyrdom scenes (in which Filarete challenges comparison with the Porta del Paradiso) are in many respects the least impressive sections of the door; in both the perspective construction is rudimentary and the narrative technique is primitive. These scenes incorporate much classical detail. The function of the door seems in the first instance to have been the celebration of Eugenius IV's attempts to achieve Christian unity, and the four historical scenes, owing in part to their simpler form and smaller scale, are of higher artistic quality than the two Martyrdom reliefs. Filarete's name appears in four places on the door, once in association with the date at which it was completed (ANTONIVS.PETRI.DE.FLORENTIA.FECIT.MCCCCXLV).

ISAIA DA PISA
(active 1447–64)

The son of a sculptor, Pippo di Giovanni da Pisa, who had been associated with Donatello during work on the Brancacci monument, Isaia da Pisa was employed in the Vatican in 1431. Though celebrated in a poem by Porcellio (*Ad immortalitatem Isaiae de Pisis sculptoris*), he is in some respects a mysterious artist. After Filarete's departure from Rome in 1447, he seems to have assumed responsibility for the Chiaves monument in St. John Lateran (Fig. 108), and undertook the (much modified) monument of Pope Eugenius IV in the ex-refectory of S. Salvatore in Lauro. The attribution of this and of an effigy of St. Monica in S. Agostino rest on the panegyric of Porcellio. In 1450–1 Isaia was employed at Orvieto, and after 1456 worked on the Arch of the Castelnuovo at Naples (see Plate 107 above). In 1460 he was working with Paolo Romano for Pius II, in 1462–3 he was engaged on the Tabernacle of St. Andrew for St. Peter's, and in 1463–4 he was at work on the Benediction Pulpit of Pius II. Porcellio also mentions riding figures of Nero and Poppaea, executed by Isaia da Pisa presumably in relief. The reconstruction of Isaia da Pisa's activity is largely conjectural, and the inequality of handling of the individual sections of the Chiaves monument (where the figures of Temperance and Prudence are much superior to the Virtues at present behind and beside the effigy) and of the monument of Eugenius IV (where the two Saints in niches to the right were carved by Isaia and the corresponding figures on the left were not) to some extent accounts for the uncertainty with which students of Roman sculpture have approached his work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See F. Bürger ('Isaias plastische Werke in Rom', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxvii, 1906, pp. 228–44) and L. Ciaccio ('Scultura romana del Rinascimento', in *L'Arte*, ix, 1906, pp. 165–84). Reproductions of the principal works under discussion are available in Riccoboni, *La scultura a Roma*, Rome, 1943.

Plate 109: VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED WITH SAINTS PETER AND PAUL
Grotte Vaticane

According to an inscription at one time set above the relief, this was removed in 1633 from the Orsini Chapel of S. Biagio in St. Peter's. The relief shows a Pope (*left*) and Cardinal (*right*) kneeling at the Virgin's feet. These have been variously identified as Pope John XXII (d. 1334) and Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini (d. 1336), to whom the endowment of the chapel was due (Ciaccio), and as Pope Eugenius IV and Cardinal Latino Orsini (d. 1439) (Bürger). Comparison with the head of the effigy on the Eugenius IV monument in S. Salvatore in Lauro lends some support to the latter view. The attribution to Isaia da Pisa, proposed by Bürger, is rejected by Semrau (in *Thieme-Becker Künstlerlexikon*) and Ciaccio. The drapery of the St. Peter is, however, very close to that of the Prudence from the Chiaves monument (St. John Lateran), and the attribution to Isaia da Pisa's workshop is not open to serious dispute. The carving is, however, more recessive than that of the figures from the Chiaves monument, or the lunette with the head of St. Andrew adored by two angels in the Grotte Vaticane, from the reliquary-tabernacle of 1462–3, and if, as suggested by Bürger, the present relief was commissioned after the death of Cardinal Orsini in 1439, it would be Isaia da Pisa's earliest surviving work. The head and left forearm of the Child have been broken and restored.

GIOVANNI DALMATA
(b. *c.* 1440; d. after 1509)

Giovanni Dalmata, also known as Giovanni da Traù, seems to have been born in Traù about 1440 and to have been trained in the workshop of Giorgio da Sebenico. In Rome, where he may initially have been associated with Paolo Romano, he collaborated with Andrea Bregno on the Tebaldi (d. 1466) and Ferrici (d. 1478) monuments in S. Maria sopra Minerva, and with Mino da Fiesole on an altar in the sacristy of S. Marco (1474) and the monument of Pope Paul II (see Plate 110 below). He appears to have been solely responsible for the Eroli (d. 1479) and Roverella (1476–7) monuments in the Grotte Vaticane and S. Clemente. From 1481 he was employed in Hungary by Matthias Corvinus, and on the latter's death (1490) probably returned to Italy. There is evidence of his presence in Venice in 1498. His last work is the tomb of the Beato Girolamo Gianelli in the Duomo at Ancona (1509). Both in technique and style Dalmata was an artist of notable individuality, and though many of his main works are collaborative, there is no evidence of an attempt to approximate his style to that of Mino on the one hand or Bregno on the other.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The fundamental studies of Dalmata's life and work remain those of H. von Tschudi ('Giovanni Dalmata', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, iv, 1883, pp. 169–90) and Fabriczy ('Giovanni Dalmata: neues zum Leben und Werk', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxii, 1901, pp. 224–52). A useful corpus of reproductions is supplied by Riccoboni, *La scultura a Roma*, Rome, 1943.

Plate 110: THE MONUMENT OF POPE PAUL II

Grotte Vaticane

The monument of Pope Paul II (d. 1471) is ascribed by Vasari to Mino da Fiesole: 'Dopo morto quel Papa, a Mino fù fatto allogazione della sua sepoltura, la quale egli dopo due anni diede finita e murata in San Pietro, che fù allora tenuta la più ricca sepoltura che fusse stata fatta d'ornamenti e di figure a pontifice nessuno.' (After the death of this Pope, his tomb was commissioned from Mino, who completed it in two years and set it up in St. Peter's. It was then regarded as the richest tomb, in respect both of ornament and figures, that had been made for any Pope.) The tomb was demolished in the course of the rebuilding of the St. Peter's, was subsequently re-erected (1547), and was again disassembled. The bulk of the surviving fragments are now in the Grotte Vaticane. There is no evidence of the date of the construction of the monument, which has been assigned to the years 1471–3 and 1474–7. Mino da Fiesole's contract with the Badia for the tomb of Count Hugo of Tuscany (see Plate 69 above) had been signed a month before the death of Pope Paul II, and work on this monument seems to have been broken off in favour of the papal commission. Evidence of the original form of the monument (Fig. 116) is supplied by an engraving (Ciaconius, *Vitae Pontificium*) and two early sixteenth-century drawings in the Uffizi. The carving of the monument was executed jointly by Mino and Giovanni Dalmata (in the case of both artists with extensive studio assistance), and as Dalmata appears to have played the more prominent role in the execution of the sculptures, the possibility cannot be ruled out that he was also responsible for the design of the tomb. This was flanked by columns, and rested on a base (now in the Louvre, Paris) carved with putti, garlands and lion masks. The base lacks its central section, and the aggregate width of the two surviving pieces (5·18 m.) is rather less than the overall width of the tomb. One part of the base (Louvre, Paris) was executed by Mino and the other by Dalmata. The remaining sections of the monument (with the exception of the columns by which it was flanked and certain other architectural features) are preserved in the Grotte Vaticane. They consist (in ascending order) (i) of upright reliefs of Faith and Charity by Mino and Hope by Dalmata (signed IOHANNIS DALMATAE OPVS), with, between them, reliefs of the Creation of Eve by Dalmata and the Fall by Mino (the latter in large part effaced), (ii) of the sarcophagus and effigy by Dalmata, (iii) of a large relief of the Resurrection set behind and above the effigy, also by Dalmata, (iv) of two pilasters composed of four reliefs of the Evangelists (SS. Luke and John by Mino and SS. Matthew and Mark by Dalmata) and two coats-of-arms (by Mino), (v) of a large lunette of the Last Judgment (workshop of Mino) set above a frieze of putto heads and beneath a projecting gable (preserved in part). In addition, it is suggested by Bürger ('Neuaufgefundene Skulptur- und Architekturfragmente vom Grabmal Paul II', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxvii, 1906, pp. 129–41) that the monument also contained at the top a feature omitted in the Ciaconius engraving, in the form of a rectangular relief of God the Father in benediction surrounded by flying angels set above the lunette between pilasters. This reconstruction presents some difficulty, though the carvings (in the main by Dalmata) are consistent in style with the remainder of the monument. The tomb of Paul II was the largest and most complex papal wall monument produced in Rome in the fifteenth century.

MINO DEL REAME

In two separate passages Vasari refers to a sculptor of Neapolitan origin active in Rome, known as Mino del Regno or Mino del Reame. On the first occasion Mino del Reame is mentioned in association with Paolo Romano: 'Segue ora che noi parliamo di Paolo Romano e di Mino del Regno coetanei della medesima professione, ma molto differenti nelle qualità di costumi e dell'arte . . . Sono di mano di Mino a Monte Cassino, luogo de' Monaci Neri nel Regno di Napoli, una sepoltura, ed in Napoli, alcune cose di marmo. In Roma il S. Pietro e S. Paolo che sono a piè delle scale di S. Pietro, ed in S. Pietro la sepoltura di Papa Paolo II.' (Now we must speak of Paolo Romano and Mino del Regno, contemporaries in the same profession, but very different in their habits and in the quality of their art . . . By the hand of Mino are a tomb at Montecassino, the Benedictine monastery in the Kingdom of Naples, and some marble sculptures in Naples. In Rome he carved the SS. Peter and Paul which are at the foot of the stairs at St. Peter's, and in St. Peter's the tomb of Pope Paul II.) On the second occasion his name occurs in the life of Mino da Fiesole in a passage referring to the tomb of Paul II (see Plate 110 above). There is no documentary reference to the activity of Mino del Reame, but it has long been observed (initially by Schmarsow and later by Angeli and

Venturi) that a number of works in Rome signed OPVS MINI were by another hand than that of Mino da Fiesole. The distinction between Mino del Reame and Mino da Fiesole has not been universally accepted, and is opposed in particular by Bode, Schottmüller and Langton Douglas. It is suggested by Tschudi that the second Mino was a Central Italian artist directed by Mino da Fiesole. There is, however, as noted by Valentiner, some reason to suppose that Mino del Reame was established in Rome in the fourteen-sixties when Mino da Fiesole was active in the main in Florence. The main works attributed to Mino del Reame are the Ciborium of Cardinal d'Estouteville (reliefs in S. Maria Maggiore, see Plate 111 below), a relief of the Virgin and Child in S. Maria Maggiore, a tabernacle in S. Maria in Trastevere, and two angels above the doorway of S. Giacomo dei Spagnuoli.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See under Mino da Fiesole. The evidence relating to Mino del Reame is epitomized in the *Storia* of Venturi (vi, 1908, pp. 658–62). A slipshod entry relating to the sculptor in Thieme *Künstler-Lexikon* (Schottmüller) should be ignored.

Plate 111: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN

S. Maria Maggiore, Rome

The Ciborium of Cardinal d'Estouteville in S. Maria Maggiore was disassembled under Pope Benedict XIV, and the present relief, along with three companion reliefs, is now built into the apse of the church. Its original form can, however, be reconstructed from literary descriptions and from a drawing of 1621 (De Angelis), and from these we know that it rested on four white marble pillars. In the spandrels of the arches were roundels with the Symbols of the Evangelists and the four Fathers of the Latin Church. Above these were four horizontal reliefs with the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Assumption and Miracle of the Snow, the latter facing towards the nave of the church. Above these again were four small vertical reliefs of the Virgin and Child, the Redeemer, SS. Peter and Paul, and the Annunciation. The Virgin and Child, which bears the inscription OPVS MINI, is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, and was formerly owned by the Capitolo Liberiano. The Ciborium was crowned with a cupola and four statuettes of angels (lost). Round it ran the inscription: GVGLIELMVS DE ESTOUTEVILLE CARD. ROTOMAGENSIS SACRVM FECIT AN. MCCCCLXI . . . Conjecturally completed in 1462 or 1463, the structure is not recognizably related to the architectural forms employed by Mino da Fiesole at this or any later time, and the style of the reliefs is purely Roman in character. Thus the right side of the Adoration of the Magi seems to depend from a classical original, and in the Assumption the classicizing treatment of the drapery of the ten angels recalls the work of Isaia da Pisa and Paolo Romano rather than that of Mino da Fiesole.

ANDREA BREGNO

(b. 1421; d. 1506)

The dates of Bregno's birth and death are established by the inscription on his tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva. Born at Osteno near Como, he came to Rome in the fourteen-sixties, and under Sixtus IV became the most popular Roman sculptor of his time. Representative examples of his work are a relief from the demolished tomb of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) in S. Pietro in Vincoli, the Labretto (d. 1465) monument in S. Maria in Aracoeli, the Tebaldi (d. 1466) and Coca (d. 1477) tombs in S. Maria sopra Minerva, the Borgia altar (1473) and the Cristoforo della Rovere monument (d. 1479) in S. Maria del Popolo, the Riario (see Plate 112 below) and Raffaello della Rovere (d. 1477) monuments in SS. Apostoli, the tabernacle in S. Maria della Quercia at Viterbo (commissioned 1490) and the Savelli monument (after 1495 and before 1498) in S. Maria in Aracoeli. A sculptor of great taste and technical proficiency but of limited inventiveness, Bregno is mentioned by Giovanni Santi alongside Verrocchio ('L'alto Andrea del Verrocchio, e Andrea ch'a Roma/Si gran compositore e cum belleza') and is referred to by Platina, in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, as 'sculptor egregius, vicinus meus et ea mihi necessitudine conjunctus quae rara est'. The few critical problems arising from his work relate in the main to the distinction between autograph works and the many works turned out by his studio.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For almost sixty years an article by Steinmann ('Andrea Bregnos Thätigkeit in Rom', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xx, 1899, pp. 216–32) has remained the standard survey of Bregno's work. An article by Schmarsow ('Meister Andrea', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, iv, 1883, pp. 18–31) contains some useful material, but is vitiated by a confusion between Andrea Bregno and the Milanese sculptor Andrea Fusina. A number of Bregno's sepulchral monuments are discussed by F. Bürger (*Das Florentinische Grabmal bis Michelangelo*, Strassburg, 1906). Excellent general accounts of Bregno's activity are supplied by A. Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, vi, 1908, pp. 939–69) and W. Friedlaender in Thieme *Künstler-Lexikon*. On Bregno as a collector of antiques see H. Egger ('Beiträge zur Andrea-Bregno Forschung', in *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 122–36).

Plate 112: THE MONUMENT OF CARDINAL PIETRO RIARIO

SS. Apostoli, Rome

Commissioned after the death of Cardinal Riario (1474), the tomb (Fig. 112) appears to have been completed in 1477. Its design is variously ascribed to Mino da Fiesole (Bürger), who was responsible for carving a relief of the Virgin and Child for a position behind the effigy, Dalmata (Venturi, *Storia*, viii-1, 1923, p. 632), and Bregno. There is a high degree of probability that the monument, with its four Saints in niches at the sides, an effigy resting on a classical sarcophagus, and two angels on the base beside the epitaph, is due in the main to Bregno, since not only does the design (with the exception of the irregular gable above) fall logically into place in the sequence of Bregno's dated tombs, but the angels on the base are reproduced in Bregno's Raffaello della Rovere monument in the crypt of SS. Apostoli and the sarcophagus recurs in Bregno's Savelli monument. The ornament on the sarcophagus derives from a classical prototype. Both the effigy and the sarcophagus are ascribed by Venturi to Dalmata. Steinmann correctly observes that the sphinx heads under the sarcophagus were carved by Mino da Fiesole. The attribution of the effigy and sarcophagus to Bregno is contested by Schmidt ('Pasquale da Caravaggio', in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge August Schmarsow gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 115–28).

GIOVANNI ANTONIO AMADEO

(b. 1447; d. 1522)

Born at Pavia in 1447, Amadeo's name occurs in the records of the Certosa in 1466 in connection with work on the terracotta decoration in the large cloister. The name of his brother Protasio appears in the records in the same year in reference to the painting of a terracotta lavabo with the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate (Fig. 118) in the small cloister. This has been identified (Dell'Acqua) as Amadeo's work. Of the same date is a terracotta relief in the Museo Civico, Milan, of a Carthusian prior presented by a female Saint to the Virgin and Child. An attempt has also been made to identify Amadeo's share in the terracotta decoration of the north and east sides of the small cloister (Lehmann). The signed marble doorway of the small cloister is widely assumed to have been carved between 1466 and Amadeo's departure for Bergamo in 1470. It is argued (Lehmann) that the lunette of this doorway presupposes some knowledge of Florentine Renaissance sculpture. This view is contested by Dell'Acqua and Middeldorf, the latter adducing convincing analogies with a carved lunette of 1428 in the Collegiata at Castiglione d'Olona. A signed relief of the Virgin and Child with three Angels in the sacristy of the Misericordia, Florence (Middeldorf), which appears to have been carved at about the same date as the Certosa doorway, also acts in favour of the view that the formation of Amadeo's style was local and not Florentine. Amadeo's share in the decoration of the Portinari Chapel in S. Eustorgio, Milan, where he would have come in contact with the painter Foppa, is uncertain. From 1470 Amadeo was employed at Bergamo on the monument of Medea Colleoni (see Plate 113 below) and the construction of the Colleoni Chapel (see Plate 114 below). The latter was completed in 1476. In 1474 Amadeo undertook jointly with the Mantegazza (q.v.) responsibility for the façade of the Certosa at Pavia. At this time he appears to have fallen under the influence of the Mantegazza, which is reflected both in the reliefs of Old and New Testament scenes carved after 1485 for the façade, and in a number of works executed for Cremona (see Plate 116 below). Amadeo seems to have been solely responsible for the design of the window register of the Certosa façade. Some of the last works he executed for the Certosa are a group of scenes from the history of the Carthusian Order and the life of St. Bruno executed jointly with Benedetto Briosco in 1501 (for these see Dell'Acqua). Other late works are the Arca of S. Lanfranco in S. Lanfranco outside Pavia (probably completed for the tercentenary of this Saint in 1498) and a Coronation of the Virgin over the lavabo of the church of the Carmine at Pavia. In the last two decades of his life Amadeo was increasingly active as an architect and engineer, designing the courtyard of the Palazzo Bottigella at Pavia (1492) and additions to the Cathedral at Pavia, of which he became 'ingeniario' (1502). He was also at this time closely associated with the Duomo in Milan, in connection with which his name appears on many occasions after 1490. On the building is a portrait medallion of Amadeo with the inscription: IO. ANTONIVS HOMODEVS. VENERE. FABRICE MLI. ARCHITECTVS. He was resident in the vicinity of the Cathedral in 1514, and was succeeded as architect of the Fabbrica by Cristoforo Solari on 7 November 1519. His death is recorded on 28 August 1522.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The essential documents relating to Amadeo's activity at Pavia are published by R. Majocchi ('Giovanni Antonio Amadeo . . . secondo i documenti negli archivi pavesi', in *Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria*, iii, 1903) and C. Magenta (*La Certosa di Pavia*, Milan, 1897). A monograph by F. Malaguzzi-Valeri (*Giovanni Antonio Amadeo*, Bergamo, 1904) is valuable above all for its illustrations. A good account of Amadeo as an architect is supplied by A. Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, viii–2, 1924), and a serious analysis of Amadeo's sculpture by H. Lehmann (*Lombardische Plastik im letzten Drittel des XV Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1928). The best critical account of Amadeo's work is, however, that of G. A. Dell'Acqua ('Problemi di scultura lombarda: Mantegazza e Amadeo', in *Proporzioni*, iii, 1950, pp. 123–40). Useful material is also contained in A. G. Meyer's now largely outdated *Oberitalienische Frührenaissance: die Blüthezeit*, ii, Berlin, 1900. For an analysis of Amadeo's early style see U. Middeldorf ('Ein Jugendwerk des Amadeo', in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*, Berlin, 1956, pp. 136–42), and for material relating to the Colleoni Chapel B. Belotti ('Le origini della Cappella Colleoni in Bergamo', in *Emporium*, liv, 1921, pp. 289–302, and *La Vita di Bartolommeo Colleoni*, Bergamo, 1923).

Plate 113:

THE MONUMENT OF MEDEA COLLEONI

Cappella Colleoni, Bergamo

The tomb, which was designed for the Dominican church of S. Maria della Basella and was moved to its present position on the wall of the Colleoni Chapel in 1842, is flanked by carved pilasters and a carved frieze, with curtains caught up in the upper corners. Against a white and black marble ground in the centre of the monument behind the sarcophagus is the epitaph with reliefs of the Madonna of Humility with SS. Catherine of Siena (*right*) and Catherine of Alexandria (*left*). The sarcophagus beneath rests on cherub heads, and is carved on its front face with the Pietà between the Colleoni arms. Across the bottom of the sarcophagus runs the inscription: IOVANES . ANTONIVS . DEAMADEIS . FECIT. HOC . OPVS. The monument is assumed to have been commissioned soon after the death of Medea Colleoni (6 March 1470), and was presumably unfinished at the time of the death of Bartolommeo Colleoni (3 November 1473) since the epitaph reads HIC IACET MEDEA VIRGO FILIA QVŌDAM ILLVSTRIS ET EXL D BARTHOLOMEI COLIONI DE ANDEGAVIA SER^{MI} DV D VENETIAR CAPIT G̅N̅AL̅IS 1470 DIE 6 MARCI. Unlike the monument of Bartolommeo Colleoni on the adjacent wall of the chapel, which reveals the hands of at least two assistants of Amadeo, the figure sculpture of the Medea Colleoni monument is rightly (Lehmann, Dell'Acqua) regarded as wholly autograph.

Plates 114, 115: THE COLLEONI CHAPEL

Bergamo

The construction of a chapel (Fig. 119) attached to the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo appears to have been decided on by Bartolommeo Colleoni at some date between the death of his daughter Medea (6 March 1470) and his own death (3 November 1473). There is a tradition that in order to obtain a suitable site for the Chapel, Colleoni seized and demolished the sacristy of the church; this is confirmed by documents of 1483 and 1485, which record the visit to Colleoni's castle at Malpaga of two emissaries from the Misericordia at Bergamo to protest against the destruction of the sacristy, and the promise of Colleoni to build a new sacristy in some other area contiguous to the church ('una più bella e più comoda ale mie spese'). Though it is sometimes stated that work on the Chapel was begun in 1470 (Meyer), it has been demonstrated (Belotti) that the two emissaries who visited Colleoni were administrators of the Misericordia between February 1472 and March 1473, and that the year 1472 is therefore the earliest date at which the construction of the Chapel can have been initiated. The Chapel was still unfinished on 31 October 1475, when a codicil relating to Colleoni's will refers to 'Capellam suam, sitam in Civitate Pergami, prope Ecclesiam S. Marie Majoris Pergami, in qua elegit sepulchrum, ubi cadaver ejus recondi debeat, debere complere et finiri, et sumptuose ornari'. (His Chapel, in the city of Bergamo, near the church of S. Maria Maggiore, in which he chose the tomb wherein his body should be buried, must be completed and finished and sumptuously decorated.) The façade was presumably completed in the following year, since a circular slab inserted in the side of the façade bears the date MCCCCLXXVI. The façade is flanked by pilasters, which are repeated at the sides, and are decorated with heads in relief of Saints and Apostles and with medallions of emperor and other heads. Beneath each of the façade pilasters are two reliefs with scenes from the legend of Hercules. The doorway in the centre is surmounted by a relief of God the Father and, above, by three statuettes of angels grouped round the Colleoni arms. Above is a circular window. On either side of the doorway are windows filled with small columns and flanked and surmounted by pilasters. Above these are lunettes with foliated decoration, and above these again are niches with busts of (*left*) Caesar and (*right*) Trajan. To right and left of the entrance are two allegorical female figures (probably Virtues, though in the absence of distinguishing emblems their identity cannot be established), on supports rising from reliefs with putti. Corresponding pairs of allegorical figures appear above each of the two lateral windows. Below each window is a group of five reliefs with scenes from Genesis from (*left*) the Creation of Adam to the Labours of Adam and Eve, and (*right*) Cain and Abel to the Sacrifice of Isaac. The flat surface of the façade is covered with a geometrical pattern of red, white and black marble. In the interior the principal feature is the triumphal arch on the right (north) wall, constructed of Istrian stone and carved (*right*) with grapes and vine-leaves and (*left*) with other foliated decoration with putti at the bottom on either side. On the wall facing the entrance is the tomb of Bartolommeo Colleoni (in which the gilded wood equestrian figure surmounting the sarcophagus is an addition of 1501). There is no parallel for the form of this monument, which consists of two parts, that beneath a deep platform with reliefs of the Flagellation, Christ carrying the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Lamentation over the Dead Christ and the Resurrection, statuettes of Virtues and a frieze of playing putti, resting on pilasters, and that above a triumphal arch supported by columns, containing a sarcophagus with reliefs of the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi, two female figures standing on the lid, and three seated and two standing statuettes of classical warriors in front of it. The execution of the monument reveals extensive studio intervention. In the lower part the frieze of putti, the statuette of Charity and the reliefs of the Crucifixion and Lamentation are generally accepted (Lehmann, Dell'Acqua) as works by Amadeo. The reliefs of the Flagellation and Resurrection are by an independent artist, whose hand has also been identified (Lehmann) at the Certosa at Pavia. In the upper part of the monument the three scenes from the infancy of Christ are also autograph. The monument, however, appears to have been completed over a long period of time, and in the autograph areas there is a marked discrepancy between the three Passion reliefs (where the technique approximates to that of the door of the small cloister at Pavia), the more accomplished frieze of putti, and the reliefs on the sarcophagus, which can hardly have been executed before 1480. There is no record of the date at which it was set up.

Plate 116: S. IMERIO GIVING ALMS
Duomo, Cremona

During the 1480s a number of works were executed by Amadeo and his studio for Cremona. These comprise (i) the Arca of S. Arealdo, from which reliefs of St. Jerome (signed and dated 1484) and the Stigmatization of St. Francis are now in Cremona Cathedral; (ii) the Arca of the Persian Martyrs (1482), carved in the studio of Amadeo for the church of S. Lorenzo and since 1814 built into the pulpit of Cremona Cathedral; (iii) the Arca of S. Imerio, from which there survives a single relief, on a considerably larger scale, of S. Imerio giving Alms. Payments for the Arca of S. Imerio occur between 18 August 1481 and 11 October 1484.

CRISTOFORO and ANTONIO
(d. 1482) (d. 1495)
MANTEGAZZA

Of Milanese origin and the son of a certain Galeazzo, Cristoforo Mantegazza is mentioned for the first time in 1464, when he was engaged in furnishing 'bottazoli' for the Certosa at Pavia. Between 1464 and 1466 he was employed on the terracotta decorations of the cloisters of the Certosa, and a generally convincing attempt has been made (Arslan) to identify his share in this work. In 1467 he was in Milan, occupied with unspecified marble carvings for the Castello Sforzesco. After abortive discussions regarding the projected equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza (on which Leonardo da Vinci was later employed), the Mantegazza in 1473 contracted to undertake the construction of the façade of the Certosa at Pavia ('totam fazatam dicte ecclesie ac por tam cum finestris et aliis laboreriis necessariis'). In 1474, however, a half share in the Certosa façade was allotted to Amadeo, who appears from this point on to have assumed direction of the work. Two years later there is a reference to the completion of unspecified works by the Mantegazza for the Certosa, and in 1478 they received payment for certain works, among them five 'sacrarii' and a marble Pietà (see Plate 117 below). Cristoforo Mantegazza died in February 1482, but his brother continued to work at the Certosa at least till 1489 when he ceded his workshop to Alberto Maffiolo da Carrara. Antonio Mantegazza died in 1495, and was succeeded as Ducal Sculptor by Cristoforo Solari. In a letter written by Beatrice d'Este at this time he is referred to as the 'compagno' of Amadeo. No documented work by either Cristoforo or Antonio Mantegazza survives, and attempts to differentiate between the style of the two artists (Dell'Acqua, Arslan) have achieved contradictory results. According to one hypothesis (Dell'Acqua) Cristoforo Mantegazza was responsible for the superior and Antonio for the inferior reliefs and statuettes on the Certosa façade, and Antonio would have executed about 1480–90 the remarkable reliefs of biblical scenes on the upper part of the building. According to the other hypothesis (Arslan) the biblical scenes would have been executed about 1465–70 by Cristoforo Mantegazza, and Antonio Mantegazza would have been responsible, after the former's death, for executing a number of the façade reliefs and statuettes, the large Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Capitolo dei Fratelli, the Adoration of the Magi in the Capitolo dei Padri, the relief of Christ washing the Feet of the Disciples on the lavabo in the sacristy (1488), and the Pietà over the door in the right transept. The balance of probability is in favour of the second hypothesis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The documentary basis for knowledge of the Mantegazza is supplied by Calvi (*Notizie sulla vita e sulle opere dei principali architetti, scultori e pittori che fiorirono in Milano durante il governo dei Visconti e degli Sforza*, ii, Milan, 1865), and C. Magenta (*La Certosa di Pavia*, Milan, 1897). The style of the two brothers is discussed by H. Lehmann (*Lombardische Plastik im letzten Drittel des XV Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1928), G. A. Dell'Acqua ('Problemi di scultura lombarda: Mantegazza e Amadeo', in *Proporzioni*, ii, 1948 pp. 89–107) and E. Arslan ('Sui Mantegazza', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxv, 1950, pp. 27–34).

Plate 117: THE LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST

Certosa, Pavia

The relief (Fig. 123), which still occupies its original position over the altar of the Capitolo dei Fratelli in the Certosa, shows in the foreground the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, and in the background the Crucifixion, the soldiers throwing dice for Christ's garments, and the opening of the sepulchre. Framed in a black marble surround and flanked by carved pilasters, it has beneath it a predella of the Annunciation. The scenes in the background are designed independently of one another and of the central scene, each with its own landscape background, and are carved with great refinement and delicacy. Extensive use is made of surface gilding in the pilasters, and traces of gilding survive also in the main relief; the effect of these is to diminish its expressive and enhance its decorative character. The altar-piece has been identified with a relief of the Pietà listed among certain 'laboreria facta per magistros Cristoforum et Antonium de Mantegaciis' in a stima of 1478 (Dell'Acqua). This identification has been challenged (Arslan) on the ground first that the Pietà listed in the stima ('Pietas una marmoris posita in capella dupla ecclesie') appears to have been destined for the transept of the church, and secondly that the framing of the altar-piece (which reveals the influence of Gian Cristoforo Romano) would be consistent with a considerably later date. If the altar-piece was carved in 1478, it would have been executed jointly by Cristoforo and Antonio, while if (as is more probable) it was carved about 1490, it would be the work of Antonio Mantegazza. The relief is not only from a technical standpoint the most accomplished work associable with the Mantegazza, but also marks the extreme point in the expressionist tendency latent in the Mantegazza's style; this has been explained by reference to German woodcuts (Malaguzzi-Valeri), Mantegna (Calvi), and the paintings of Tura and Cossa (Dell'Acqua).

CRISTOFORO SOLARI
(active 1489–1520)

The name of Cristoforo Solari appears for the first time in 1489 when he was engaged in Venice on an altar (destroyed) in the church of the Carità. Thereafter he appears to have returned to Lombardy, and in 1495 was appointed Ducal Sculptor in succession to Antonio Mantegazza. In 1497 he received the commission for the tomb of Beatrice d'Este (see Plate 118 below). Between 1501 and 1503 he was engaged on work for the Cathedral in Milan, of which he became Operaio in 1506. The most notable of the sculptures which he undertook for the Cathedral are two statues of Adam and Eve (1502) and a Christ at the Column (undated) in the South Sacristy. In 1512 he was employed as an architect on S. Maria presso S. Celso, and in 1513 he designed the apse of the Duomo in Como. A year later he appears to have paid a brief visit to Rome. When the St. Peter's Pietà of Michelangelo was first exhibited, it was, according to Vasari, popularly ascribed to Cristoforo Solari, and evidence that Solari's reputation extended beyond the bounds of Lombardy is provided by commissions for a group (lost) of Hercules and Cacus executed for the Duke of Ferrara (completed 1516–17) and for a fountain for Isabella d'Este.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The available information on the career of Cristoforo Solari is assembled by F. Malaguzzi-Valeri ('I Solari architetti e scultori lombardi del XV secolo', in *Italienische Forschungen herausgegeben vom Kunsthistorischen Institut in Florenz*, i, 1906, pp. 133–63). For Solari's work for the Duomo at Milan see U. Nebbia (*La scultura nel Duomo di Milano*, Milan, 1908) and for the monuments of Lodovico il Moro and Beatrice d'Este articles by L. Beltrami ('Le statue funerarie di Lodovico il Moro e di Beatrice d'Este alla Certosa di Pavia', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, iv, 1891, pp. 357–62) and D. Sant'Ambrogio ('Il Pallio o Trittico marmoreo di Vighignolo nel patrio museo archeologico di Milano', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, ii, 1896, pp. 189–94).

Plate 118: EFFIGIES OF LODOVICO IL MORO AND BEATRICE D'ESTE

Certosa, Pavia

After the sudden death of Beatrice d'Este on 29 January 1497 one hundred masses were celebrated on the command of Lodovico il Moro in the church of S. Maria delle Grazie. The commission for the tomb of Beatrice d'Este appears to date from immediately after her death, and in any event from before 18 April 1497, when a letter of Battista Sfondrato to Lodovico il Moro refers to the purchase at Venice of Carrara marble in blocks of a weight and size specified by Cristoforo Solari 'per far la fabrica designata in Sta. Maria de le Gratie'. Some difficulty seems to have been experienced in securing the necessary marble from Venice, and thereafter marble 'per uso de la sepoltura' was secured by Cristoforo Solari from the Certosa at Pavia. The progress of the monument appears to have been rapid, and in June 1497 we hear of an inquiry by Lodovico il Moro as to whether Solari, in addition to the monument, would be able to undertake work on the altar in the chapel in the same year. There is no direct evidence as to the commissioning of the tomb of Lodovico il Moro, but both effigies appear to have formed part of a single monument, which was completed before the flight of Lodovico il Moro in 1499. Over and above the reference to an altar, the only evidence for the original form of the tomb is supplied by Pasquier Lemoyne, who visited S. Maria delle Grazie in 1515 and observed 'singularitez la sepulture de Beatrix femme du more est eslevé en hault bien richement et dessoulez près terre notre seigneur en tombeaux '(a singular thing is that the tomb of Beatrice, wife of Il Moro, is raised up high and richly decorated, and beneath, near the ground, is Our Lord in the tomb). According to Vasari, the sarcophagus was designed by Gian Giacomo della Porta. A mistaken effort to identify the Pietà mentioned by Pasquier Lemoyne with a relief now in the Museo Civico in Milan is made by Sant' Ambrogio. The monument was disassembled in 1564, and the two effigies were removed to the Certosa at Pavia, where they were set into the wall in an upright position near the Gian Galeazzo Visconti monument. They were replaced in a horizontal position between 1818 and 1836, and set up in their present form in 1891.

BAMBAIA

(b. 1483; d. 1548)

A record of Bambaia's death (11 June 1548) gives his age at that time as sixty-five. Born at Busto Arsizio and described in documents as Agostino Busti or de Busto, Bambaia appears to have been trained at the Certosa at Pavia under Benedetto Briosco, and is mentioned for the first time on 21 January 1512, when, with his brother Polidoro, he applied for inscription in the workshop of the Cathedral in Milan. In 1513 he received a commission for the monument of Lancino Curzio (d. 2 February 1512), which was executed jointly with Cristoforo Lombardi and is now in the Museo Civico in Milan. This monument was still unfinished in 1515, when Bambaia appears to have received the commission for the Francesco Orsini monument (disassembled; pieces in S. Fedele and the Museo Civico, Milan). At some date after 14 September 1515, when Francis I of France entered Milan, he was entrusted with the tomb of Gaston de Foix (see Plate 119 below), on which he worked till 1521. The view of Nicodemi that three mythological reliefs in London, inscribed with the dates 1515, 1518 and 1523, reflect the development of Bambaia's style in these years is inadmissible. Thereafter Bambaia worked on the Franchino Gaffurio monument (reliefs and statuettes now incorporated in the Bua monument in S. Maria Maggiore, Treviso) and the Birago monument for the Cappella della Passione in S. Francesco Grande, Milan (begun 1522; now distributed between Isola Bella, the Ambrosiana and the Museo Civico in Milan). A document of 10 July 1535 refers to two statues executed by Bambaia beside the lateral entrance of the Duomo in Milan, and in 1536 he was in receipt of a fixed stipend from the Fabbrica of the Cathedral. In 1537 he became sculptor to the Fabbrica, and in 1543 received the commission for the Vimercati altar of the Presentation (still *in situ* in the Cathedral). Other late works (in part executed in association with other sculptors) are the Arca and Altar of S. Evasio at Casale Monferrato (commissioned from Cristoforo Lombardi and Bambaia in 1547 and completed by Ambrogio Volpi), the monument of Lupo Soria (d. 1544; now at Cernusco sul Naviglio) and the Marino Carracciolo (d. 1538) and Vimercati monuments in the Duomo in Milan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The standard volume on Bambaia is a monograph by G. Nicodemi (*Il Bambaia*, Milan, 1945). This contains a number of useful photographs, but is carelessly compiled and frequently inaccurate. For the monument of Gaston de Foix see also G. Bossi (*Descrizione del monumento di Gastone di Foix scolpito da Agostino Busti detto il Bambaia*, Milan, 1852) and G. Clausse (*Les Tombeaux de Gaston de Foix et de la Famille Birago par Agostino Busti*, Paris, 1912).

Plate 119:

THE MONUMENT OF GASTON DE FOIX
Museo Civico, Milan

The death of Gaston de Foix in the Battle of Ravenna occurred on 11 April 1512. Owing to the subsequent reversal in the fortunes of the French occupying forces, no monument was commissioned after the body was brought back to Milan, and the contract for the tomb is presumed to have been placed after the entry of Francis I into Milan on 14 September 1515. Bambaia seems to have worked on the monument till 1521–2, after 1520 with the assistance of Cristoforo Lombardi, Ambrogio da Cremona, Agostino del Pozzo, Ambrogio da Airuno, Giovanni Antonio da Osnago, Andrea da Saronno, Antonio Dolcebuono and (according to Lomazzo) Benedetto Pavese. As late as 1528 it appears to have been assumed by the sculptor that work on the monument would be resumed, since in a will dated in this year (29 April 1528) he bequeathed to the Fabbrica of the Cathedral 'omnem quantitatem marmoris de Carraria, quae supererit sepulture construi cepte et quae construebatur per me testatorem pro Ill. mo quondam domino de Foys. Et hoc postquam finita fuerit ipsa sepultura et quod omnis quantitas marmoris quae supererit ultra illam quantitem marmoris necessariam pro finiendo fabricam et opus ipsius sepulture remaneat et detur ac tradetur prefate fabrice in remedium animae meae cum qualitate et conditione infrascriptis.' (The whole amount of Carrara marble from the tomb under construction and already constructed by me, the testator, for the late most excellent lord of Foix. After the tomb shall have been finished all the marble left over from it, over and above the amount necessary for finishing the structure and the work of the monument itself, is to be given and ceded to the aforesaid Fabbrica for the benefit of my soul with the above mentioned quality and condition.) The completed carvings from the monument were seen by Vasari in the Augustinian convent of S. Marta in Milan: 'comminciò la sepoltura di Monsignor di Foix oggi rimasta imperfetta; nella quale si veggiono ancora molte figure grandi e finite, ed alcune mezze fatte ed abbozzate, con assai storie di mezzo rilievo in pezzi, e non murate, e con moltissimi fogliami e trofei.' (He began the tomb of Monsignor de Foix, which today is still unfinished. In this many large completed figures can still be seen, as well as some half finished and roughed out, with many narrative scenes in half relief in pieces, not built up, and a large number of carvings of foliage and trophies.) There is no direct evidence of the form of the monument; a drawing in London (Victoria & Albert Museum), widely regarded as a study for the tomb (Clausse, Nicodemi), is not explicitly connected with it. With the exception of statuettes of Virtues which also appear on other monuments, and certain similarities in the treatment of the pall, the sculptures shown in the drawing do not correspond with the surviving sculptures from the monument. These comprise:

(i) Effigy of Gaston de Foix (Museo Civico, Milan).

(ii) Seven narrative reliefs in the Crivelli collection at Castellazzo, representing (a) the Capture of Brescia, (b) the Battle of Ravenna, (c) the Funeral Procession of Gaston de Foix, (d) the Entry of the French Forces into Bologna, (e) the Departure of the French from Bologna, (f) the Battle of Isola della Scala, and (g) the Death of Gaston de Foix.

(iii) Six fragmentary statuettes of Virtues, also at Castellazzo, with other fragments of the monument.

(iv) Three statuettes of Virtues (Fig. 126) in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, which correspond with those at Castellazzo, and are therefore presumed to have formed part of the tomb.

(v) Four decorative panels in the Museo Civico, Turin (Fig. 125) and two similar panels in the Museo Civico, Milan. A number of other carvings have also been associated with the monument. Among these are three mythological reliefs in London, inscribed with the dates 1515, 1518, and 1523, and a similar relief in Madrid; and reliefs of military scenes in Madrid and in the Museo Civico, Turin. There is no reason for believing these carvings to have formed part of the tomb. If the London drawing is disregarded, and these carvings are eliminated, a tentative reconstruction of the tomb can be arrived at only by analysis of the carvings listed above. There is a strong presumption that all of the Castellazzo narrative scenes (unlike the similar scenes on the Birago monument) were intended for inspection from below. Three of the reliefs (a–c) are oblong, and four (d–g) are upright, and the series must therefore be incomplete. All of the narrative carvings and the effigy are to a greater or lesser degree unfinished. The six decorative panels were presumably (as on the Birago monument) set between the narrative scenes. In this event the upper part of the monument would have resembled the Gian Galeazzo Visconti monument at Pavia. There is no evidence as to the form of the sarcophagus, nor can it be established whether the statuettes of Virtues were set round the effigy or (as is more likely) on the parapet above the narrative reliefs.

GUIDO MAZZONI
(active after 1473; d. 1518)

Born in Modena, Mazzoni is mentioned as supervising a pantomime in celebration of the entrance of Eleanora of Aragon, wife of Ercole I d'Este, in 1473. His earliest recorded work, a terracotta Entombment in S. Francesco at Busseto, was completed in 1475. A disassembled Nativity group for Busseto (fragments in the Museo Civico, Modena) dates from the same time. In 1477–80, he modelled a group of the Lamentation in S. Giovanni della Buona Morte in Modena, and after 1480 a Nativity group for the Osservanza, now in the crypt of Modena Cathedral. This was followed by Lamentation groups of S. Lorenzo at Crema (1485) and S. Antonio in Castello, Venice (completed 1489; fragments in the Museo Civico, Padua). Thereafter Mazzoni moved to Naples, where (22 October 1489) he executed 'certi lavori d'immagini' for Alphonso Duke of Calabria, and (31 October 1492) 'giganti' for a farce by Sannazaro. His most important work of this time is a Lamentation group in the church of Monte Oliveto (see Plate 120 below). In 1495 he accompanied Charles VIII to France, and in 1498 executed the tomb of Charles VIII in Saint Denis (destroyed 1793). In 1507 he returned briefly to Modena, but thereafter again worked in France, executing an equestrian statue of Louis XII at Blois and returning to Italy only on the death of Louis XII in 1515. About 1509 he made a sketch for the monument of King Henry VII (see Plate 94 above). In 1516 he is once more recorded in Modena, where he died on 12 September 1518.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A brief monograph by A. Pettorelli (*Guido Mazzoni da Modena*, Turin, 1925) adds little to a useful article by A. Venturi ('Di un insigne artista modenese del sec. XV', in *Archivio storico italiano*, iv ser., XIV, 1884, pp. 339ff) and to the relevant chapter in the *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vi, 1908, pp. 768–84. Some suggestive observations are made by C. Gnudi (*Niccolò dell'Arca*, Turin, 1942, pp. 56–7). For Mazzoni's connection with the stage see J. Mesnil (*L'Art au nord et au sud des Alpes à l'Époque de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1911).

Plate 120: THE LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST

S. Anna dei Lombardi, Naples

One of Mazzoni's most important works, the Lamentation group (Fig. 128) is known to have been executed in 1492, when (27 December 1492) the sculptor received fifty ducats 'per commando del Duca per il sepolcro che ha fatto a detto Signore' (by command of the Duke for the sepulchre he has made for the said Duke). The tradition that the group was commissioned by Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, is confirmed by Summonte (F. Niccolini, 'Pietro Summonte, Marcantonio Michiel e l'Arte Napoletana del Rinascimento', in *Napoli Nobilissima*, n.s. iii, 1923, p. 127), who writes: 'In opera di plastice è in Monte Oliveto la Schiovazione di Nostro Signore dalla Croce, con le figure delli signori re Ferrando primo e re Alfonso secondo di felice memoria, expresse ben dal naturale, di mano del Paganino di Modena, conducto olim qua con ampla provisione per lo Signor re Alfonso secondo.' (In the field of sculpture there is, in the church of Monteoliveto, a group of the removal of the nails from Our Lord's body, with figures of King Ferrante I and King Alphonso II of happy memory, by the hand of Paganino of Modena, which was made with ample provision for King Alphonso II.) There is no indication of the original disposition of the figures, which may, however, have been more concentrated than the present wide symmetrical spacing of the group. The effect of the group has been impaired by the removal of the original paint: extensive traces of colour remain in the figure of St. John.

NICCOLÒ DELL'ARCA

(b. *c.* 1435; d. 1494)

Nothing is known of the activity of Niccolò dell'Arca before his appearance at Bologna on 31 December 1463, and there is no evidence of his having worked in Bologna before this time. He is mentioned as 'Nicolaus de Apulia' and 'Barrensem' (1473) and also as Niccolò da Ragusa (1493), and it is assumed that he was a native of Bari, who migrated to Dalmatia and Naples. It has been suggested (Gnudi) that after the cessation of work on the triumphal arch of the Castelnuovo in Naples (1458) Niccolò dell'Arca moved to France, but what have been loosely described as Burgundian features in his early style may be due to contacts in Naples with the Catalan sculptor Sagrera. A group of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ in S. Maria della Vita has till recently been ascribed to the year 1463 (see Plate 121 below). Niccolò's earliest documented work is the cover of the Arca of St. Dominic in S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples. The completion of the Arca was decided on in 1469, and the upper part was put in place on 16 July 1473. It is possible that Niccolò also worked on additions to the cover of the Arca between this date and his death in 1494, since in the latter year Michelangelo executed three missing figures for it. There is no explanation of why these were not undertaken by Niccolò dell'Arca. The sculpture of the Arca includes statuettes of the four Evangelists (Fig. 131), SS. Francis, Dominic, Florian, Agricola and Vitale, a Dead Christ adored by angels, two adoring angels and an angel carrying a candlestick with putti and swags; a group of the Resurrection was originally to have balanced the Pietà. The style of the figures is part Burgundian and part Tuscan, and reveals the strong influence of Desiderio da Settignano and Antonio Rossellino. A 'scabellum marmoreum' was to have been executed by Niccolò dell'Arca; the present predella is an addition by Alfonso Lombardi. At least one of the figures added to the Arca by Michelangelo, the S. Procolo, appears to have been begun by Niccolò dell'Arca. The large Madonna di Piazza in Bologna (inscribed NICOLAVS F. MCCCCLXXVIII) reveals, in the Child, the influence of Verrocchio (Gnudi). A terracotta eagle over the entrance to S. Giovanni in Monte (inscribed NICOLAVS F.) dates from before 1481. Niccolò dell'Arca died on 2 March 1494.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Gnudi, *Niccolò dell'Arca*, Turin, 1942.

Plate 121: THE LAMENTATION OVER THE DEAD CHRIST

S. Maria della Vita, Bologna

The group (Fig. 127), which was originally pigmented, shows the dead Christ with the Virgin, St. John the Evangelist, St. Mary Magdalen, two Maries and Nicodemus. A figure of Joseph of Arimathea is presumed to have been destroyed. Niccolò dell'Arca's authorship of the group is attested by an inscription, but there is a wide divergence of view as to its date. The figures are referred to in the Campione dell'Hospitale di Madonna S. Maria della Vita as 'un sepolcro . . . fatto per mano di Maestro Nicolò da Puglia, dal quale l'hospitale le ebbe nell'anno MCCCCLXIII' (an Entombment . . . made by the hand of maestro Niccolò of Apulia, from whom the hospital received it in the year 1463), and are for this reason customarily (A. Venturi) assigned to the year 1463. This date is rejected by Gnudi in favour of a late dating (*c.* 1485–90) on account of (i) the difficulty of explaining a stylistic development which leads from the Lamentation group through the Arca of St. Dominic to the Madonna di Piazza, and (ii) analogies with the Griffoni predella of Ercole dei Roberti and the copy of the Garganelli Crucifixion of Ercole dei Roberti in S. Pietro, Bologna. If the later dating were accepted, Niccolò dell'Arca's group would be dependent from, e.g. the Lamentation group by Guido Mazzoni in S. Maria della Rosa at Ferrara (*c.* 1485), and would be translation into sculpture of a style developed in painting at least a decade earlier. If the earlier dating were accepted, it would develop from the work of Domenico di Paris at Ferrara, and would represent a significant anticipation of a style later popularized in painting. The arguments in favour of the late dating, while strong, are not wholly conclusive, since the stylistic relation of the group to the Madonna di Piazza, whether this is assumed to be an earlier or later work, is not a close one, and it remains difficult to relate Niccolò dell'Arca's modelling style to his style as a marble sculptor.

BARTOLOMMEO BELLANO

(b. *c.* 1434; d. 1496/7)

The son of a Paduan goldsmith, Bellano appears to have been born about 1434. He is assumed to have been a member of Donatello's studio in Padua (though there is no documentary evidence of this), and to have followed Donatello on his return to Florence (1453). His earliest documented work, a seated bronze statue of Pope Paul II cast for Perugia in 1466–7, is lost. This was inscribed HOC BELLANVS OPVS PATAVVS CONFLAVIT HABENTI/IN TERRIS PAVULO MAXIMA IVRA DEI., and dated 10 OCTOBRIS 1467. In documents relating to this work Bellano is described as 'magister Bellanus de Florentia', and must therefore have been domiciled in Florence at this time. At the end of Donatello's life, or soon after his death (1466), he appears to have worked on the pulpit reliefs in S. Lorenzo (see Plates 34–7 above). Between 1469 and 1472 he was domiciled in Padua, where he carved the marble decoration of a reliquary chest in the sacristy of S. Antonio. The most important feature of this decoration is a large oblong relief of the Miracle of the Mule. A relief of the Lamentation over the dead Christ in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, is closely related to this work, and appears to date from the same time. At this or a rather later time Bellano seems to have executed works in Venice, since on 1 August 1479 he was nominated to visit Mahomet II with the painter Gentile Bellini. A will made by Bellano before his departure is preserved (7 September 1479). It is assumed that he returned to Venice with Gentile Bellini in 1480. Thereafter he was continuously employed in Padua, initially on a cycle of ten bronze reliefs for the choir screen of S. Antonio (see Plate 122 below), and subsequently on the De Castro monument in S. Maria dei Servi (1492; no document), and the Roccabonella (d. 1491) monument in S. Francesco. From the latter a relief with the seated figure of Pietro Roccabonella, a relief of the Virgin and Child with SS. Anthony of Padua and Peter Martyr, and two bronze statuettes of putti survive. According to the Anonimo Morelliano, this monument was completed after Bellano's death by Riccio; this statement is correct. The monument was completed in 1498, and there is evidence that Bellano was still alive on 27 October 1495, so that his death must have occurred in 1496/7. Bellano is described by Pomponius Gauricus with the words: 'Sed et Donatelli discipulus Bellanus tuus Leonice, inter hos quoque nomen habebit, quamquam ineptus artifex.' (But, Leonicus, Donatello's pupil, thy Bellano, will also be numbered among them, though he is a clumsy craftsman.) In interpreting the term 'ineptus artifex' (clumsy craftsman) it must be remembered that the *De Sculptura* was composed in 1504, when the more accomplished bronzes of Riccio were in general currency. Such evidence as is available suggests that in his lifetime Bellano enjoyed a considerable reputation as a bronze sculptor. The problem of Bellano's bronze statuettes has not been properly ventilated. Two of them (a statuette of David in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Fig. 145), from which a large number of derivatives are known, and a statuette of St. Jerome in the Louvre) may have been produced in Florence, while others (notably a group of the Mountain of Hell in London (Fig. 146), a figure of Atlas in the Louvre and a statuette of Europa in the Museo Nazionale, Florence) are so closely related to the reliefs in the Santo as to make an origin in Padua virtually certain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The work of Bellano is discussed, with a wealth of reproductions, by L. Planiscig, in *Andrea Riccio*, Vienna, 1927, pp. 27–74, which also contains a summary of the relevant documents.

Plate 122:
SAMSON DESTROYING THE TEMPLE
S. Antonio, Padua

In 1482 a contract was awarded to Giovanni Minelli to cover the outer faces of the choir screen in S. Antonio with marble, and in 1483 provision was made for a cycle of ten bronze reliefs of scenes from the Old Testament. In the latter year Bertoldo was requested to make two reliefs ('duos quadros de metalo unum vz habens Istoriam Jone prohete alterum habens submersionem faraonis in transitu maris'). Payments to Bertoldo are recorded in 1483, 1484 and 1485, when the first relief was delivered. This was found unsatisfactory ('perchè non parea sufiziente'), and Bertoldo's second relief was not proceeded with. Meanwhile, a contract for specimen or trial reliefs appears also to have been awarded to Bellano, who was paid on 29 November 1484 for the first of his scenes, the Samson destroying the Temple ('Maistro Bartolommaio Bellan de' dare—adi 29 novembre per essa contada a lui per il quadro de Sanson fadich sua . . . Duc. XL L. 248'). This was regarded as satisfactory, and in 1485 a contract for all ten reliefs was signed by Bellano ('et in achordo afare tuti decti quadri con maestro bartollamio belan'). The reliefs were finished by 1488, and in 1490 provision was made for the marble frames in which they were set. In the seventeenth century the choir of the Santo was modified, and the reliefs are now set in the interior of the choir. In their present order they represent (i) Cain and Abel, (ii) the Sacrifice of Isaac, (iii) Joseph sold by his Brethren, (iv) The Crossing of the Red Sea, (v) the Worship of the Golden Calf, (vi) the Brazen Serpent, (vii) Samson destroying the Temple, (viii) David and Goliath, (ix) the Judgment of Solomon, and (x) the Story of Jonah.

RICCIO
(d. 1532)

Andrea Briosco, called Riccio or Crispus, was born in Padua about 1470–5, and was trained in the studio of Bellano. By 1504, when he is mentioned in the *De Sculptura* of Pomponius Gauricus, he was a well-known artist in touch with humanist circles in his native town. The passage in question reads: 'Quin et Bellani uti volunt discipulus Andraeas Crispus familiaris meus, cuius inter Plastas quoque mencionem fecimus, podagrarum beneficio ex aurifice Sculptor.' (And then my friend Andrea Crispus—whom they call a disciple of Bellano—him whom we have also mentioned among the sculptors, thanks to his gout abandoned goldsmith's work and became a sculptor.) A second passage in the *De Sculptura* associates Riccio with Guido Mazzoni and Luca and Andrea della Robbia, presumably as an artist in terracotta. Of the many works in terracotta conjecturally ascribed to Riccio, the most notable is a group of the Dead Christ with the Virgin and St. John in the Abbey of Carrara, near Padua. The fact that Riccio was trained as a goldsmith is in part accountable for the technical refinement of his work in bronze. According to Marcantonio Michiel, three figures on Bellano's Roccabonella monument in S. Francesco at Padua were executed by Riccio after Bellano's death (1496/7). These have been convincingly identified (Planiscig) with statuettes of Faith, Hope and Charity, which constitute Riccio's earliest authenticated works. Thereafter he appears to have designed the chapel of the Saint in S. Antonio (see Plates 142, 143 below), and on 1 July 1506 received the commission for two bronze reliefs of the Story of Judith and David with the Ark of the Covenant for the choir screen of the Santo. These were completed and put in position by 22 March 1507. Subsequently he was engaged on the Paschal Candlestick for the same church (see Plate 125 below). At some undetermined date, probably before 1511, Riccio executed for the Altar of the Holy Cross in S. Maria dei Servi in Venice four bronze reliefs of the Legend of the Cross now in the Museo Correr along with a tabernacle door which formed part of the same commission, and, in somewhat more mature style, a relief of St. Martin and the Beggar. To a rather later phase of Riccio's development belongs the Della Torre monument at Verona (see Plate 124 below) and the monument of Antonio Trombetta (d. 1518) in the Santo (payments of 1521–4). No dated work survives from the years between the completion of the Trombetta monument and the sculptor's death in July 1532 (date recorded on a sepulchral slab in the cloister of the Santo). The chronology of Riccio's many small-scale works can be determined only in a tentative manner. The two statuettes described on Plates 123 and 126 below can scarcely have been produced before the completion of the Paschal Candlestick, but may date from any time thereafter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The sculptor is the subject of an elaborate monograph by L. Planiscig (*Andrea Riccio*, Vienna, 1927). This sound and useful book reproduces a large number of statuettes by Riccio or from the Riccio workshop, but deals in a comparatively superficial manner with the iconographical and other problems arising from Riccio's major works. Some profitable lines of further inquiry are sketched out in a remarkable article by F. Saxl ('Pagan Sacrifice in the Italian Renaissance', in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, ii, 1938–9, pp. 346–67).

Plate 123: YOUTH WITH A GOAT

Museo Nazionale, Florence

The subject of the statuette is undetermined. It is, however, clear that the two figures originally formed part of a larger group, and that the udder is extended either to a kid or to a human child. It has been suggested (Planiscig) that the statuette originally belonged with a second statuette in the same museum showing a nude female figure seated with a child on her left arm and a receptacle in her extended right hand. According to this interpretation, the female figure (which is generally designated Abundantia) would represent 'die Mutter, welche die Schale zur Aufnahme der Milch bereit hält'. The two figures are somewhat different in handling, and there is no warrant for assuming an iconographical or formal connection between them.

Plate 124: THE DELLA TORRE MONUMENT

S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona

The tomb of Girolamo della Torre (d. 1506) and of his son Marc Antonio (d. 1511) in S. Fermo Maggiore at Verona (Fig. 151) is a free-standing structure consisting of two parts. The lower, an altar-like table, rests on four columns and on a central chest bearing an epitaph. Above this, supported at the corners by four bronze sphinxes, rises a sarcophagus decorated with eight bronze reliefs. Since 1796 the originals of these have been in the Louvre, and they are replaced by copies on the monument. On the lid of the sarcophagus are bronze death masks of Girolamo and Marc Antonio della Torre. It is known that the lid was originally decorated with four bronze genii or putti on the corners and with two seated putti with lamps beside the central tabernacle. Lombard monuments (to which reference is made by Planiscig) do not explain the form of the tomb, which is in all essentials without precedent. The scenes round the sarcophagus (for which see Saxl) represent (i) Girolamo della Torre teaching at the foot of a statue of Minerva with Apollo and Hygea looking on, (ii) the sickness of Girolamo della Torre, (iii) a sacrifice to Asclepius on the sick man's behalf, (iv) the death of Della Torre, (v) a ceremony of purification, (vi) Girolamo della Torre embarking for the Underworld, (vii) Della Torre in Elysium in contact with the great minds of the past, and (viii) Humanist Virtue triumphant over Death. There are no documents relating to the tomb, and it is conjecturally assigned by Planiscig to the years 1516–21. Since (as noted by Saxl) the narrative scenes relate only to the life of Girolamo della Torre and not to that of his son, it is likely that the tomb was commissioned before the death of Marc Antonio della Torre, and that the programme was devised or at least approved by Girolamo's surviving sons, Giulio, the jurist and medallist, and Giovanni Battista, a philosopher and astronomer. The subjects of the reliefs are explained by Saxl in terms of the humanist dialogues and poems of Fracastoro, who was on intimate terms with Giovanni Battista and Marc Antonio della Torre, and of the oration delivered at the funeral of Girolamo by the humanist Pierio Valeriano.

Plate 125: PASCHAL CANDLESTICK

S. Antonio, Padua

On 18 December 1506 it was decided by the Arca del Santo that a bronze Paschal Candlestick with a marble base should be commissioned for the church. The project for the candlestick seems to have been due to Giovanni Battista de Leone, who had been responsible for the commissioning of the two reliefs by Riccio on the choir screen (completed 22 May 1507). On 22 March 1507 it was proposed by De Leone that Riccio should receive the contract for the candlestick for a total sum of 600 florins, and this was approved unanimously. A drawing of the candlestick had been completed by this time, and was in De Leone's possession, though it was indicated that this was liable to be modified 'mutando in meglio'. The candlestick was set up in the church on the Vigil of Epiphany 1516 (5 January 1516). The date 1515 appears on the marble base. At some uncertain time (probably in the late sixteenth century) an inscription on lead (now lost) was discovered beneath the base, which read: 'Joannes Baptista de Leone philosophus hanc pyramidem faciendam curavit ex thesauro divi Antonii Andrea Crispo patavo sculptore primario anno Christi 1507, et Ludovicus ejus frater J. C. posuit anno 1515. Erat opus annorum 3 nisi Maximiliani atrocissimum bellum cum partibus venetis impedimento fuisset.'

(Giovanni Battista de Leone, the philosopher, cared for the making of this pyramid at the expense of the treasury of S. Antonio and by the hand of Andrea Crispus, foremost Paduan sculptor, in the year of Christ 1507. His brother Lodovico set it up in the year 1515. It would have been completed in three years if the atrocious war of Maximilian with the Venetian lands had not impeded it.)

The form of the candlestick (Fig. 152) is related by Planiscig to that of a pyramid illustrated in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, and both this and its iconography proceed (Saxl) from the Paduan humanist circle of De Leone and Leonicus. The range of ideas behind it has not been very fully analysed, though the subjects of the individual scenes are discussed by Planiscig. One of the four faces of the rectangular marble base (which was carved by Francesco di Cola from Riccio's design) shows the instruments of the Passion, but the remaining three make use of symbols (among them a caduceus, anchor, trumpet, crook, swan's head and hyssop) of which the meaning in this context is unclear. The four oblong reliefs between the sphinxes at the bottom of the candlestick have been identified as allegories of Astrology, Music, History and Cosmography. Above these are reliefs of the Epiphany, Entombment, Christ in Limbo, and the Sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, and above these again are reliefs with personifications of Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice. At a higher level, between four statuettes of seated putti, are reliefs representing Religion, Theology, Simplicitas and History. Many points in Planiscig's interpretation of the reliefs and statuettes are problematical, and it affords no more than a general indication of the subject-matter of the candlestick pending more thorough examination of its imagery.

Plate 126: WARRIOR ON HORSEBACK

Victoria & Albert Museum, London

Nothing is known of the history of the statuette prior to its appearance in the Salting collection. It appears, however, to have enjoyed some celebrity, and versions of the model are found in the Beit collection at Russborough, the Wernher collection at Luton Hoo, the Liechtenstein collection at Vaduz and elsewhere. In these versions the rider is consistently of lower quality than in the present example, and the mount is replaced by a less refined horse of conventional classical cast. The right foreleg of the horse is repaired. The right hand holds the hilt of a weapon, presumably a sword. There is no basis for identifying the warrior represented in the statuette. Commenting on its expressive character, Planiscig rightly notes that 'der Schrei ist es, der diesem Reiter Charakter verleiht, jener Schrei, der zu einem Hauptmoment wird und die Komposition zu absorbieren scheint. Damit lebt keineswegs die Antike wieder auf; damit findet jene Tendenz, wilden Affekt in extremster Form darzustellen, die wir von Donatellos letzter Schaffenzeit, von Bellano und Minelli her kennen, ihre Fortsetzung, ungeachtet des antiken Pompes, in den nun die Werke der neuen Zeit gehüllt werden.'

ANTICO

(d. 1528)

Piero Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, called Antico, appears to have been born in Mantua, where his father lived. The date of his birth is not known, and is conjecturally placed about 1460. It is not known in what studio Antico received his training, but through his whole recorded career he was patronized by members of the Gonzaga family, and his highly individual work is thus an expression of Mantuan humanist taste. A connoisseur of the antique, he was despatched to Rome early in 1497; a letter written by him from Rome on 5 February 1497 to his patron Francesco Gonzaga survives. After the death of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Antico worked for his brother Lodovico at Bózzolo. There are a number of documentary references to works—a Hercules, a Spinario, a bust of Scipio among them—cast by Antico at this time after the antique. Thereafter he worked for Isabella d'Este as a silversmith, maker of bronze statuettes and restorer of antiques. Many works by Antico can be identified in the Mantuan inventories. Antico's autograph bronze statuettes are of considerable rarity; important examples exist in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, the Pinacoteca Estense at Modena, and the Museo Nazionale, Florence. His death is reported in a letter of 19 July 1528.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: No significant addition has been made to knowledge of Antico's work since the publication of a monumental article by H. J. Hermann ('Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, genannt Antico', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xxviii, 1909–10, pp. 201–88), which deals both with the documentary framework of Antico's activity and with the relation of his bronzes to their antique originals.

Plate 127: VENUS FELIX

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The statuette (which exists in at least two other somewhat inferior versions) is discussed by L. Planiscig (*Kunsthistorisches Museum in Wien: Die Bronzeplastiken*, Vienna, 1924, p. 56). The model depends from the statue of Venus Felix now in the Museo Pio Clementino of the Vatican, formerly in the Cortile del Belvedere (Fig. 143). The hair and drapery are gilt, the eyes are inlaid with silver, and the circular base is inset with nine silver gilt coins of Gordian III, Philip the Younger, Valerian, Probus and Constans.

ANTONIO BREGNO
(active 1425–after 1457)

The identification of the work of Antonio Bregno rests on the attribution of the Francesco Foscari monument in S. Maria dei Frari (see Plate 128 below). There are no documents relating either to the Foscari monument or to Bregno's work in the Palazzo Ducale. A native of Righeggio on the Lake of Lugano, he appears to be identical with an Antonio de Rigesio da Como who was at work in the Ca d'Oro in 1425–6, probably as an assistant of Matteo Raverti. There is no basis for determining whether Bregno is also identical with a 'maestro Antonio da Lugano' who was active in Padua in 1449. After his activity in the Ca d'Oro, Bregno seems to have become an associate of the Buon workshop, and participated in the execution of the Porta della Carta of the Palazzo Ducale, executing figures of Fortitude and Temperance (Planiscig) or Charity and Prudence (Mariacher) and the kneeling figure of the Doge in the centre of the door (head in Museo Correr, Venice). Bregno was also largely responsible for the sculpture of the Arco Foscari, where he worked side by side with Antonio Rizzo (q.v.). The confusion between the work of Bregno and Rizzo, initiated by Sansovino (*Venezia città nobilissima*, 1581), has been largely dispelled through the work of Paoletti, Planiscig and Mariacher, and Bregno emerges as the principal Venetian sculptor of the transitional period between Bartolommeo Buon and Antonio Rizzo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For Bregno's activity see P. Paoletti, *L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice, 1893, i, pp. 146–7; L. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 30–7; G. Mariacher, 'Antonio da Righeggio e Antonio Rizzo', in *Le Arti*, ii, 1941, pp. 193–8, and 'New Light on Antonio Bregno', in *Burlington Magazine*, xcii, 1950, pp. 123–8.

Plate 128: THE MONUMENT OF FRANCESCO FOSCARI
S. Maria dei Frari, Venice

The attribution of the Foscari monument (Fig. 158) to Bregno goes back to an engraving of 1777 (version in the Museo Correr), which bears the inscription 'opera d'invenzione e travaglio dell'architetto Paulo, e dello Scultore Antonio Fratelli Bregno da Como'. (Work designed and executed by the architect Paolo and the sculptor Antonio Bregno of Como.) It is suggested by Paoletti that this inscription must have had a documentary basis, and this view has been generally accepted by later students (Planiscig, Mariacher). The Doge Francesco Foscari died in 1457, and the tomb is usually assumed to have been begun soon after this time. It has also been suggested that it dates from 'around or shortly after 1454' (Mariacher). The tomb shows at the top the Risen Christ, the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate, at the sides two warriors who hold up the curtain behind and beside the effigy, at the head and foot of the sarcophagus two pairs of Virtues in full length, and on the front of the sarcophagus reliefs of Faith, Hope and Charity. In style it is a transitional work, which depends in form from the Tommaso Mocenigo monument in SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the Brenzoni monument of Nanni di Bartolo in S. Fermo Maggiore at Verona; the warriors are related, e.g., to such Lombard prototypes as the base of the Borromeo monument at Isola Bella (Mariacher). On the other hand, the figures of the Virtues have some significance for the formation of Antonio Rizzo, and the tomb type (the progressive features in which are presumably attributable to the 'architetto Paulo' mentioned in the inscription noted above) was adopted and modified by Pietro Lombardo in the Pasquale Malipiero monument.

ANTONIO RIZZO
(active after 1465; d. 1499/1500)

A native of Verona, Rizzo is mentioned for the first time in 1465 at the Certosa at Pavia, where he was engaged in a subordinate capacity in carving columns and capitals. It has been suggested that at this time he exercised some influence on the work of Amadeo; this is possible, though the name of Amadeo does not appear at the Certosa before 1466, and by the following year Rizzo was working at S. Andrea della Certosa in Venice. He was presumably active in Venice before 1465; his name appears in two epigrams of Gregorio Cornaro (d. 1464), and it has been suggested (Mariacher) that he collaborated with Antonio Bregno in work on the Arco Foscari. This thesis is very probable. In the earlier literature Rizzo is confused with Bregno on the one hand and Andrea Riccio on the other. The earliest of Rizzo's independent works, the Orsato Giustiniani (d. 1464) monument formerly in S. Eufemia, has been destroyed, but is recorded in a drawing by Grevenbroeck; statuettes from this survive in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. This was followed by the monument of Vittore Cappello (d. 1467), incorporated in the lunette of a doorway formerly at S. Elena in Isola and now at S. Aponal, and by the Niccolò Tron monument in S. Maria dei Frari (see Plate 129 below). On 21 July 1476 Rizzo undertook to execute for the Scuola di S. Marco from designs by Gentile Bellini 'una scala a chiocciola pensile con tre porte ed un ambone o pergamo di marmo in forma pentagona, sorretto da una mensola' (a hanging spiral staircase with three doorways, and a pentagonal marble ambone or pulpit supported on a bracket); this was destroyed in the fire of 1485. After the fire of 1483 in the Palazzo Ducale, Rizzo became Protomagister of the palace. At some time after this date he executed the figures of Adam and Eve for the Arco Foscari (see Plates 130, 131 below). The most important of the architectural features he contributed to the Ducal Palace is the Scala dei Giganti, which was under construction by 1491 and includes a number of classicizing Victory reliefs. In 1498 he fled from Venice accused (according to Sanudo) of large-scale peculation in connection with the Ducal Palace. Thereafter he moved to Ancona, Cesena and Foligno, where he died. Rizzo is last mentioned in 1499; the name of his widow is recorded in Venice in March 1500. Concurrently with his work in the Ducal Palace, he was engaged in the last fifteen years of his life on the tombs of Giovanni Emo (after 1483) in S. Maria dei Servi, Venice (destroyed; standing figure in Museo Civico, Vicenza, two pages with shields in the Louvre, Paris), and of the Doge Antonio Barbarigo in the Chiesa della Carità (in position before 1493; kneeling figure of Doge in the sacristy of S. Maria della Salute).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The basic documentation of Rizzo's activity is assembled by P. Paoletti (*L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice, 1893, i, pp. 141–63). A good survey of Rizzo's style is supplied by L. Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 56–72). For the documentation of the Scala dei Giganti see P. A. Ranbaldi ('La Scala dei Giganti nel Palazzo Ducale di Venezia', in *Ateneo Veneto*, ii, 1910, pp. 87ff.), and for the Orsato Giustiniani monument L. Planiscig ('Das Grabdenkmal des Orsato Giustiniani', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. i, 1926, pp. 93–102). Some useful supplementary information is contained in two articles by G. Mariacher ('Antonio da Righeggio e Antonio Rizzo', in *Le Arti*, 1941, pp. 193–8; 'Profilo di Antonio Rizzo', in *Arte Veneta*, ii, 1948, pp. 67–84).

Plate 129: THE MONUMENT OF NICCOLÒ TRON

S. Maria dei Frari, Venice

The monument of the Doge Niccolò Tron (d. 1473) is planned in five registers (Fig. 154). At the top is a lunette with a figure of the Risen Christ, flanked by the Annunciatory Angel and the Virgin Annunciate. Beneath this are five niches with figures of the Virtues, between two protruding niches with similar figures. Below this again is the sarcophagus, once more between two protruding niches. In the fourth register is the epitaph, between two reliefs with pairs of putti, again flanked by protruding niches containing shield-bearing pages; and in the fifth and lowest is a standing figure of the Doge accompanied by statues of (*left*) Charity and (*right*) Prudence. The monument cannot have been begun before 17 April 1476, when the site which it occupied to the left of the high altar in the Frari was ceded to Filippo, son of Niccolò Tron. There is no evidence of the date of its completion, which is usually assigned to the early eighties (Planiscig). Extensive studio intervention is apparent throughout the execution of the tomb, and the only parts universally accepted as the work of Rizzo are the two statues of Virtues in the lowest register and the two shield-bearing pages and reliefs of putti immediately above. The statue of the Doge in the lowest register is wrongly rejected by Planiscig, on account of its supposed inferiority to the comparable figure from the Emo tomb. The form of the sarcophagus depends from that of the Orsato Giustiniani monument. Colour appears to have been used extensively throughout the tomb, and there are traces of gilding in the standing statue of the Doge and of pigmentation in the lunette.

Plates 130, 131: ADAM AND EVE

Palazzo Ducale, Venice

The two figures, now in the interior of the Palazzo Ducale, were designed for niches on the Arco Foscari, in which they are shown on Plates 130 and 131. The Eve is signed on the base ANTONIO RIZO. The construction of the Arco Foscari was begun soon after 1438, and was completed under the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo (d. 1485). The Adam and Eve appear to have enjoyed considerable celebrity, and are referred to by Vasari ('lavorò di marmo le due statue che si veggiono ignude di Adamo ed Eva che sono tenute belle') (in marble he worked two nude statues of Adam and Eve which are still to be seen, and are looked upon as beautiful). They are mentioned in Rizzo's lifetime in a distich by Raffaello Zovenzonio, *Crispo Veronensi marmorario clarissimo:*

> Si tua forma fuit, quae marmore vivit in isto,
> Quod mirum, si vir paruit, Aeva, tibi.

(If thy form, Eve, were as it lives in this marble, what wonder that man has yielded to thee.)

A wide variety of view has been expressed on the date of the two figures, which have been assigned (J. Morelli) to the year 1462 since the arms of the Doges Francesco Foscari and Cristoforo Moro appear in the vicinity of the niches in which they were set, to a date not far removed from that of the Tron monument (1476) (Mariacher), and to the period after the fire of 14 September 1483 when Rizzo became Protomagister of the Palazzo Ducale (Planiscig). It is suggested (Planiscig) that the figures were still incomplete in 1491, when (9 October 1491) the Signoria instructed the Provveditori del Sale that 'debino esser cum maistro Antonio Rizo et veder di romagnir dacordo cum lui cerca il perseverar di la fabrica del Palazzo nostro cussi per le figure come per la scala' (They should get in touch with maestro Antonio Rizzo and reach agreement with him about continuing the construction of the Palace both as regards the figures and the staircase). The staircase referred to in this entry is the Scala dei Giganti, and the figures are possibly, but not certainly, the Adam and Eve.

THE MASTER OF SAN TROVASO

The term Master of San Trovaso denominates an artist responsible for three reliefs now built into an altar in the church of S. Trovaso, Venice (see Plate 132 below). Attempts have been made to identify the sculptor with Agostino di Duccio (A. Venturi) and Pietro Lombardo (Fiocco), and to establish a group of works round the S. Trovaso altar. None of these is successful, and the only surviving work probably by the same hand as the altar frontal is a carved medallion with the head of the young Baptist in the sacristy of S. Maria del Giglio. The style of the S. Trovaso reliefs seems to imply some knowledge of the sculptures of the Tempio Malatestiano and of relief style in Padua, and they appear to date from about 1470.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The most extensive treatment of the S. Trovaso carvings is a relatively brief discussion by Planiscig ('Pietro Lombardi ed alcuni bassirilievi veneziani del '400', in *Dedalo*, x, 1929–30, pp. 461–81), the relevant section of which supersedes the same student's *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921. A reply by A. Venturi to this article ('Pietro Lombardi e alcuni bassirilievi veneziani del '400', in *L'Arte*, n.s. i, 1930, pp. 191–205) is of polemical interest. The S. Trovaso reliefs are included by P. Paoletti (*L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento a Venezia*, Venice, ii, 1893) as works by Antonio Rizzo.

Plate 132: ANGELS WITH INSTRUMENTS OF THE PASSION

S. Trovaso, Venice

The three reliefs built into the S. Trovaso altar consist (i) of an oblong relief with angels holding the instruments of the Passion, and (ii) of two somewhat higher upright reliefs of music-making angels, each flanked by carved pilasters. It is not certain that the three reliefs were designed as an antependium, and it is possible that they are not complete in their present form since not only are they of different heights, but there is a discrepancy between the space construction of the relief in the centre and that of the reliefs at the sides. Moreover the iconographical relationship between the music-making angels at the sides and the lamenting angels in the centre is unclear. On the other hand, the three carvings are reproduced in three much inferior reliefs in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 218, destroyed), by a sculptor who seems also to have been responsible for the Madonna delle Biade in the loggia of the Palazzo Ducale, a comparable Virgin and Child in London, and parts of the Giustiniani Chapel in S. Francesco della Vigna. An iconographical precedent for the central panel, with angels holding the instruments of the Passion, occurs in an altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin by Antonio Vivarini in S. Pantaleone (1444).

PIETRO LOMBARDO

(b. *c.* 1435; d. 1515)

Pietro Lombardo was born at Carona (Lombardy), conjecturally in 1435, and is mentioned for the first time in 1464, when he was at Padua. His principal work of this time, the monument of Antonio Roselli in S. Antonio (completed 8 April 1467) (Fig. 156), reveals strong Florentine influence, and since this persists in works executed after the transfer of his studio to Venice, there is an *a priori* case for presuming a visit to, or short period of activity in, Tuscany prior to 1464. His name appears in Venice for the first time on 11 August 1474, but he was almost certainly resident there soon after 1467. The principal works of this time are the monuments of Pasquale Malipiero (d. 1462) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 157), and the reconstruction of S. Giobbe (see Plate 133 below). In 1479 he was resident in the 'casa del Doxe' in the contrada of S. Samuele (probably the palace of Francesco Sforza, where Bartolommeo Buon had had his studio). From the last quarter of the century there dates a succession of sepulchral monuments, designed by Pietro Lombardo and carried out in part with the assistance of his sons. The most important of these are the monuments of Niccolò Marcello (d. 1474) in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Pietro Mocenigo (see Plates 134, 135 below), Jacopo Marcello (d. 1484) in S. Maria dei Frari, Lodovico Foscarini (d. 1480) formerly in S. Maria dei Frari, the Zanetti monument at Treviso (see Plate 136 below), the Onigo (d. 1490) monument in S. Niccolò at Treviso, the Giacomo Suriano monument in S. Stefano (1488–93), and the tomb of Dante at Ravenna (1482). In the 1480's Pietro Lombardo was also employed on two major architectural projects, the churches of S. Maria dei Miracoli (established by a bull of Sixtus IV of 13 January 1481, completed 1489) and S. Andrea della Certosa (destroyed). To this period also belong works carried out by Pietro Lombardo at the Scuola di S. Giovanni Evangelista. Pietro Lombardo was employed at the Scuola di S. Marco from 1488 till 7 November 1490 (when he was superseded by Rizzo and Coducci), designing the lower part of the new façade, with reliefs executed by his sons Tullio and Antonio. After the flight of Antonio Rizzo (1498) he became Protomagister of the Palazzo Ducale, retaining this post till his death in June 1515. In 1495 he was engaged on a project for a chapel in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua. In the last two decades of his life emphasis within the Lombardo studio appears to have shifted from Pietro to his sons, and he is mentioned in 1501 as supervising the construction of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento in the Duomo at Treviso (designed by Antonio) and in 1507 in a similar capacity in S. Salvatore, Venice (built by Tullio). In 1509 he prepared a model for the new building of the Scuola Grande della Misericordia. Though the bibliography of Pietro Lombardo is extensive, much of his activity remains obscure, in particular the extent of his responsibility for certain major projects (the choir screen of the Frari and the Giustiniani Chapel in S. Francesco della Vigna) which cannot be ascribed to a known hand in the Lombardo studio, and the authorship of a number of Madonna reliefs. The relative parts played by Pietro Lombardo on the one hand and Antonio Rizzo on the other in the formation of Venetian Renaissance style are still unclear, and the tendency of recent criticism has been to overrate the contribution of the latter and underrate that of Pietro Lombardo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The standard account of the work of Pietro Lombardo is that of L. Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 41–80). P. Paoletti (*L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice, ii, 1893) gives an invaluable survey of the documentation of Pietro Lombardo's work both as sculptor and architect. A general article by G. Mariacher ('Pietro Lombardo a Venezia', in *Arte Veneta*, ix, 1955, pp. 36–53) clarifies a number of points, but is critically inadequate. For Pietro Lombardo's activity in Padua and for the Roselli monument see A. Moschetti ('Un quadriennio di Pietro Lombardo a Padova', in *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, xvi, 1913, pp. 1–99, xvii, 1914, pp. 1–43). The part played by the Lombardi in the reconstruction of the Scuola di San Marco is analysed by P. Paoletti (*La Scuola Grande di San Marco*, Venice, 1929), and the documents relating to the Treviso commissions are published by G. Biscaro ('Pietro Lombardo e la Cattedrale di Treviso', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, n.s. iii, 1897, pp. 142–54, and, more fully, 'Note storico-artistiche sulla Cattedrale di Treviso', in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, xvii, 1899, pp. 135–94).

Plate 133:

DECORATION OF CAPPELLA MAGGIORE

S. Giobbe, Venice

The building of the church of S. Giobbe seems to have been begun in 1451, probably by Antonio Gambello (Paoletti), the Campanile being completed in 1464. The Doge Cristoforo Moro, in his will (1 September 1470), bequeathed a sum for the completion of the church 'per lungarla e far le cappelle segondo il bixogno') (to lengthen it and construct chapels as they may be required), and this bequest was confirmed in a codicil of 29 October 1471 providing for work to be undertaken 'segondo l'ordene dato'. A *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the church is provided by a letter of 1485 from Collaccio to Cristoforo and Lorenzo da Lendinara (printed in *Philologica Opuscola*, Venice, 1486), in which reference is made to Pietro Lombardo 'cujus statuas in divi Job aede pridie sum plurimum inviatus'. Though Paoletti suggests that Pietro Lombardo (who was domiciled in Venice at least from 11 August 1474) was employed initially in S. Giobbe as a sculptor not as an architect, he has been generally credited with the designing of the Cappella Maggiore and the chapels contiguous to it, and these almost certainly constitute 'la prima grandiosa opera architettonica del Lombardo' (Mariacher). The figure sculpture in the church by Pietro Lombardo or from his studio is confined to the doorway (which has a lunette with the Stigmatization of St. Francis and St. Job surmounted by statuettes of SS. Bernardino, Anthony of Padua and Louis of Toulouse), the triumphal arch (which contains in the interior reliefs of prophets in half length and at the outer sides figures of the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate), and the Cappella Maggiore (which shows in the spandrels circular reliefs of the four Evangelists supported by figures of angels or putti). The latter figures contain reminiscences of the putto reliefs of Donatello at Padua, and in handling recall the putti with shields on the Roselli monument in the Santo. The presumption is that these figures (which, with the reliefs above them, are autograph works by Pietro Lombardo) date from a somewhat earlier phase than the more classical Annunciation figures, and were perhaps carved about 1475.

Plates 134, 135:

THE MONUMENT OF PIETRO MOCENIGO

SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

The monument was begun after the death of the Doge Pietro Mocenigo (23 February 1476), and was completed by 4 March 1481 when the contract signed by Pietro Lombardo for the erection of the church of S. Maria dei Miracoli mentions it in the past tense.

The tomb is described by Sansovino: 'SS. Giovanni et Paulo . . . Pietro Mocenigo Doge 72, che fù l'anno 1475, in richissima sepoltura di pietra Istriana con 17 figure di marmo al naturale, scolpite da Pietro Lombardo, et da Antonio et Tullio suoi figli, con la statua pedestre di sopra al cassone, con queste parole nel suo corpo EX HOSTIUM MANUBIIS, et meritamente, perciochè per cose belliche di mare fù molto eccellente.' (Doge Pietro Mocenigo, aged seventy-two, who was elected in the year 1475, in a very rich monument of Istrian stone, with seventeen life-like marble figures carved by Pietro Lombardo and his sons Antonio and Tullio, with the standing figure of the Doge over the sarcophagus, and on the body of the sarcophagus the inscription FROM HOSTILE BOOTY, and deservedly, since in sea battles he was of outstanding merit.)

Erected by Mocenigo's heirs, Niccolò and Giovanni, it appears to have been paid for from military spoils, hence the inscription on the sarcophagus. It consists (Fig. 155) of a triumphal arch, flanked by three niches containing statues of warriors and pages with shields. Inside the arch is a standing figure of the Doge with two attendants behind the sarcophagus, which rests on the shoulders of three classical male figures. On the front of the sarcophagus are reliefs of (*left*) the entry of the Venetian forces into Scutari, and (*right*) the surrender of the keys of Cyprus to Caterina Cornaro. Below is an epitaph, flanked by reliefs of military trophies, and, at the extremities of the tomb, carvings of Hercules and the Hydra and Hercules and the Nemean Lion. Above the triumphal arch is a relief of the Maries at the Sepulchre, and above this again, at the apex of the monument, is a statue of the Risen Christ.

To right and left of this figure were statues of SS. Mark and Theodore, now removed from the tomb and installed beside the main entrance of the church. The share of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo in the execution of the monument cannot be identified. It has been claimed (Mariacher) that the scheme of the Mocenigo monument is based on that of the Tron monument of Rizzo; for chronological and other reasons this is unlikely. An attempt to relate the drapery forms used throughout the monument to the style of Rizzo is also unpersuasive.

Both in style and iconography the Pietro Mocenigo monument is one of the most important landmarks in the history of Venetian sculpture.

Plate 136:

MONUMENT OF GIOVANNI ZANETTI

Duomo, Treviso

In his will (1484) Giovanni Zanetti, Archbishop of Thebes and Bishop of Treviso, bequeathed the sum of three hundred ducats for the reconstruction of the Cappella Maggiore of the Duomo in Treviso and the building of his own monument. A contract was signed by Pietro Lombardo on 25 January 1485, and a detailed statement of 22 January 1485 gives details of the projected tomb, of which the 'primo circulo de fuora' was to be executed in 'medollo dai brioni' (marble from Brioni) of a type similar to that used in the monument of Alvise Foscarini in the Frari, and the 'secondo circulo' was to be made of 'pria negra vegnuda dal lago di garda', of a type similar to that used in S. Maria dei Miracoli, and 'tutto lo campo' was to be of Pisan marble. The statement refers to the base of the monument ('il feston con una aquila cum uno baston scaiado'), and indicates that the sarcophagus was originally to be surmounted with 'cinque figure lavorade ben a diligentemente, retrata sua segnoria al naturale'. The newly constructed Cappella Maggiore and the cupola above it were badly built, and collapsed in 1486, and a document recording this fact (15 September 1486) states that at this time the sarcophagus of the Zanetti monument ('cassone di pietra ornato di fogliami e di mostri marini') and the eagle were complete. The erection of the whole monument probably dates from 1488, when Tullio Lombardo arrived at Treviso (6 May 1488) to supervise the reconstruction of the Cappella Maggiore. According to Temanza, the carving of the monument was undertaken in the workshop of Pietro Lombardo at San Samuele in Venice, and the disassembled pieces were transferred by water to Treviso. An account of the effect produced in Treviso by the arrival of the monument and other decorative carvings for the Duomo is given by Pomponius Gauricus (*De Sculptura*, ed. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 113–15): 'Petrus Insuber, Tullius atque Antonius ejus filii; sed ne ego Tullium praeterierim illaudatum?... Cirumferebantur in pompae morem Tarvisii epistyliorum coronae quas ille junior variis intercelerat foliorum ornamentis. Aderat Crispus partim aemulatione quam eum patre Tullii gerebat, partim et tantae novitatis fama permotus, cunctis igitur admirantibus, qui tanta veritate fieri potuerit nunquam prius e marmore coronas factas fissus est quam gladiolo id ita esse depraehenderit.' The monument (Fig. 159) consists of a sarcophagus, with an eagle and epitaph beneath and, above, figures of God the Father, Giovanni Zanetti, and a figure variously described as S. Liberale, a member of Zanetti's family and an acolyte. The scheme derives from that of the Lodovico Foscarini monument in the Frari (destroyed). Documents and style leave no doubt that the designing mind in the Zanetti monument was that of Pietro Lombardo, but that the execution was due in large part to Tullio and Antonio Lombardo. Thus the eagle at the base has been ascribed to Tullio Lombardo

(Temanza, Mariacher) and Antonio Lombardo (Paoletti, Planiscig), and the decorative carving throughout is due to one of the younger members of the Lombardo studio. Of the upper figures the God the Father and the Giovanni Zanetti are given by Paoletti to Pietro Lombardo and the third figure to Antonio and Tullio, while it has also been suggested (Mariacher) that the God the Father is by Pietro and the two remaining statues by Antonio Lombardo. The present epitaph (above the eagle at the base) is modern, and includes the incorrect date of 1483.

TULLIO LOMBARDO

(b. *c.* 1455; d. 1532)

The activity of Tullio and Antonio Lombardo is mentioned by Collaccio (1475) ('et patrio artificio surgentes filios'), and from this time on both sculptors seem to have participated in works turned out by the Lombardo studio. According to Sansovino, Tullio 'scolpì le statue di marmo della cappella grande' in S. Maria dei Miracoli, and though these have disappeared, a number of figures of subsidiary importance inside the church can be ascribed to him. With Antonio (q.v.) he participated in the execution of the Treviso monuments (see Plate 136 above), and on 6 May 1488 assumed responsibility for the reconstruction of damaged parts of the Cathedral. It is likely that the designs of the Andrea Vendramin and Giovanni Mocenigo monuments (see Plates 137, 140 below) were both due to Tullio Lombardo. In 1484 he worked on a Holy Sepulchre for S. Sepolcro (kneeling angels now in S. Martino), the execution of which has also been assigned (Mariacher) to the years *c.* 1500, and in 1500–2 he executed an altar-piece for S. Giovanni Crisostomo (see Plate 138 below). Thereafter he worked in the Chapel of St. Anthony in S. Antonio at Padua (see Plates 142, 143 below), and in 1505–7 was employed on decorative carving in the Palazzo Ducale. In 1515 he was engaged on work in connection with the Cappella dell'Argento in the Duomo at Ravenna, and for this town he also executed the Guidarelli effigy now in the Museo Civico (payment of 21 June 1525). In 1517 he prepared a model for the Duomo at Belluno, and in 1523 carved a doorway for the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua on the commission of Isabella d'Este, by whom he was again employed in 1527. The last dated work of Tullio Lombardo is the Matteo Bellati monument in the Duomo at Feltre (1528). Four years later (17 November 1532) he died in Venice. For Pomponius Gauricus Tullio Lombardo enjoyed unrivalled supremacy as the greatest Venetian marble sculptor, and the merits of his work have as a whole been underestimated by recent students. As a humanist sculptor he occupied a position closely analogous to that of Riccio in Padua. The Anonimo Morelliano mentions a headless classical figure in his possession.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The literature relating to Tullio Lombardo is generally superficial in character, and a number of key aspects of his work (e.g. the relation of his sculptures to classical prototypes) have not been seriously investigated. Adequate surveys of his work are supplied by L. Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 226–55, and 'Pietro, Tullio und Antonio Lombardo; neue Beiträge zu ihrem Werk', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, xi, 1937, pp. 87–115). For the documentary background of Tullio Lombardo's works in Venice see P. Paoletti (*L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice, i, 1893) and for the reliefs in the Chapel of St. Anthony in S. Antonio at Padua B. Gonzati (*La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova*, 2 vols., Padua, 1852). An article by G. Mariacher ('Tullio Lombardo Studies', in *Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1954, pp. 366–74) presents a retarded chronology which is questionable both on stylistic and on documentary grounds.

Plate 137:

MONUMENT OF GIOVANNI MOCENIGO

SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

The Doge Giovanni Mocenigo died in 1485, and was buried initially in the vicinity of the Tommaso Mocenigo monument. There is no document relating to the tomb with which he was eventually commemorated, which is described by Sansovino as 'un sepolcro di finissimo marmo, con belle figure di mano di Tullio Lombardo scultore eccellente'. (A tomb of finest marble, with beautiful figures by the hand of Tullio Lombardo, an excellent sculptor.) It is generally assumed (Paoletti, Planiscig, Mariacher) that the monument dates from the first decade of the sixteenth century, since the classicism both of the figure sculpture and of the architectural scheme is more developed than in the Vendramin monument. Both the relationship to the Zen Chapel (noted by Paoletti) and the horizontal rhythms of the architecture (noted by Mariacher) tend to support this view. The lunette over the sarcophagus (showing the Doge presented by St. John Baptist to St. (?) Theodore and the Virgin and Child) and the effigy are less advanced than the other figure sculptures of the monument. Beneath the statues of Virtues which flank the sarcophagus are reliefs of (*left*) the Baptism of Christ and (*right*) the Baptism of Anianus. Planiscig ('Del Giorgionismo nella scultura veneziana all'inizio del cinquecento', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xiv, 1934–5, pp. 146–55) draws a convincing distinction between the pictorial, atmospheric style of the relief on the left and the more classical style of the relief on the right, assigning the first to Antonio and the second to Tullio Lombardo.

Plate 138:

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

S. Giovanni Crisostomo, Venice

The relief is signed beneath TVLLII LOMBARDI OPVS. According to the relevant documents (Paoletti), a decision to demolish the old church of S. Giovanni Crisostomo was taken in 1495, and two years later work was begun on the construction of a new church under the direction of Mauro Coducci. Work in the Cappella degli Apostoli, in which the altar-piece is set, seems to have extended from 1499 to 1501, the columns for the chapel being furnished by Pietro Lombardo. On 7 December 1500 Andrea da Zucenda da Lucca received a sum in connection with the supply of the two pieces of marble from which the Coronation of the Virgin was carved. The previous altar-piece of the chapel, a gilded Virgin and Child, was ceded to S. Maria Maggiore in 1502, and this date probably represents the year of completion of Tullio Lombardo's relief (Paoletti). It is not therefore the case that the relief was executed in the last decade of the fifteenth century (Planiscig), nor that it dates 'not before the second decade of the century' as is argued by Mariacher on the evidence of two pulpits in the church, dated 1503 and 1525, and supposed analogies with the Padua reliefs. Stylistically the relief certainly precedes the earlier of Tullio Lombardo's reliefs at Padua.

Plate 139: BACCHUS AND ARIADNE

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

For the provenance of the relief (which comes from the Obizzi collection at Catajo) see L. Planiscig (*Die Estensische Kunstsammlung*, i, 1919, No. 100, pp. 58–9). The relief, along with a comparable relief containing a male and female portrait in the Museo Correr, seems to have been inspired by Roman grave portraits of the class of those of Julia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche (see P. Williams, 'Two Roman Reliefs in Renaissance Disguise', in *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, iv, 1940–1, pp. 47–66). A third relief of the same class by Tullio Lombardo, showing a single female head, was formerly in the Huldschinsky collection, Berlin. The function of the reliefs is not established, and the identification of the present relief as Bacchus and Ariadne derives from the vine-leaves in the hair of the male figure. The relief is related by O. Egger and J. Hermann ('Aus den Kunstsammlungen des Hauses Este in Wien', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, xvii, 1906, pp. 84–105) to the later of Tullio Lombardo's reliefs at Padua (1525), but is probably earlier in date, since the treatment of the head of the male figure recalls that of the Adam from the Vendramin monument and the vertical drapery on the shoulder of the female figure finds a parallel in the S. Giovanni Crisostomo altar-piece.

Plates 140, 141:

MONUMENT OF ANDREA VENDRAMIN

SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

No documents relating to the Vendramin monument survive. The Doge Andrea Vendramin died on 6 May 1478, but his monument appears not to have been commissioned for some years after his death, and is first mentioned by Sanuto in 1493: 'Ai Servi è l'archa d'Andrea Vendramin Doxe che al presente si fabricha che sara diro cussì la più bella di questa terra per li degni marmi vi sono.' (At the Servi the tomb of the Doge Andrea Vendramin, which is now being constructed, will in my view be the most beautiful on earth because of the worthy marbles it contains.) This reference suggests that by 1493 a substantial part of the figure sculpture of the monument was in existence, and it is generally assumed (Planiscig) that the monument was completed in the mid-nineties. The tomb was set up at the end of the left aisle of S. Maria dei Servi (A. Vicentini, *Santa Maria dei Servi in Venezia*, Treviglio, 1920), and is shown in its original state in an engraving prepared before 1816 for Cicognara. In 1810 it was dismantled, and seven years later was re-erected in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. In 1819 the figures of Adam and Eve, which originally occupied the lower niches of the tomb, were removed from the monument, and transferred to the Palazzo Vendramin. The Adam (signed on the base TVLLII LOMBA/RDI O.) was acquired in 1937 by the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Two figures of pages with shields were also removed from the monument, and were acquired in 1841 by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (destroyed). The Eve (see below) is in the Palazzo Vendramin Calergi, Venice.

In its present form (Fig. 162) the monument consists of a central triumphal arch supported on columns, containing the sarcophagus and effigy, three figures of angels behind the bier, and a lunette with the Doge Andrea Vendramin presented to the Virgin and Child. On the sarcophagus are statuettes of (*left end*) Fortitude, (*front, left to right*) Temperance, Charity, Hope, Faith and Prudence, (*right end*) Justice. The bier is supported by two eagles. Above the triumphal arch are two circular reliefs with emperor heads. At each side is a niche (now containing a statue of a warrior, and originally containing the figures of Adam and Eve), surmounted by a medallion of (*left*) Perseus and Medusa and (*right*) the Rape of Deianira, and figures of (*left*) the Annunciatory Angel and (*right*) the Virgin Annunciate. At the extremities of the monument in its present form stand two figures by Lorenzo Bregno from S. Marina; these spaces were originally filled by the two warriors now in the niches of the monument.

The design of the monument is traditionally (Temanza) ascribed to Alessandro Leopardi; this view is contested by Paoletti and all subsequent writers, and the scheme of the tomb as well as a large part of the figure sculpture is generally credited to Tullio Lombardo. Though it has been claimed that the structure is 'not fundamentally different from that of the (Pietro) Mocenigo tomb' (Mariacher), the architectural conception is more progressive and more classical. A serious and not unsuccessful attempt to attribute the individual sculptures of the monument is made by Planiscig, according to whom Tullio would have been responsible for the Adam, the two statues of warriors, the two pages in Berlin, the angels behind the bier (extensive studio assistance), the two angels holding up the epitaph, and six of the seven Virtues (extensive studio assistance, perhaps by Mosca). According to the same analysis, Antonio would have carved the two medallions of Perseus and Medusa and the Rape of Deianira, the emperor heads, the socle reliefs under the columns, and the two large reliefs of putti on the base, while the figure of the Doge, the Annunciation and the lunette above the effigy would be the work of unidentified assistants in the Lombardo studio. The style in the latter parts of the monument is more archaic, and the lunette recalls the late work of Pietro Lombardo. The Eve was perhaps added in 1563, when work was undertaken in SS. Giovanni e Paolo by Zaccaria Vendramin, and Tullio Lombardo's Eve (if, as is likely, this existed) has disappeared. The present figure is ascribed by Planiscig and Mariacher to Francesco Segala on the strength of inconclusive analogies with two figures of Abundantia and Caritas in the Palazzo Ducale.

Plates 142, 143: THE CHAPEL OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA

S. Antonio, Padua

According to a note by the Anonimo Morelliano, 'questa cappella era dipinta, e la pittura, per esser vecchia, è caduta essa: fù ruinata per refarla de sculpture de marmi. Dipinsela Stefano da Ferrara, bon maestro a quei tempi. Auctore Riccio.' (This chapel used to be painted, but the painting, because of its age, started to peel, and was destroyed to allow the chapel to be redecorated with marble sculptures. It was painted by Stefano da Ferrara, a good artist of those times. Author Riccio.) This statement is confirmed by documents, from which we learn that in 1500 'lo modello ultimo' by Riccio was in course of construction by the sculptor Giovanni Minelli. Earlier models for the chapel were submitted by Bartolommeo da Ponte, Pier Antonio da Lendinara, and Vettore da Feltre. On 21 June 1500 Giovanni Minelli was appointed to direct work in the chapel in accordance with Riccio's design, and was employed in this capacity till 1521. After the death of Riccio (1532) the upper part of the façade of the chapel was completed by Giammaria Falconetto. On the rear and side walls of the chapel (Fig. 165) provision was made for nine large reliefs of miracles of St. Anthony of Padua. As these were eventually executed, they consist (*left to right*) of the following scenes: (i) The Clothing of St. Anthony carved by Antonio Minelli (payment of 20 May 1512), (ii) The Miracle of the Slain Wife signed by Giovanni Dentone (payment of 11 October 1524), (iii) The Raising of a Dead Youth begun by Danese Cattaneo and completed after his death (27 December 1572) by Girolamo Campagna (documents of 1572–3), (iv) The Miracle of the Drowned Girl signed by Jacopo Sansovino (payment of 1536), (v) The Raising of the Child Parrasio begun by Antonio Minelli (payment of 1522), taken over by Jacopo Sansovino (document of 1528) and completed in 1534, (vi) The Miracle of the Miser's Heart inscribed OPVS TVLLII LOMBAR.PETRI.F and dated MDXXV (commissioned 17 June 1501), (vii) The Miracle of the Repentant Youth inscribed TVLLII LOMBARDI OPVS (commissioned 27 July 1501, last documentary reference 16 June 1520), (viii) The Miracle of the Glass, according to the Anonimo Morelliano 'de mano de Zuan Maria Padoano, finito da Paulo Stella Milanese nel 1529', payment of 28 April 1520, (ix) The Miracle of the New-Born Child inscribed ANTONII LOMBARDI O.P.F. (payment of 28 April 1505). It appears originally to have been envisaged that the reliefs would be completed in a uniform style and in a shorter space of time; there is documentary evidence that (v) was originally allotted to Giambattista Bregnon (document of 20 October 1502) and that (iv) was to have been executed by Tullio Lombardo. Thus of the nine reliefs three were allotted to Tullio Lombardo, one to Antonio Lombardo, one to an imitator of Tullio Lombardo, Mosca, and one to an artist influenced by Antonio Lombardo, Antonio Minelli. Nothing is known of the style of Giambattista Bregnon. The available documents give no explanation of the long delay in the completion of Tullio Lombardo's reliefs. The reliefs were executed from models presumably made at an early stage in the construction of the chapel—in the seventeenth century a gesso model for Antonio Lombardo's relief was in a private collection at Vicenza and in the sixteenth century a terracotta model for Mosca's relief was owned by the father of Tiziano Minio—and it cannot, therefore, be presumed that the date of completion of Tullio Lombardo's reliefs has any relevance to the date at which they were designed. Both reliefs are, however, considerably more advanced in style than the S. Giovanni Crisostomo altar-piece. In the documents payments for the perspectives in the upper parts of the scenes are shown independently of the payments for the main reliefs. The sum paid to Antonio Lombardo for the Miracle of the New-Born Child represents a total of L. 2480. Gonzati suggests very plausibly that the reputation enjoyed by Tullio and Antonio Lombardo about 1500 is responsible for the fact that they received commissions for the three scenes which correspond with scenes represented on Donatello's high altar.

ANTONIO LOMBARDO

(b. *c.* 1458; d. 1516?)

The career of Pietro Lombardo's younger son, Antonio, is inadequately documented. It is generally assumed that he participated in the work of the Lombardo studio at least from the time of the Pietro Mocenigo monument (see Plate 134 above), in which his share cannot, however, be identified. Attempts have been made (Planiscig) to identify his hand in reliefs on S. Maria dei Miracoli, and, more convincingly, on the Andrea Vendramin and Giovanni Mocenigo monuments (see Plates 137, 140 above). Antonio Lombardo was an active participant both in the Zanetti monument at Treviso (see Plate 136 above) and in the Onigo monument (d. 1490) in S. Niccolò at Treviso where he may have been responsible for carving the putti on the sarcophagus. A figure of the Child Christ in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, has been identified (Planiscig) as an early work of Antonio Lombardo on the strength of resemblances to the Onigo sarcophagus. Antonio's main documented activities relate to the Zen Chapel in St. Mark's (see Plate 144 below) and the Chapel of St. Anthony in S. Antonio at Padua (see Plates 142, 143 above). After 1506 he was active at Ferrara, dying there in 1516. At Ferrara he executed for Alfonso I d'Este a number of mythological carvings of a decorative character set in the so-called Camerini di Alabastro of the Castello. Of the many reliefs referred to this commission, twenty-eight carvings at Leningrad (one inscribed with the name of Alfonso I d'Este and dated 1508) (Fig. 153), two reliefs of Venus and Apollo in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (one with a tablet inscribed AL.D.III.), and a relief with two eagles formerly in the possession of Bardini, Florence (with an inscription ending AL. D. III.), were certainly carved for the Camerini di Alabastro.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A good general account of the work of Antonio Lombardo is supplied by Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 209–25), who was also responsible for the conjectural identification of works executed by Antonio Lombardo within the framework of the Lombardo studio ('Pietro, Tullio und Antonio Lombardo; neue Beiträge zu ihrem Werk', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, xi, 1937, pp. 87–115). Some suggestive points are made in a second less systematic article (L. Planiscig, 'Del Giorgionismo nella scultura veneziana all'inizio del cinquecento', in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xiv, 1934–5, pp. 146–55). As with other members of the Lombardo family, a useful documentary background is supplied by Paoletti (*L'Architettura e la Scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice, ii, 1893). For the documentary material relating to the Zen Chapel in St. Mark's and the Chapel of St. Anthony in S. Antonio at Padua see respectively F. Ongania (*Documenti per la storia dell'augusta ducale Basilica di San Marco in Venezia*, Venice, 1886) and B. Gonzati (*La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova*, 2 vols., Padua, 1852). The Ferrara reliefs are discussed by J. von Schlosser, 'Eine Reliefserie des Antonio Lombardo', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, xxxi, 1913, pp. 87–100, and G. Gruyer, *L'Art Ferrarais à l'Epoque des Princes d'Este*, i, 1897, pp. 412–13.

Plate 144: THE ZEN CHAPEL

St. Mark's, Venice

Before his death on 8 May 1501, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Zen drafted a will (29 April 1501) bequeathing the sum of five thousand ducats for the construction of a tomb and altar at the south end of the transept of St. Mark's. After his death it was decided that this position was inadmissible, and the project for the chapel was transferred (1503) to the Chapel of St. Theodore. The will gives a detailed indication of the intentions of the Cardinal: 'El corpo volemo sia sepulto in la chiesa de san marco de Venesia in uno sepulcro eneo zoe de bronzo, el quale sia posto sopra terra sul pavimento chome se entra dentro dela chiesa de s. marco per la porta del palazo a man destra . . . et sia facta la sepoltura tuta de bronzo lavorata a figure de sancti e feste al anticha bellissima. In la qual se metta el Corpo et se faza li una taola di bronzo per altare large cum quatro colone enee quadre incanelate sopra, la quale taola se faza tre figure grande de statua de uno homo de tutto relievo de bronzo, le qual figure sia la gloriosa Vergine m^{ia} con miser Jesu christo in brazo in mezo, a man dextra san piero, a man sinistra san Zuan Bap^{ta} tute de grandeza de statura de un homo lavorate singularmente per maistro excellentissimo, et de sopra sia uno dio padre pur di bronzo cum angeli et altri lavori enei in forma de una pala belissima, che vada alta quanto el volto, et che lo empia tuto e largo quanto le due colonne, e de sotto sia la sepultura la quale raxa overo stia su quatro pomi de bronzo dorati alti da terra sei ditta con el corpo dentro come e dicto e sia dorato tuta la sepultura e le figure e pala, et in la faza davanti de dicta sepultura se faza una inmagine, de prelato apparato conlo piviale mitra e rocheto et poi lettere intorno del nome nostro et le arme una per testa con artificio et magisterio bellissimo, che tenga piu al antiqua sia posibele.' (We wish that our body should be buried in the church of S. Marco in Venice, in a bronze tomb which should be set on ground level on the pavement to the right of where one enters the church by the Porta del Palazzo . . . Let the tomb be worked entirely in bronze with figures of Saints and classical garlands of great beauty. Let our body be placed in it, and let a big bronze altar-piece be made for the altar with four fluted columns, containing three life-size figures in the round with the glorious Virgin Mary in the centre with the Child Christ in her arms, and on the right St. Peter and on the left St. John the Baptist, all of them life-size and worked in a singular fashion by an excellent artist. Above let there be a bronze God the Father with angels and other works in bronze in the form of a most beautiful altar-piece as high as the roof of the altar and equal in width to the distance between the columns. Below let there be the tomb, which should stand on four gilt bronze apples six fingers high, with the body inside it as has been said, and let the entire tomb and statues and altar-piece be gilded. On the front of the aforesaid tomb let there be a representation of a prelate vested with cope, mitre and rochet, and let there be an inscription with our name and arms at the head made with consummate artistry and skill, and as faithful to the antique as is possible.) The tomb and altar were commissioned jointly from Alessandro Leopardi and Antonio Lombardo. The respective shares of the two artists in the designing of the chapel is uncertain. On 3 December 1503 Leopardi preferred a claim for unspecified expenses in connection with the chapel, and on 18 January 1504 a joint sum was paid to both artists. On 23 May 1504, however, Leopardi appears to have been eliminated from the contract, and work thereafter was entrusted to Antonio Lombardo, Tullio Lombardo (who was paid on 2 October 1506 for the socles of two columns on the altar) and two bronze-casters Giovanni Alberghetto and Pietro delle Campane. It has been suggested conjecturally (Planiscig) that Leopardi was responsible for the architectural and Antonio Lombardo for the sculptural features of the chapel. 'Un dio pare in bronzo' (perhaps the God the Father on the baldacchino of the altar) appears to have been complete in 1503, and Antonio Lombardo's model for the central Virgin and Child was probably produced in 1506. In the latter year Antonio Lombardo left Venice for Ferrara, leaving his father as his representative; in 1511 a payment is made to Pietro Lombardo on Antonio's behalf. Thereafter control of work in the chapel seems to have passed to Paolo Savin, who appears to have been a close associate of Antonio Lombardo ('come fratello di M^{ro} Antonio Lombardo'), and who on 14 October 1507 completed the models of four figures for the sides of the sarcophagus. The date of the casting of the Virgin and Child is uncertain; the socle, modelled by Savin and cast by Pietro delle Campane, is inscribed PETRI IOANNIS CAMPANATI M.DXV. The figure was put in position on the altar in 1518, and the sarcophagus was ready for the reception of the Cardinal's remains on 29 March 1521. Of the sculptures in the chapel (Fig. 163) Antonio Lombardo is usually credited with the columns and capitals of the altar, the two large pilasters behind them, the marble architrave and bronze frieze, the baldacchino with God the Father and angels, two Victory figures in the spandrels of the containing arch, and the central Virgin and Child, while Paolo Savin appears to have been responsible for the statues of SS. Peter and John the Baptist, the Virgin's throne, the archivolt with pilasters, the antependium relief of the Resurrection, and the effigy, tomb and six figures at the sides. The latter (like the form of the sarcophagus) were imitated from Rizzo's Orsato Giustiniani monument. It is, however, likely that the chapel was planned as a unity, and even those parts modelled and finished by Paolo Savin (e.g. the sarcophagus and the antependium relief) may have been based, albeit loosely, on designs by Antonio Lombardo. The detailed terms of the will of Cardinal Zen suggest that preliminary discussions regarding the form of the chapel and memorial had taken place, with Leopardi or with Antonio Lombardo, before the death of the Cardinal.

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